00085477

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY-400 023.

Digitized with financial assistance from
Hermès India
a project facilitated by the Rotary Club of Bombay

on 10 August, 2018

Hakluytus Posthumus

or

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning a History of the World
in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells
by Englishmen and others

By

SAMUEL PURCHAS, B.D.

85477
ac

VOLUME IV

Y.f.39

Glasgow
James MacLehose and Sons
Publishers to the University
MCMV

00085477

THE TABLE

PAGE

The Contents of the Chapters and Paragraphs in the fourth Booke of the First part of Purchas his Pilgrimes.

CHAP. IIII.

Observations of William Finch, Merchant, taken out of his large Journall. 1

§. 1. Remembrances touching Sierra Leona, in August 1607. the Bay, Countrey, Inhabitants, Rites, Fruits and Commodities. 1

Food, Fruits and Trees, at Sierra Leona. Plantane, Palmito, Oyster-trees: A strange beast.

§. 2. Of Saint Augustine and Socotora, like observations, with other notes taken out of his Journal. . . . 10

The Men, Beasts, Wormes, in S. Laurence Iland. The customes and manners of the Arabs. The commodities and manners of the Caffers.

§. 3. Occurrents in India touching the English, Dutch, Portugals, and the Mogols dealing with the English. . 19

The Portugals bad usage of the English. A fight betweene the Hollanders and Portugals. Passages betweene the Portugals and Hollanders. A description of Surat. Strange great Bats.

THE TABLE

The Contents of the Chapters—*Continued.*

PAGE

§. 4. His Journey to Agra: Observations by the way, and there; and of the Decan warres there. . . . 29

Divers occurrences in the way to Agra. Descriptions of divers parts of the great Mogols Countrey. A description of divers Cities and Townes of the great Mogols countrey. Terrible fires. Divers Pagan Princes are Christned.

§. 5. Description of Fetipore, Byana; the way thither; of the Nill or Indico, and of divers Mogoll affaires, Cities, and Castles. 41

The Kings Moholls. Description of Nill or Indico. The making of Indico. A Lyon assaulting the King. The Mogol and his eldest sonne at variance.

§. 6. Description of Lahor, and of the Kings house there: how the Mogolls entred India: Of divers strong holds, strange Beasts, and Plants; fond superstitions: Of the Wayes, Theeves, Out-lawes, Cities, Buildings, adjoyned and intermixed: Princes not subject: Agra and Echebars Sepulchre described. 52

Description of the City Lahor, and of the Kings house there. The large Mohols for the Mogols women, described. Divers wayes and passages from Lahor to Agra. Asmere described. Cunning treachery of a brother. The beginning, and greatnesse of the river Ganges. A mightie great Castle. A strange Tree. Divers parts of the Mogolls countrey described. The Description of Agra, and the great Palace there. The description of King Acabars stately Tombe.

Of divers wayes in the Mogols Kingdome, to and from Lahor and Agra, and places of note in them. . . 58

Lands lying Easterly from Lahor with their Lords. . . 69

THE TABLE

The Contents of the Chapters—*Continued.*

PAGE

CHAP. V.

The ninth Voyage of the Indian Companie to the East Indies, in the James, whereof was Captaine, Master Edmund Marlowe of Bristoll, and the Master, John Davy, which wrote this Journall. 77

CHAP. VI.

A Ruter, or briefe direction for readie sayling into the East India, digested into a plaine methode by Master John Davis of Lime-house, upon experience of his five voyages thither, and home againe. . . . 88

§. 1. Nauticall observation of places betwixt the Lizard and Saint Augustine, in the Ile of Saint Laurence. . 88

Directions of M. John Davis for the East Indies. The best course to passe the Equinoctiall Line. Directions for Navigators in the Ilands. Sailers course about the Cape of Good Hope.

§. 2. A note for finding out of the River of Saint Augustine in Saint Laurence, of divers small Iles in the way thence to Achen, and of many Ports and passages in and about Sumatra. 97

The River of Saint Augustine in Saint Laurence. Rutter or sea-course for the East Indies. Sailers Course on the Coast of Sumatra. Coasting betweene Sumatra and Java.

§. 3. The way from Bantam to the Straight of Palimbon, upon the East-side of Sumatra, of Banca, Bintam, Straights of Sincapura, and Sunda, with other places. . 108

Sea-courses from Port to Port in the East-Indies. Linga, Bintam, and other Ilands described. Saylers course from Bantam to the Moluccaes. The Iland of Botun, and others described.

The Contents of the Chapters—*Continued.* PAGE

Certaine principall Notes, gathered by mine owne experience, in my three voyages into these parts: wherein the true course, and distances, with shoalds and rocks is shewed: and on which side you may leave them: as hereafter followeth. 113

Certaine Notes from Bantam Roade to the Ilands of the Maluccaes, with the course and distances: as hereafter followeth. 114

Notes of Botun. 117

CHAP. VII.

A Journall of the tenth Voyage to the East India, with two ships, the Dragon, and the Hosiander (accompanied with the James and Salomon, but those for other voyages) and in them three hundred and eightie persons, or thereabout: Written by Master Thomas Best, chiefe Commander thereof. . . . 119

§. 1. Observations in their way to Surat. 119

Excellent refreshing in the Road of Saldanha.

§. 2. Their Acts with the Mogols Subjects, and fights against the Portugals: setling a Factorie, and departure to Achen. 124

Articles betweene the English and the Mogols subjects. Fight of the English with the Portugals. The Great Mogoll granteth a Factory at Surat. Captaine Best is entertained at Achen, and greatly honored by the King. The Hollanders Factory destroyed in Jor.

Captaine Best his entertainement at Achen. . . . 137

§. 3. Trade at Tecoo and Passaman: their going to Bantam, and thence home. 143

The commodious Roade, and plentie of Santa Helena.

THE TABLE

The Contents of the Chapters—*Continued.* PAGE

CHAP VIII.

Certaine observations written by others employed in the same voyage, Master Copland Minister, Robert Boner Master, Nicholas Withington Merchant. . . . 147

§. 1. Remembrances taken out of a Tractate written by Master Patrike Copland, Minister in the former voyage. King of Achens Letter to His Majestie; and notes of N. Salmons Journall. 147

The description of Soldania, and the people there. The English royally entertained at Achen. The King of Achens Letter and Presents to our King.

§. 2. Notes taken out of Master Robert Boners Journall, who was then Master in the Dragon. H. . . 154

At what time most conveniently to passe the Line. The English fight with the Portugals at Sea. The unhappie losse of the Trades-increase mentioned.

§. 3. Extracts of a Tractate, written by Nicholas Withington, which was left in the Mogols Countrey by Captaine Best, a Factor, his adventures and travels therein. 162

The English fight with the Portugals. An English man poysoned by the Jesuits in India. Divers superstitious customes of the Banians. The Jesuites entertainement in the East India.

CHAP. IX.

The eleventh Voyage to the East India in the Salomon, begun in the yeere of our Lord 1611. after the accompt of the Church of England, and ended in the yeere 1613. Written by Ralph Wilson, one of the Mates in the said ship. H. 175

Divers Iles in the East India described.

THE TABLE

The Contents of the Chapters—*Continued.* PAGE

CHAP. X.

A Journall of all principall matters passed in the twelfth Voyage to the East India, observed by mee Walter Payton, in the good ship the Expedition: the Captaine whereof was M. Christopher Newport, being set out, Anno 1612. Written by Walter Payton. . 180

§. 1. Their comming to Saint Augustine, Mohelia, and divers parts of Arabia. 180

The English twelfth Voyage to the East-Indies. The Iland Mohelia yeeldeth very good refreshing. The English entertained on the Coast of Arabia.

§. 2. Their comming on the Persian Coast: the treacherie of the Baluches. 187

The English come to the Persian Coast. The Portugals great Authoritie in the Indies. Horrible treachery intended to the English, and revealed. The Baluches treachery to the English prevented. Certaine Mahumetans surprise the English.

§. 3. Their comming to Divulginde landing the Embassadour, seeking Trade, and crossed by the slanderous Portugals, going to Sumatra and Bantam; and returne. 200

Sir Robert Sherley landed. The malicious endeavours of the Portugals to hinder the English Trade. Sir Robert Sherleys love to the English. Safe arrivall in England after a long Voyage.

CHAP. XI.

Extracts of the Journall of Captaine Nicholas Downton, who was employed chiefe Commander in the second Voyage set forth for the joyned Stockes in the East Indies, by the Governour, Deputie, and Committees of that Societie. Wherein is related their happy successe against the Vice-Roy, and all the Indian Sea forces of the Portugals, by force and cunning attempting their destruction. 214

THE TABLE

The Contents of the Chapters—*Continued.* PAGE

§. 1. Their comming to Soldania, Socatora, Swally: Disagreements betweene the Mogoll and Portugals, and the Nabob and us. 214

The Jesuites are great Enemies to the English. The Nabob of Surat, suspicious of the English.

§. 2. The Portugals Forces, Acts, Attempts, Fight with the English, and disgracefull Repulse. 225

Great preparations of the Portugals at Sea. Consultation how to prevent the Portugals designes. Fight betweene the English and the Portugals.

§. 3. Portugall supplyes, Fire-boates frustrated, seeke peace and refused, their departure: Enterview of the Nabob and Generall: departure of the English. . . . 236

Supplies sent to the Portugall Vice-roy. Fire-boats prevented. Peace sought, but refused. Care of the English to prevent the Portugals attempts. The death of the worthy Captaine Nicholas Downton.

CHAP. XII.

Relations of Master Elkington and Master Dodsworth, touching the former voyage. 251

§. 1. Collections taken out of the Journall of Thomas Elkington, successour to Captaine Nicholas Downton in the voyage aforesaid, written by himselfe. . . 251

Death of Capt. N. Downton. Losse of the Thomasine. The Hollanders base usage of the English.

§. 2. A Briefe of Memorialls observed and written by Master Edward Dodsworth, Merchant in the former voyage, which returned in the Hope. . . . 257

The Nabob of Surat unkind to the English. Fight of the English with the Portugals.

The examination of Domingo Francisco, taken in Swally Roade, aboord the Gift. Februarie 20. 1614. . . 263

The Ship called the Hope, returneth for England.

THE TABLE

The Contents of the Chapters—*Continued.*

PAGE

CHAP. XIII.

A Journall of the Journey of Richard Steel, and John Crowther, from Azmere in India, the place of the great Mogols residence, to Spahan the Royall Seat of the King of Persia, in the affaires of the East Indian Societie. Anno 1615. 1616. 266

The Countrey betweene Agra and Lahor described. Long and dangerous travell from India to Persia. The borders of the Mogoll, and Persian described. The English after long and tedious travell arrive in Persia. The King of Persia his Firman for the English.

CHAP. XIIII.

Memorials of a voyage, wherein were employed three ships, the Samaritan, Thomas and Thomasine, 1614. written by John Milward Merchant, who went in the Thomas. 280

Description of the Iland and Commodities of Soldania. Losse of the Trade: Devils Ambition. King of Achens Navie. Quarrell betwixt the Acheners and Tecoans. Their Lent.

CHAP. XV.

The second voyage of Captaine Walter Peyton into the East Indies, in the Expedition, which was set forth by the East India Companie, together with the Dragon, Lion, and Peppercorne, in Januarie 1614. gathered out of his large Journall. 289

§. 1. Occurrents at Soldania, Mohelia, Socotora, Surat, with divers other Intelligences. 289

The arrivall of the English in Soldania. Commodities at Doman, and at Mohelia. The English Ambassadors arrivall at Surat. Death of Sir T. Powell and his Lady.

The Contents of the Chapters—*Continued.* PAGE

§. 2. Prizes taken, Factorie at Callicut, Observations of divers places of Sumatra: the English ships miscarrie. Dutch Abuses, Factories in India. 298

Factory at Callicut. Sheathing necessary. Tecoo barbarous. Passaman Gold. Dutch transportations and abuses: English ships and Factories. King of Achens manners.

§. 3. A briefe Declaration of the Ports, Cities, and Townes, inhabited and traded unto by the Portugall, betwixt the Cape of Good Hope and Japan, as I could learne by diligent enquirie. 306

Portugall Trade in India. Many Townes and Ports where the Portugals trade.

CHAP. XVI.

Observations collected out of the Journall of Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, Lord Embassadour from His Majestie of Great Britaine, to the Great Mogol: Of matters occurring worthy memorie in the way, and in the Mogols Court. His Customes, Cities, Countries, Subjects, and other Indian affaires. 310

§. 1. Occurrents and observations, in, and touching the voyage to Surat. 310

The Iland of Pengwin, and other Ilands described. The manners, and commodities of Molalia. Molalia, Magadoxia, Abdalacora. Sir Thomas Roe. The use of Socatra, and the Inhabitants there. Prester John.

§. 2. His journey to the Court, and entertainement there, and customes thereof. 323

The English arrive at Brampore. Sir T. Roes comming to the Mogols Court: Customes thereof. The Great Mogolls Court described. Newyeeres festivall Solemnitie. Sir Thomas Roe. Conference betwixt the King, Courtiers, and Embassador. The Princes displeasure. Jones his lewdnesse.

The Contents of the Chapters—*Continued.* PAGE

§. 3. Occurrents happening in June, July, August 1616. and divers passages of speech and action, whence the Nature, Arts, and disposition of the King and his Subjects may be observed. 340

Sultan Coroone, or Coroone disaffected. The kind usage of the English by the Great Mogoll. Courtesie of the King and Gemaldin Ussin to Sir Tho. Roe. The great Mogols great kindnesse to Sir Thomas Roe.

§. 4. The Kings birth day, and manner of the observation, with other accidents in September. 352

Great Solemnities on the Kings Birth-day. The Mogols curiositie and bountie.

§. 5. The broiles about Abdala Chan, and Chan Channa; Sultan Caroones ambition, his policies to subvert his elder brother: fight with a Portugall Carricke: distaste about the Prince: Persian Embassage, Presents and entertainment. 358

Abdala Chans manner of humiliation. Samsons Foxes, fire in their tailes, lookes contrary. Fight betweene the English and the Portugals. The entertainement of a Persian Embassadour. Persian Presents: the Princes Gallantrie.

§. 6. The Princes braverie; the Persian Ambassadours behaviour, the manner and effects of Drinking, of the King and his Nobles; the Kings remove, his super-exceeding pompe, wealth, magnificence therein: Portugall fray: relations of Sultan Corsoroone: Persian newes. 368

Flattery flat lye, wine, windy; Base greatnesse; great basenesse. An ancient custome concerning condemned Theeves. The magnificence of the great Mogoll. Magnificence of the Mogolls Tents and Progresse. Sultan Corsoroone acknowledged: Turke and Persian.

The Contents of the Chapters—*Continued.* PAGE

§. 7. Sir Thomas Roes following the Court in this Progresse, description of the Kings Lescar, and some places which they passed: the Kings superstition, drinke, and dealing about the Present. . . . 384

Mogols Cities ruinous, Lescar marvellous, Charitie superstitious. The Princes incivility to the English. Question about the Picture of Venus and a Satyre. Curiositie: Horse and Dogges in request.

§. 8. The New-yeeres Feast: Suspicions of the English: Trade of Dabul, distaste of the Persian, English men of warre in the Indian Seas. 397

The Great Mogoll gracious to the English. English bravado cause of suspition: Dabull. Homely usage to the Persian Embassador. Kings birth-day rites: wealthy weighing. Course for debts. Mercators Maps given and returned. The Princes behaviour to Sir Thomas Roe.

§. 9. Asaph Chan seeketh to further us for hope of gaine, so also Normahal: Master Steeles arrivall: Danger to the publike, by private trade: Stirres about a Fort. . 413

Gaine is god of the godlesse. Effect of novelties: tedious progresse; projects questioned. Severall advices to the Merchants of England. The English suspected by the Great Mogoll. Divers passages betweene the Mogol and Sir Thomas Roe. Certaine English accused of poysoning.

§. 10. The Map and description of the severall Kingdomes and Provinces subject to the Great Mogoll Sha Selim Gehangier, with the principall Cities and Rivers, the scituation and borders, and extent in length and breadth. Letters of the Mogoll to His Majestie, and of S. T. Roe to divers his honorable friends in England. 430

A description of the Kingdomes and Provinces subject to the Mogoll, Cities and scituation. The King of Englands Letter to the Mogoll. The large Territories of the great Mogoll. Indus in ordinary Maps falsely placed. A Letter concerning the State of the

The Contents of the Chapters—*Continued.*

PAGE

Great Mogoll. Letters of Sir Thomas Roe from the Mogolls Court. Heathen Religions irreligious: Christian Temple, not Church. Mogoll Author of a new Sect. Jesuites Harvest. Miracles disclaymed by Jesuites. Wonder of an Ape. Affaires of the Turkes and Persians. The Portugall overthrowne: Fire their ship. Sir T. Roes Letter. Warre and Traffique incompatible. Sir Thomas Roes Letter to the East-India Companie.

CHAP. XVII.

A Letter of Master Thomas Coryat, which travelled by Land from Jerusalem to the Court of the Great Mogoll, written to Master L. Whitaker. To which are added pieces of two other. 469

M. Thomas Coryats letters from the great Mogols Court. Coryats travell from Lahor to the great Mogols Court. Coryats Relation of the Great Mogols Court. Coryats thrift, disaster, and magnificall stile. Coryats Letters to his friends in England. Coryats salutations to his severall friends. Master Thomas Coryats Oration to the Great Mogol. Master Thomas Coryats Letters to England, from Agra. Divers Observations of Master Thomas Coryat. Mogols severitie, charitie, tryall of Converts. The Moores inconstancie justly punished.

Certaine observations written by Thomas Coryat. . . 488

The Contents of the Chapters and Paragraphs in the fift Booke of the First part of Purchas his Pilgrimes.

CHAP. I.

Memorialls taken out of the Journall of Roger Hawes, touching the proceedings of the Factorie at Cranganor under the Great Samorine. 495

Covenants betwixt English and the King of Calecut. Strange way to get debts: Nayros and Portugalls.

THE TABLE

The Contents of the Chapters—*Continued.* PAGE

CHAP. II.

Notes taken out of the Journall of Alexander Childe, from England to Surat, and thence to Jasques in Persia, and of the fight by the way with the Portugals, in which Generall Joseph was slaine. . . . 502

The Voyage to Jasques. 504

Fight with a Portugall Carricke: Her firing.

CHAP. III.

A Letter of Master Thomas Spurway Merchant, touching the wrongs done at Banda to the English by the Hollanders. Written in a Letter to the Companie. . 508

Hollanders saved by the English at Moccasor. The Hollanders bravado's against the English. The English the first Christians in the Road of Polaroone. Places surrendered to his Majestie. The Swan basely taken. Hollanders plot to fire the Defence. Treacherie betrayeth her. Pledges sent to the English. A parley. False accusations. Heathens more kind then Hollanders, to the English. A counterfeit Hollander imprisoned: his escape. Hollanders brags to the English. Description of Polaroone. The Dutch quarrell with the English. Polaway a Paradise.

CHAP. IIII.

Relations and Remembrances, taken out of a large Journall of a Voyage, set forth by the East Indian Societie, wherein were employed, the James, the Anne, the New-yeeres Gift, the Bull, & the Bee; written by John Hatch, Master of the Bee, and after in the New-yeeres Gift; and lastly, came home in the James. 535

Strange change of Water. A Portugall ship taken. A Sea fight betwixt the English and Dutch. Thomas sunke. Blacke Lion burnt. A Sea fight. A peace concluded betwixt the English and Dutch.

THE TABLE

The Contents of the Chapters—*Continued.*

PAGE

CHAP. V.

The Voyage of the Anne Royall from Surat to Moha, in the Red Sea, for setling an English Trade in those parts: Anno Dom. 1618. extracted out of Master Edward Heynes his Journall, written thereof. The Copies of divers Firmans. 547

English trade begunne to be setled at Moha. The entertainment of the English by Mahomet Aga. Free Trade granted at Mocha to the English. Turkish treacherie to Sir H. Middleton. Turkish Firmans, and entertainment to the English. The English entertained by the Captaine of Surat. The English well entertayned by the Surat Captaine. Likelihood of venting English cloth at Sinan.

CHAP. VI.

Briefe Notes of two Voyages of Master Martin Pring into the East Indies; the first with Captaine Nicholas Downton, Generall of foure ships, in which he went Master in the New-yeeres Gift Admirall. . . . 567

Crosse lost at Soldania. Current from Saint Helena.

ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

Sir Thomas Roe, ... 320

A Description of East India conteyning th' Empire of the Great Mogoll, ... 432

The Description of the Great Mogols Seale, . 468

THE FOURTH VOLUME

OF

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Continuing the Navigations and Voyages of Englishmen to the Arabian, Persian and Indian Shoares, Continents and Ilands; with Observations of the Worthy Ambassage of Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, and English Voyages to the Ilands of and beyond the Indies.

Chap. IIII. [I. iv. 414.]

Observations of William Finch, Merchant, taken out of his large Journall.

§. I.

Remembrances touching Sierra Leona, in August 1607. the Bay, Countrey, Inhabitants, Rites, Fruits and Commodities.

THe Iland which we fell with, lyeth some ten leagues to the South of the Bay, the latitude is eight degrees, it hath no inhabitants, nor did I learne the name. It hath some Plantans, and by report good watering and wooding for ships. Some league from the shoare is a dangerous breach of rocke, scarcely at high water to bee discerned. The Bay of Sierra Leona is about three leagues in breadth. On the South is high land, full of trees even to the Sea-side, having divers Coves, in which wee caught plentie and varietie of fish. On the further side of the fourth Cove is the watering place, of excellent water continually running: at which place, on the rockes, we found the names of divers English men which had bin there; amongst the rest, of Sir Francis Drake, which had bin there seven and twentie yeeres before, Thomas Candish,

This should have followed next after Master Hawkins, with whom he went into the Mogolls Countrey, if I then had had it. But better a good dish, though not in duest place of service, then not at all: neither is he altogether borne out of due time, which comes in due place (whiles we are yet in India) and in time also before the Mogoll affaires received any later accesse or better maturitie: and for that circumstance failing thou shalt find it supplied in substance, with more accurate observations of Men, Beasts, Plants, Cities, Deserts, Castles, Buildings, Regions, Religions, then almost any other, as also of Waies, Wares, Warres.

Captaine Lister, with others. About the middest of the Bay, right from the third Cove lyeth a sand, neere about which, is not above two or three fathome; in most places else eight or ten close to the shoare. It floweth East South-east, and higheth sixe or eight foote, a strong tide of ebbe; the latitude eight degrees and a halfe North.

The King keepeth his residence in the bottome of the Bay, and is called by the Moores, Borea, or Captaine, Caran, caran, caran. Hee hath other pettie Kings under him, whereof one, called Captaine Pinto, a wretched old man, dwelleth at a Towne within the second Cove: and on the other side the Bay, Captaine Boloone. Boreas Dominions stretch fortie leagues into the land; he hath tribute of Cotton-cloath, Elephants teeth and gold: he hath power to sell his people for slaves, (which he proffered unto us) and some of them are by Portugall Priests and Jesuits made Christians, and have a Chappell, wherein are written in a table, such dayes as they are to observe holy. The King, with some about him, are decently cloathed in Jackets and Breeches, and some with hats, but the common sort go naked, save that with a Cotten girdle about their waste, they cover their privities; the women cover theirs with a Cotton-cloath, tacked about their middles and hanging to the knees, wrapped round about them; the children goe starke naked. They are all, both men and women, raced and pinked on all parts of their bodies very curiously, having their teeth also filed betwixt, and made very sharpe. They pull off all the haire growing on their eye-lids. Their beards are short, crispe, blacke, and the haire of their heads they cut into allyes and crosse pathes; others weare it jagged in tufts, others in other foolish formes; but the women shave all close to the flesh.

Christianitie at Sierra Leona.

Their apparell.

They are also Gallants and fashion-mongers.

Townes and Houses.

Their Townes consist of thirtie or fortie houses, all clustered together (yet each hath his own) covered with reed and enclosed with mud-walls, like our hovels or hog-sties in England, having at the entrance a matte in stead

of a doore, locked and bolted, not fearing robbery, where the household holds correspondence to the house. In stead of a carved bed-sted, they have billets of wood laid overthwart, upon which, in stead of a fether-bed, they spread a matte or two. Some are so proud, that they have their (Arras) hangings also of mattes about the walles, yet most about their beds betwixt them and the wall. Their other furniture, is two or three pots of earth to keepe water in, and to boyle such meate as they can get, a gourd or two to fetch Palme-wine, and a halfe gourd for his quaffing cup, earthen dishes for their loblolly, a basket or two by the walles for his Maria to gather cockles, with a snap-sacke for himselfe made of rindes of trees to carry his provant, with his Tobacco and Pipe, and thus is their house furnished. When they goe abroad each weareth one of those snap-sackes on his shoulder, wherein he carrieth his provision and Tobacco (which in no wise must be long from his mouth) with his do-little sword by his side, made by themselves of such iron as is brought them; having also his bow and quiver full of poysoned arrowes, pointed with iron in forme of a Snakes-sting, or else a case of Javelins or Darts, pointed with iron of a good breadth and sharpe; and sometime with both. They are bigge and well set men, strong and couragious, of a civill-heathen disposition. They keepe themselves for the most part unto their owne wives, of whom they are not a little jealous. I could not learne their Religion what it is: they have some Images, yet know there is a God above: for when wee asked them of their woodden Puppets, they would lift up their hands to heaven; more they knew not: but howsoever it comes to passe, their children are all circumcised. They are very just and true, and theft is punished with present death. When any dieth, a little thatched shed is set over his funerall hearse, under which in earthen pots they continually keepe fresh water, and in earthen platters set divers meates, sticking about them some three or foure bones.

Their household-stuffe and riches.

Their Armes.

Their feature and conditions.

Circumcision.

[I. iv. 415.] *Funerall.*

To the South of the Bay, some fortie or fiftie leagues distant within the Countrey inhabiteth a very fierce people which are man-eaters, which sometime infest them. *Their food.* The Moores of Sierra Leona feed on Rice, of which they have no great quantitie, sowing only what is needfull, in places neare to their houses, where they have burnt up the wood, not having otherwise so much free ground: they sow also another little seed which they call Pene, of which they make bread, not much unlike to Winter-savory seed. They have some few hennes about their houses, but no other flesh, except sometime they get a Fawne of the wilde Deere, running in the Mountaines (not many) or some fowle. They feed also upon Herbs, Cockles, Oysters, whereof they have great store growing on the rockes and trees by the sea-side, but of a flash taste. *Oysters on trees.* They take much good fish with waves and other devices. They feed also much on rootes, and plant about their houses many Plantan-trees, Gourds, Potatoes, Pompions, and Guinne-Pepper. But Tobacco is planted about every mans house, which seemeth halfe their food: *Tobacco-pipes.* the boll of their Tobacco-pipe is very large, and stands right upward, made of clay well burnt in the fire. In the lower end thereof they thrust in a small hollow cane, a foot and halfe long, thorow which they sucke it, both men and women drinking the most part down, each man carrying in his snap-sack a small purse (called Tuffio) full of Tobacco, and his Pipe. The women doe the like in their wrappers, carrying the Pipe in their hands. Unto their Tobacco they adde nothing but rather take from it: for I have seene them strayning forth the juyce of the leaves, being greene and fresh, before they cut and drie it (making signes that otherwise it would make them drunke) then doe they shread it small, and drie it on a sherd upon the coles. *Little flesh.* We beheld in a certaine Iland neare (and no where else) halfe a dozen of Goats, but could not get a taile of one all our time.

Fruits. They have innumerable sorts of fruits, growing wilde

in their woods; whole woods of Limmon trees, especially a little on this side the watering place neare the Towne, and some few Orenge trees. Their drinke is for the most part water; yet the men devour much Palmito wine, which they call Moy, giving little or none to the women. It is strange to behold their manner of climbing these trees, which have neither boughes nor branches, save only on the top, being also of great height and bignesse: with a withe he graspeth his body and the tree together, and so bearing backe his body, and lifting up his withe before him, he foots it up with such speed and certaintie, comming downe againe also so orderly, bringing his gourd full of wine on his arme that it was admirable. They have divers sorts of Plummes, one like a wheaten Plumme, wholesome and savoury: a blacke one also, as bigge as a Horse-plumme, much esteemed, having an aromaticke savour: Mansamillias like to a wheaten Plumme, very dangerous, as are likewise the boughes of the tree, full of sappe, perillous to the sight, if it should happely flye in. They have Beninganions about as bigge as a Limmon, reddish on the rinde, very wholesome: another fruit called Beguill, as bigge as an apple, with a rough knottie skinne, which being pared, it eateth like a Strawberry, being like it also in colour and graine, of which wee did eate many: there is store of wilde grapes in the woods, of a wooddie and bitterish taste. They eat the nuts roasted which fall from the Palmito tree: they use small store of Pepper and graines, this in Surgerie, that in Cookery. They have certaine fruits growing sixe or eight together on a bunch, each as long and bigge as a mans finger, of a browne yellowish colour, and somewhat downie, containing within the rinde a certaine pulpie substance of pleasant taste; I know not how wholesome. There grow in the woods trees like Beeches, bearing fruits like Beans, of which I observed three kinds: one great and tall, bearing a cod like a Beane-cod, which hath in it foure or five square Beanes,

Woods of Limmons.

Palmito wine.

Plummes.

Beane trees of venomous nature, wherewith they poyson their arrowes.

almost like the seed of a Tamarinde, enclosed with a hard pill like a shell, within which is a yellow kirnell, a dangerous poison used by the Negros, to envenome their arrowes; they call the fruit Ogon. The second is lesse, his cod crooked byas-wise, of a thicke rinde, sixe or seven inches in the bending, and halfe so much in breadth, containing five large beanes of an inch long. The third is large, hath short leaves like the former, the fruit much bigger, on a strong wooddie stalke, thicke and massie, a little indented on the sides, nine inches long, and five broad: within which are five long beanes, larger then the other, called by them Quenda, which they affirme also to be dangerous.

Carob trees.

Cola, a fruite of much esteeme.

I saw Trees like Willowes, bearing fruits like Pease-cods. They have a fruit called Gola, which growes up further in the Countrey, inclosed in a shell; it is hard, reddish, bitter, about the bignesse of a Wal-nut, with divers corners and angles: this fruit they much set by, chewing it with the rinde of a certaine Tree, then giving it to the next, and he having chewed it to the next, so keeping it a long while (but swallowing none of the substance) before they cast it away, to which they attribute great vertue for the teeth and gummes, these Negros being usually as well toothed as Horses. This fruit passeth also amongst them for monie, this happie-haplesse-people knowing none other. They plant also Potatoes, and higher within Land, Cotton, called Innumma, whereof with a Spindle they make a good Threed, and weave it artificially, making cloth thereof a quarter broad, to make coverings for their members, and being sewed together, Jackets and Breeches. They have another Wood called Cambe, wherewith they dye their Purses and Mats red. The Limon Tree much resembleth a Crab-Tree, and is exceeding full of prickles, carrying a slender leafe like a Willow, abounding with fruit as our Crab-trees, beginning to ripen in August, and continuing on the Trees till October; whither they beare twice a yeere I know not.

Potatoes.

Cotton.

Cambe, a wood to dye Red.

[I. iv. 416.]

Limon Tree.

The Tree which beareth Plantans is of a reasonable height, the bodie about the bignesse of a mans thigh, and seemeth to be an annuall Plant, and in my judgement might better bee accounted amongst Reedes then Trees; the bodie not beeing of wooddie substance, compact of many leaves, wrapped close one upon another in manner of an Artichoke stalk, adorned with leaves in stead of boughes from the very ground, which are for the most part about two ells long, and some ell broad, having a very large rib in the middle thereof. The fruit is a bunch of ten or twelve Plantans, each a span long, and almost as thicke as a mans wrist, some-what crooked or bending inwards, growing on a leavie stalke on the mids of the Plant, at the first greene, growing yellow as they ripen, and tender: the rinde being stripped off, the substance within is also yellowish, pleasant in taste. Beneath the fruit on the same stalke hangs downe a leavie tuft, sharpe-pointed, which seemeth to have beene the flowre, which I know not whether it hath any seed or no. They call this fruit Bannanas, and have reasonable plentie: they are ripe in September and October: we carryed some to Sea greene, which lay sixe weekes in ripening. *Plantan Trees or Reeds.* *Bannanas.*

Guinny Pepper is not plentifull, it groweth in the Woods wilde, a small plant like Privet, or Pricke-wood, adorned with little slender leaves, bearing a small fruit like unto our Barberie in forme and colour, greene at first, turning as it ripeneth, red; but not growing in bunches as Barberies, but heere and there two or three together about the stalke: they call it Bangue. Of their Pene whence they make their bread is spoken, a small slender herbe like grasse, the stalke full of Seed, not inclosed with any huske; the same I thinke which the Turkes call Cuscus, the Portugals Yfunde. *Guinny Pepper.* *Millet or Panike.*

The Palmito Tree is strait, high, knottie (only in the rinde) the wood of a soft substance without boughes, except in the top, those also seeming rather Reeds then boughes, being all pithie within, inclosed with a hard *Palmito Tree.*

rinde: the leafe long and slender in manner of Sword grasse, or the flagge of Calamus: the boughes are from the bodie of the Tree some yard or better in length, beset on both sides with sharpe and strong prickles, standing like the teeth of a Saw, but longer. It beareth a small fruit like to an Indian Nut, as bigge as a Chesnut, inclosed in a hard shell, and streaked with threeds on the out-sides, contayning a kernell of a hard hornie substance without taste. The people eate them rosted, and call the Tree Tobell, and the fruit Bell. The manner of extracting the Wine is this: they cut off one of the branches within some spanne of the head, a little opening the place by incision, and thereto make fast the mouth of a guord, which in foure and twentie houres will be filled with a cleere whitish water, distilling from the Tree of good rellish and strong, wherewith the people will be drunke.

Oyster Trees. There grow likewise within the Bayes great store of Oysters on Trees, resembling Willowes in forme, but the leafe broad and of thicknesse like Leather, bearing small knops like those of the Cypresse. From this Tree hang downe many branches, (each about the bignesse of a good walking sticke) into the water, smooth, lithe, pithy within, over-flowne with the tyde, and hanging as thick of Oysters as they can sticke together, being the only fruit the Tree beareth, begotten thereof, as it seemeth, by the Salt-water.

Fishes. Fishes they have many of ordinary kind, and some which seemed to us extraordinarie: Mullets, Raies, Thorne-backes, Old-wives with beetle Browes, Fishes like to Pikes, Gar-fishes, Cavallios (like Mackerell) Sword-fishes with snowts a yard long, toothed on both sides like the teeth of a Saw, Sharkes, Dog-fishes; Sharkers, like a Sharke, but having a snowt flat and broad like a Shovell; Shoomakers, having on each side the mouth pendants like Barbels, and grunting like Hogges, &c. We catched in an houre sixe thousand of a kind, like Bleakes.

Of Fowles are Pellicans, white, as bigge as Swannes, with a large and long bill; Hearnes, Curlews, Boobies, Oxe-eyes, with divers strange kindes of water-fowles. On Land are great numbers of gray Parrets, as also store of Guinny Hennes, which are very hurtfull to their Rice. This is a beautifull Fowle, about the bignesse of a Phesant, with parti-coloured feathers. I saw also among the Negros many Porcupine Quils, with other strange Fowles in the Woods, whereof we knew not the names. There are store of Monkeyes leaping to and fro the Trees, Lions, Tygres, Ounces on the Mountaines; heere are Elephants but no store; wee saw but three, for they are further within Land. The Negros told us of a strange beast (which the Interpreter called a Carbuncle) oft seene, yet only by night, having a stone in his fore-head, incredibly shining and giving him light to feed, attentive to the least noyse, which he no sooner heareth, but he presently covereth the same with a filme or skinne, given him as a naturall covering, that his splendor betray him not. The Commodities here are few, but are further up, viz. Gold and Elephants teeth, which at certaine times of the yeare, the Portugals get of them for Rice, Salt, Beads, Bels, Garlicke, French Bottles, Copper Kettles; low-prized Knives, Hats, Linnen checkered like Barbers Aprons, Lattin Basons, edge-tooles, Iron barres, and sundry specious trifles, but for your Toyes they will not give Gold in this place but Victuals.

Fowles.

Wild beasts.

Carbuncle, a beast strange, if true.

This diligent Observer hath taken liked panes touching Soldania, but because wee touch there often, and have alreadie given many Relations, we will double the Cape, and take a little view with him of Cape Saint Augustine. [I. iv. 417.]

[§. II.

§. II.

Of Saint Augustine and Socotora, like Observations, with other notes taken out of his Journall.

S. Augustine. THis place is rather a Bay then Cape or Point, not having any land, much more bearing out then the rest, it lyeth in twentie three degrees, thirtie eight minutes of South latitude, hath variation fifteene degrees fortie minutes, having on either side breaches, which make it easie to be discerned, lying some league from the Mayne West South-west. Right from the Bay is deepe water to Sea-ward, but when you are entred, *Shelvy ground.* the ground is so shelvie, that you shall have one Anchor aground on the North in twentie two, and your other in above sixtie fathomes, and in some places more inward, not two foot at a low water, and over that, deepe againe neere the shore, yet all soft Ozie ground. The land within a mile or two is high, stonie, barren, full of small *Two rivers.* Woods. In the bottome of the Bay runne two Rivers, the Land about them sunken, sandie Land: forth these Rivers, came so strong a fresh, that the floud never stils them, although it floweth at least two fathomes, wherewith the water is thicke and muddie. Great store of Canes come downe, of which wee had seene some store, twentie or thirtie leagues off at Sea. It lyeth open to *The fishes.* a North-west wind, we caught heere Smelts of a foot long, and Shrimps of ten inches. The best fishing is on the sandie shoare of the low Land, neere which the Natives catch many with strong Nets. A ledge of Rockes trending alongst, breakes off the force of the Sea. Within the Woods, we found on the low Land, infinite numbers of water Melons, which yeelded good refreshing: the Rivers nothing, save hurt to one by an Allegator, the water not also very good, but wooding plentie.

The place seemeth not very populous. We saw not

at any time above twentie together: the men are comely, lustie, tall and wel-set, of a tawnie colour, wearing no apparel, but a Girdle made of rindes of Trees to cover their privities: the haire on their beards blacke, and reasonable long; on their heads likewise, which they pleate and frizzle very curiously, neither have they bad smels on their bodies. Behind on their Girdles are many Trinkets, fastned with Allegators teeth, some hollow to carrie Tallow to keepe their Darts bright, which are their chiefe Weapons (of which each carries a small bundle) and a faire Lance artificially headed with Iron, and kept as bright as Silver. Their Darts are made dangerously with holes on each side backe-ward. They carry about them certaine Knives, like Butchers Knives, artificially made. They therefore regard no Iron, nor will barter for any thing but Silver, for which we bought a sheepe for twelve pence, a Cow for three shillings and sixe pence, they asked Beads into the bargaine, for which yet alone they would give nothing, save a little Milke brought downe in gourds, excellent sweet and good.

The people.
Near nakedness.
Weapons.

Their Cattel have great bunches on their fore shoulders, like a Sugar-loafe in fashion and quantitie, which is a grislie substance, and good meat; their beefe not loose, like that of Soldania, but fast and good, little differing from English; as also their sheep, which have tayles weighing twenty eight pounds a piece, therefore usually cut off from the Ewes, lest it should hinder their breeding. In the woods neere about the River, is great store of beasts, as big as Munkies, ash-coloured, with a small head, long taile like a Fox, garled with white and blacke, the furre very fine. Wee killed some with Peeces, not being able to take them alive. There are Bats as big bodied almost as Conies, headed like a Foxe, with a hairie furre in other things like Bats. We killed one, whose wings extended an ell in length: their cry is shrill and loud. Here are Hernes plentie, white, blacke, blew, and divers mixed colours; many bastard Hawkes: birds of infinite varietie of colour, having for the most part crests on

Their cattell.
Strange beasts.
Capt. Keeling in his Journall cals it the Beautiful beast.
Bats huge.
Fowles.

their heads, like Peacocks. There are store of Lizards and Chamelions, which agree to Plinies description; onely it is airie, that they live of aire without other meat: for having kept one aboord but a day, we might perceive him to hunt for flies, in a very strange manner. Having espied her setting, he suddenly shootes a thing forth of his mouth (perhaps his tongue) lothsome to behold, the fashion almost like a Bird-bolt, wherewith he takes and eates them, with such speed, that a man can scarsly discerne what he doth; even in the twinkling of an eie.

Chamelions, they eat flies.

In the woods on the hils are many great Spiders, which spin their webs from tree to tree, it being very excellent strong silke of a yellow colour, as if it were died by art. I found also here great Wormes, in manner of our Grubs, with many legges, which are enclosed within a double cod of white silke, hanging on the trees.

Spiders silke weavers.

There groweth great store of herbe Aloes, and also Tamerind trees by the waters side. Here was also store of a very strange Plant, which I deeme a wild Coco-nut seldome growing to the height of a tree, of a shrubby nature, with many long prickled stalkes, of some two yards long. At the ende of each foot-stalke, standeth a leafe about the bignesse of a great Cabbage leafe, snipt round halfe the leafe, like sword grasse. From the tops thereof amongst the leaves, come forth many woodie branches, as thicke set commonly with fruit as they can stand, one by another (I have seen fortie together clustering on one branch) about the bignesse of a great Katherine peare, and like it in colour being ripe, at the first greenish, fashioned almost like a sheepes bell, with a rinde bearing forth neere the head, flat at the top, and smooth; within which rinde is contained a hard substance, almost like the Coco-nut-shell, in which is included a round white kernell of a hard gristly substance, yet to be eaten: and within that (for it is hollow) is about a spoonefull of pleasant sweet water and coole, like milke, or that rather of the Coco-nut.

Strange trees.

[I. iv. 418.]

Here groweth also another as big as a Peare tree

thicke set with boughes and leaves, like those of the Bay-tree, bearing a great foot-ball fruit (such is the round forme) sticking to a strong stalke, divided by certaine seames into foure quarters. The rind of it beeing cut greene, yeelds a clammie substance, savouring like Turpentine. The rind is very thicke, with which I found divers parcels packed together, almost like the substance that groweth on trees, but harder, rather like a piece of browne woody Agarike, being thirteene in number, couched neatly together, within each of which is contained another great kernell of a darkish white colour, hard, bitter, and unpleasant of tast.

Socotora. In Socotora, the Guzerats and English build them houses for the time of their stay, sleight with stones (the whole Iland seemeth nothing else) and pieces of wood laid overthwart, covered with Reed and Date branches to keepe out the Sunne, for raine in that time they feare not. About the head of the River, and a mile further into the land, is a pleasant Valley replenished with Date-trees. *Dibnee.* On the East side is Dibnee, a little Towne, little inhabited, except in their harvest of Dates. *Strange winds.* In this Valley the wind bloweth with such violence in June and July, that it is strange; yet within a flight shot off towards the Town of Delisha, over against the road, you shal not have a breath of wind. About an hundred yeers since, this Iland was conquered by the King of Caixem (or Cushem, as the Arabs pronounce it) a King of no great force, able to make two or three thousand souldiors: he hath this, and the two Irmanas, and Abba del curia subject to him. The two Irmanas, or two Brethren, are stonie, small, barren, having nothing but Turtles or Tortoises, not inhabited. Abba de la curia is large, hath store of Goates, and some fresh water, not above three or foure inhabitants, as we were certified. The Kings sonne Amor Benzaid resideth at Socotora, which he ruleth during his fathers pleasure. They have trade to the Iles of Comoro, and to Melinde, for which he hath heere two good Frigats, wherewith they fetch

The King of Cushem in Arabia hath here foure Iles.

Irmanas two.

Abba del curia.

Socotora.

Rice and Melo from the maine, which is their chiefe food.

The Arabs there. The Arabians here are in manner slaves to the Snakee or Prince, are all souldiours, and attend on him when he *Their armes.* commands; some of them are shot. Moreover, every of them weares a kind of wood-knife, or crooked dagger on their left side, without which they dare not bee seene abroad. They have also thin, broad, painted Targets. Their dagger handles and chapes, the better sort set forth with Silver, the other with Red Latten. They are *Persons.* tawney, industrious, civill in gesture: the women are some of them reasonable white, much like to a Sunburnned countrey maid in England. The men are of stature like ours, well proportioned in their limmes, wear- *Apparell.* ing their haire most of them long, binding a cloth or Turbant about the same like the Turkes, and a cloath wrapped about their middles, which hangeth downe to their knees; not wearing usually other apparell, except sometimes a paire of sandals on their feet, fastened with thongs; carrying their sword naked on their shoulders, or hanging from the shoulder in the sheath by a strap, or else on their arme; and thus they march up and downe. They love Tobacco, but are loth to give any thing for it.

Divers of them fling a Pintado or other cloth in manner of an Irish mantle over their shoulders, and others make them shirts and surplesses of white Calico: some weare a paire of linnen breeches under, like the *Their women.* Guzerates. But their women goe altogether in these smockes hanging downe to the ground, of red, blew, or for the most part of a light black colour, being died Calicoes: and over their heads they put a cloth, with which (when they lust) they hide their faces, making very dainty to be seene, yet are scarsly honest. And though the men be very poore, and have but to defend necessitie, *Galantry.* yet their women (whereof some keepe foure, five, or sixe, as many as they are able) are so laden with Silver, and some also with some Gold, that I have seene one

not of the best, which hath had in each eare at least a dozen of great Silver rings, almost like Curtaine rings, with as many smaller hanging in them: two Carkanets or chaines of silver about her necke, and one of Gold bosses; about her wrists, tenne or twelve Manillias of Silver, each as big as ones little finger, but hollow, one about another, on one arme: almost every finger laden with rings, and the small of her legs with silver rings like horselockes. And thus adorned, they cannot stirre, but they make a noise like Morris-dauncers. They are kept closely by their jealous husbands. They delight in Christall, Amber, or Currall beads, but have little to buy them, but will either beg them, or make a swap with you in private. The young children (except of a few of better sort) go naked till they come to some age. They are married at tenne, or twelve yeares olde. They call themselves Musselmen, that is, Catholikes, or true beleevers, according to their false faithlesse faith of Mahomet: yea they alledge this reason for themselves (let Jesuite-Catholikes acknowledge their owne) the great multitude of them, and the small number of us, all the world, say they, being of our Religion, and but a handfull of yours. They eate their meat on a Mat spread on the ground, but neither use Spoones nor Knives (hands are the elder) in unmannerly manner: they drinke usually water, yet in secret can be content to be drunke with wine. They make in the time of yeare some wine of Dates, pleasant and strong.

Their children.

Popish argument of faith. [I. iv. 419.]

Their diet.

Thus much for the Conquerours. They call the conquered Caffars (misbeleevers, or if you will heretikes) and subject them to great slavery, insomuch that some remaine in the Mountaines, living in a wild liberty like beasts, the other not suffered to have any weapons. They are well shaped, more swart then the Arabs, weare nothing on their heads, weare their haire long, I suppose never cut, staring as if they were frighted. About their middles they weare a cloath wrapped about them, made of Goats haire, or course wooll, woven by themselves, on

The Native Socotorans.

their feet slight sandals. Their women goe all in smocks of coloured Calico, or course cloth hanging to the ground; on their heads usually nothing: in imitation of the Arabs, have Manillias of earth painted or of yron, about their armes and legs, beads in stead of Karkanets, painting their faces with yellow and blacke spots, loathsome to behold. For Religion, they are meere Heathen all of them, as the Arabians certified us, observing no rites of Marriage, but use their women in common. Their naturall language is much different from the Arabique, which yet the most learne. They live very miserably, and many of them are famished with hunger. Flesh they are not permitted to kill, so that they are forced to live of fish which they take at Sea, and by their share of Dates, not having wherewith to buy Rice, except with the use of their womens bodies, to the Guzerates, while they remaine there. Such as have the keeping of the Cattell, maintaine themselves with the milke.

Gallant fashions.

Religion and life, most miserable if the Arabs their enemies be to bee credited.

Their merchandise.

I could learne of no Merchandise the Iland yeeldeth, but Aloes, Sanguis Draconis, and Dates, and as they say, on the shoare of Aba del curia, blacke Ambergreese. Of Aloes, I suppose they could make yearely more then Christendome can spend, the herbe growing in great abundance, being no other then Semper vivum, in all things agreeing to that description of Dioscorides, in seed, stalke, &c. It is yet all of a red pricklie sort, and much chamfered in the leaves, so full of a rosin-juyce, that it is ready to breake with it. The chiefe time to make it, is when the winds blowe Northerly, that is, about September, and that after the fall of some raine, which being then gathered, they cut in small pieces, and cast into a pit made in the ground, well cleansed from filth and paved: there it lieth to ferment in the heat of the Sunne, whereby it floweth forth. Thence they take and put it in skinnes, which they hang up in the wind to dry, where it becommeth hard. They sold us for twentie Rials a Quintall, which is an hundred and three pound English: but we were after told, that they sold to others for twelve, which

Aloes or semper-vivum, the time and making thereof.

A hundred & three, or a hundred and two pound, five ounces and a halfe.

considering the abundance and easie making, may be credible. Their Date trees beare fruit twice a yeare; one harvest was in July whiles we were there. It is a principall part of their sustenance, pleasant in tast: and when they are through-ripe, are laid on a heap upon a skin lying sloping, whence distilleth a liquor, received in earthen pots placed in the earth, and is their Date-wine, reserved for drinke, wherewith they will also be drunke. Those dates beeing thus drained, they take out their stones, and pack them hard into a skinne, which will so keepe long. Another meanes to preserve them, is by cutting before they are through ripe, and taking out their stone, to dry them: these are the best of all, and eate as if they were canded: whole they will not keepe. In harvest time in every Valley where these trees grow, the King hath a Deputy which seeth all gathered, and brought to a certaine place (none daring to touch a Date upon paine of death without order, or severe punishment) where he divideth them in three equall parts; one for the King, one for the Arabs, and the third for the Caffars: which are after distributed severally, but not alike to each.

Dates two harvests.

Wine of Dates.

Harvest and division.

This Iland hath store of Civet cats, which the Caffars take in the Mountaines with traps, and sell them for twelve pence a piece to such as will buy them. Flesh is deare, tenne Rials of eight a Cow, one Goat, or two sheepe for a Rial of eight; their cattell good and fast flesh, like English beefe: their Goats large and good flesh, their sheep small, like our English sheepe, bearing course wooll: of Goats and Sheep they have great abundance. They make very good butter, but it is always soft like Creame, at foure pence or sixe pence a pound, Goats milke at three pence a quart, store of Hennes, but five for a Riall of eight, or twelve pence a piece. In the whole Iland are not above one or two Horses, very small of the Arabian breed, and some Camels. At Delisha they take much good fish, Lobsters and others. On the Strand groweth cotton Plants, but few: there groweth also amongst the stones a shrubby Plant, with thicke, round,

Civit Cats.

Cattell and victuals.

greene leaves, as big as a shilling, with a fruit like Capers (of which it is a kind) called Eshac, eaten in Sallets. Orenges there are few and deare, exceeding sweet Basil: and on the shoare many faire shels are found, with cuttle bones, and peerle Oystershels, which the people affirme to drive thither: for there are none found, yet shels abundant.

Eshac a kind of Capers.

They are beggers, buy what they can, beg what they may, yet give faire usage. Their best intertainement is a China dish of Coho, a blacke bitterish drinke, made of a berry like a Bay berry, brought from Mecca, supped off hot, good for the head and stomacke. And thus much for his discourses of these places, to which I thought good to adde these notes taken out of his Journall.

Coho.

Other notes and remembrances.

November the twenty ninth, 1607. in thirty foure degrees, we saw a monstrous overgrowne Whale comming up close under our sterne, and spouting water in great quantitie; having much trash growne about his head which we judged to be Limpets, and other Shel-fish. At his going downe he turned up his taile, which we deemed neere as broad as our after Deck, estimating him to be at the least one hundred tunnes in weight.

[I. iv. 420.]

A huge Whale.

In Socotora at our first landing, the people having received before injurious dealings from the Portugals, (which, they said, had carried some of them away) were all fledde from us for feare to the Mountaines. Their Towne which they had left is built of stone houses covered with Rafts and Palme-branches, with artificiall doores and woodden lockes. Neere the Sea side stands their Church enclosed with a wall in manner of a Church-yard; within it a couple of Crosses and an Altar, with Frankinsence, Wood and Gumme. They said (when we came to speech) that this was not Socotora but Abba del Curia, which wee after found false, wee walked up two or three mile, not seeing so much as a sprig of greene grasse, but many Date trees, and one other tree very strange, about the height of a man, or little better, great at the roote, and lesse and lesse toward the top where it ended almost piked; the trunke smooth, not

Barrennesse.

A strange tree.

covered with barke, casting forth in the top some branches of a Cubite long void of leaves, bringing forth Reddish flowres, which after change into a fruit first greene, in forme and bignesse not unlike to the Date: within which is contayned many small whitish kernels, bitter, as are also the branches, full of raisinous substance. Whether this be the Mirrhe I leave to better judgements. They also saw another * Church with a Crosse on the top of it.

** Of these Churches and of this whole Iland, See John d'Castro. For they were in times past Christians, which (as all other not of their Faith) the Mahometans call Caffars: but rude and brutish, the easier pray to these Arabs.*

§. III.

Occurents in India touching the English, Dutch, Portugals, and the Mogols dealing with the English.

THe eight and twentieth of August, 1608. Captaine Hawkins with the Merchants and certaine others landed at Surat, where the Captaine was received in a Coach, and carryed before the Dawne. Wee had poore lodging alloted us, the Porters lodge of the Custome house: whither the next morning came the Customers who searched & tumbled our Trunkes to our great dislike, which had yet brought ashore only necessaries. We were invited to Dinner to a Merchant where wee had great cheere: but in the midst of our Banquet sowre sawce, for hee was the man that had sustayned almost all the losse in a ship that Sir Edward Michelborne tooke. The Captaine also of that ship dined with us. Which when it was there told us, the Captaine answered that hee never heard of such a matter, and rather judged it doñe by Flemmings: but they said, that they knew certainely that they were English, deploring their hard fortunes, and affirming that there were Theeves in all Countries: nor would they impute that fault to honest Merchants. This speech somewhat revived us. The day after, Mede Colee the Captaine of that ship aforesaid invited us to Supper.

Surat.

Hee never cals C. Hawkins, Lord Embassador, but C. Hawkins. For he, Master Canning and Master Edwards had no such Commission, but only Letters from his Majestie, and orders from the Company, &c.

The danger which men of War occasion to their Countrimen, honest Merchants, especially amongst remote and Ethnike people, I adde not the scandall of their Religion and Countrey.

The second of October, wee imbarqued our goods and provision, gave Shek Abdelreheime a Present, and got dispatch to depart: the Customers denying leave, till they had searched the ship whether she had discharged all her goods, to ship any new; but meeting with Frigats they supposing them Malabars, durst not adventure their own River. These Frigats were Portugals, which desired one to come talke with them, and Master Bucke rashly doing it, they detayned him, and after (I and Nicholas Ufflet being ashoare) Master Marlow and the rest beganne to flee; the Cockson would have fought, which he would not permit, but running a ground through ignorance of the Channell, they were taken going on the sandie Iland by Portugall treacherie, and the fault of some of themselves, nineteene with Master Bucke; but the Ginne put off the Pinnace, and notwithstanding the Portugall Bullets, rowed her to Surat. Foure escaped by swimming and got that night to Surat, besides Nicholas Ufflet and my selfe, neere twentie miles from the place. Yet had we resisted, we wanted shot, and in number, & armour they very much exceeded us. The fourth, the Captaine of the Frigats sent a reviling Letter to the Governour of the Towne, calling us Lutherans and Theeves, and said we were Flemmings and not English; charging him (on continuance of their friendship) to send aboord the Captaine with the rest of us: which Abdelreheime not only denied, but in the Mogols name commanded him to render the goods and men.

Portugall treachery and hostilitie.

The fifth, came a Captaine of one of the Frigats which used peremptorie words, and before the Governour stood upon it that the King of Spaine was Lord of those Seas, and that they had in Commission from him to take all that came in those parts without his Passe.

The thirteenth, the Governour called all the chiefe Merchants of the Towne upon their conscience to value our cloth (before carryed to his house) which they did at a farre under rate, the Governour affirming that hee must and would have it, the Captaine denying his consent.

On the sixteenth, we were forced to accept for some of our cloth in their hands, promise of a little more, and were permitted to carrie away the rest: causing us to leave fiftie pieces, and fourteene Devonshire Kersies for the King, with nine and twentie other Kersies; and fifteene clothes for Shek Ferred, keeping also the foure clothes which wee reserved for Presents for the King. Wee were otherwise molested by a contention betwixt Shek Ferred and Mocrow Bowcan (or Mocreb Can) about the Custome-house, that wee could not get our goods from thence. Wee heard that the Portugals sold our goods for halfe that they cost: Our men were sent to Goa.

Injustice cloked.

[I. iv. 421.]

The fifteenth of December, came Mo. Bowcan with a Jesuite Padre Peniero; to this our Captaine shewed kindnesse for hope of his men; to the other he gave Presents: both dealt treacherously in requitall, the Jesuite (as it was reported by Mo. Bowcan himselfe) offering a Jewell which he said was worth two hundred thousand Rials to betray us. This day came to us R. Carelesse an Englishman, who had long lived amongst the Portugals, from whom hee now fledde for feare of punishment for carrying necessaries to the Dutch at Muselpatan, desiring to bee entertayned, which we did with much circumspection.

Peniero the Jesuite. Jesuiticall Humanitie, Divinitie and Preaching.

R. Carelesse had long lived with the Portugals.

The seven and twentieth, Mo. Bowcan desired great abatements upon our cloth, or else hee would returne it, and (will wee nill wee) abated two thousand seven hundred and fiftie Mamudies, before hee would give us licence to fetch up the rest of our goods to make sales. My selfe was very ill of the bloudy Fluxe (whereof Master Dorchester dyed) of which that Englishman Carelesse, (next under God) recovered me. I learned of him many matters, as namely of the great spoile done the last yeere to the Portugals by the Hollanders, who lying before Malacca with sixteene ships, inclosing the Towne with helpe of other Kings by Sea and Land; newes was carryed to the Vice-Roy, (then before Achen accompanied with all the Gallants of India) having with him a very great

M. Bowcans injustice.

Warre twixt Dutch and Portugals at Malacca.

Fleet of Ships, Gallies and Frigats, and foure thousand Souldiers, being commanded by the King to take Achen, and there to build a Castle and appoint an Alphandira; and thence to goe and spoile Jor and chastise the Moluccas for giving the Hollanders traffique, being minded to roote out the Holland name in those parts, for which purpose came two thousand Castilians from the Manilias.

Andr. Hurtado. Andrew Hurtado then governed within Malacca, and sent word of their present distresse, upon which the Vice-Roy weighed from Achen (which otherwise had beene spoyled) whereof the Dutch Generall advertised, got his men and Artillery a-boord, and went forth to meete him; where after a long and bloudie fight, with much losse on both sides, the Dutch departed, enforced to stop the leakes of their Admirall, likely otherwise to perish. The Portugals let slip this opportunitie, and fell to merriments and bragges of their Victorie, not looking any more for the Hollanders, who having stopped their leakes at Jor, *Port. defeated* new rigged and returned upon the Portugals, whom they found disordered and feasting ashoare, where they sunke and burned the whole Fleet, making a cruell execution: and had not the Vice-Roy before sent sixe shippes on some other service, they had beene all heere utterly extinguished. After this fell such sicknesse in the City, that most of them dyed, amongst which the Vice-Roy was one: and shortly after the Governour of the Spaniards in the Moluccas, so that their strength was laid in the dust, and the Archbishoppe made and yet * remayneth Vice-Roy.

** At the time when this was written, which is to be observed in all this Journall.*

This last yeere the Malabarres vexed the Portugals, and tooke or sunke of them at times, sixtie saile or more.

Malabars annoy the Port.

This yeere also was expected a Vice-Roy to come with a strong Fleet, to drive the Hollanders out of India.

New Fleet dispersed.

This Fleet consisted of nine shippes of Warre, and sixe for the Voyage: they were separated in the calme of Guinea, and never met together after. Two of them came to Mosambique, where they were fired of the

Hollanders, who also much distressed the Castle, but could not take it: and the time of the yeere requiring their departure, they set sayle for Goa, to the number of fifteene shippes and one Pinnasse, where they rode at the Barre, challenging the great Captaine Andrew Hurtado, who durst not visit them. Another of that Voyage having advise that the Hollanders rode at the Barre, put to the Northward, where they presently landed their money and goods and set fire of their shippe, to save the Dutch a labour: and lastly, the Souldiers fell together by the eares for the sharing of the money. This Fleet departing from Goa sailed alongst the Coast of Malabar, spoyling and burning all they could meet with. There was report of leave given them by the Samorine, to build a Castle at Chaul.

Ormus ship taken.

This moneth here was also newes of an Ormus ship taken by the Malabarres, and three Frigats: and shortly after of a Fleet of twentie five Frigats from Cochen, whereof sixteene were taken and burnt by the Malabars, which the rest escaped, if miserable spoile be an escape: also of fiftie Frigats and Galiots of the Malabars spoiling on their Coast.

In January, came other newes of thirtie Frigats which put for Diu richly laden, taken by the Malabars, beeing at this time Masters of these Seas. They are good Souldiers, and carry in each Frigat one hundred Souldiers, and in their Galiots, two hundred.

The first of February, the Captaine departed with fiftie Peons, and certaine Horsemen. About this time was great stirre touching the Queene Mothers ship, which was to be laden for Mocha: the Portugals then riding at the Barre with two and twentie Frigats, threatned to carry her to Diu: at length they fell to compounding, the Portugals demanding an hundred thousand Mamudies for her Cartas or Passe, and after twentie thousand, at last taking one thousand Rialls and odde money, with divers Presents, which the Mogolls were faine to give them. Mo. Bowcan gave me faire words, but the Divell was in his [I. iv. 422.]

heart, he minded nothing lesse indeed then paiment of his debts, seeking also to deduct some, others imbeselled, striking off by new accounts seventeene thousand of one and fortie thousand. I thought he meant to shift, if hee could, and pay nothing, secretly departing the Towne, owing much to certaine Banians, who must get it when they can: at last I got his Cheet for some, though with great abatements, esteeming halfe better secured, then to endanger all.

Malacca againe besieged.

The six and twentieth of March 1609, it was here reported that Malacca was besieged with thirtie ships of Holland, in succour of which the Vice-Roy assembled all these his Northerne Indian forces, appointing Andrew Hurtado Generall, being the more cranke, by newes of a New Vice-Roy with fourteene saile to winter at Mosambique. Meane while a ship of Cambaya which had been at Queda, came for Goga, which the Portugalls finding without Cartas, made prize of. The Customers at that time by new prices and reckonings, sought to make prize in great part of us. I was also in the beginning of Aprill taken with a burning Fever, which drew from me much blood, besides ten dayes fasting with a little Rice: and after my Fever, miserable stitches tormented me. The next moneth I was visited againe with a burning Fever.

Portugals take prize all ships which saile without their Pass.

The twelfth of May came newes that Melik Amber, King of Decan, had besieged the Citie of Aurdanagar (which had been the Metropolitan of that Kingdome, conquered by the Acabar) with two and twentie thousand horse, and that after divers assaults, the Mogolls made shew to deliver up the Citie, upon condition that hee would withdraw his armie some foure or five * Cose from thence, that they might passe with more assurance with bagge and baggage: which being done, they suddenly issued forth with all their forces upon the unprovided enemie, and made a great slaughter, but feared hee would bee revenged on those parts which were lesse able to resist. The Canchanna gathered great forces, and de-

He still cals the Mogols father, the Acabar (others use to leave out the article) and so in others.
** A Cose or Course is a mile and halfe English.*

manded of Surat three hundred thousand M. towards the charge, sending also for the Governour, an expert Decan Souldier.

The twentieth of June, came newes of the arrivall of five shippes at Goa, and of the Vice-Royes Death, whereupon Andrew Hurtado was chosen Vice-Roy, being the only stay left of all those parts, and reported a brave souldier. He presently gave order for shipping to be built, intending after the breaking up of winter to make a bolt or shaft with the Hollanders, which were now reported to lye before Malacca with eighteene ships. The Portugall ships in the way had met with one of this Towne, and finding her without Cartas, brought her with them as prize for Goa, where on the Barre shee was cast away; whereupon the Governour for Chan-Channa, and the Customer for Mo. Bowcan seised on Tappidas the owner, a Banian, for money owing to them, whereby also we lost his debt to us, for which we may thanke the Portugall. *Andrew Hurtado Vice-Roy.*

The twentieth of July, Sha Selim commanded Can Channa and Manisengo, two great Commanders of his, to invade all the Kingdomes from hence to the South, even to Cape Comori; for which a huge armie was assembling. In resistance of whom, three great Kings were combined, the King of Decan (whose chiefe Citie is Genefro) the King of Visapor, and the King of Golcunda (whose chiefe Citie is Braganadar) who also gathered great forces, making head neare Bramport, upon the Mogolls Frontiers, expecting the breaking up of winter, both armies lying abroad in Tents. *Great warres of and with Mogolls.*

In August I received flying newes of an English Pinnasse at Gandove, which departing thence, was againe forced thither by three Portugall Frigats: I supposed that it might belong to some of our shipping, which standing for Socatora, might not be able to fetch in, and so be forced to fall on this Coast; which proved accordingly, it being the Ascensions Pinnasse, wanting water, wood, and victuall, the Master, John Elmer, with five men and two *Ascension lost.* *The Hopewell.*

boyes. The Master and foure of the Company came hither on the eight and twentieth, but I had no small adoe with the Townsmen of Surat, for bringing them into the Towne, they taking them from me, pretending we were but allowed Trade, indeed fearing the Portugalls, till I should send to the Nobob foure course off, fearing force: to which evill, was added a worse of the Portugalls comming into the River with five Frigats, and carrying away the Pinnasse, weighing also the two Falcons, which they had cast by the boord: and yet a worse report came the fifth of Septemb. of the casting away of the Ascension, the company about seventie persons being saved, which the next day came to Surat, but were forced by the Towne to lye without amongst the trees and tombes, I being not able to procure leave for the Generall himselfe (notwithstanding divers letters of recommendation which hee brought from Mocha, besides letters from the King himselfe) into the Towne. Such is their slavish awe of the Portugalls, two Jesuits threatning fire, faggot, and utter desolation, if they received any more English thither. That which I could doe, was to send them refreshing, and carry them to the Tanke, where they were conveniently lodged, yet amongst tombes, till the Governor appointed them a more convenient place at a small Aldea two Course off, and with much adoe got leave for Master Rivet, Master Jordan and the Surgion, to come hither to provide necessaries for the rest. I had other trouble by the disorder and riot committed by some of them, especially one Thomas Tucker, which in drinke had killed a Calfe (a slaughter more then murther in India) which made mee glad of their departure, fifteen staying behind sicke, or unwilling to goe for Agra: and some returned againe.

Portugall domineering.

Note what Gospell the Jesuits preach for converting Infidels. [I. iv. 423.]

Sacrilegious Calfe-slaughter: Calvish devotion of the Banians.

This marriage of Captaine Hawkins, some say was put as a trick on him by false friends and the cause of his disrespect with the Mogoll. He tells otherwise himselfe.

The sixt of October, came Letters from Captaine Hawkins, importing his mariage with the daughter of an Armenian: and others in the latter end of the next

moneth, for my comming to Agra. In December, we stood much in feare of Badur his comming upon Surat, he lying within two dayes journey, with sixe hundred horse and many foote: for which cause the Governour cessed all men with the entertainment of souldiers, setting upon my head ten men. I went to him, and told him that I had twentie English at his command, for which hee thanked mee, and freed mee of further charge. During this time, the Banians were forced to labour to barricado all the streets of the Citie: great watches were appointed at the gates, certaine peeces drawne from the Castle, and from Carode Garrison fiftie horse, which had not sufficed, had not the Governour of Amadavar sent one thousand horse, and two thousand foot to our succour: upon newes of which forces, Badur withdrew to his Holds. Two yeeres before our comming, had this man sacked Cambaya, whereof his Grand-father had been King.

Badur descended of the Cambayan Kings a bad neighbour to those parts.

The eighteenth of January, I departed out of Surat towards Agra, willing yet to leave some notice thereof before I leave it. The Citie is of good quantitie, with many faire Merchants houses therein, standing twentie miles within the land up a faire River. Some three miles from the mouth of the River (where on the South-side lyeth a small low Iland over-flowed in time of Raine) is the Barre, where ships trade and unlade, whereon at a spring tide is three fathome water. Over this, the Channell is faire to the Citie side, able to beare vessels of fiftie tunnes laden. This River runneth to Bramport; and from thence, as some say, to Musselpatan. As you come up the River, on the right hand stands the Castle well walled, ditched, reasonable great and faire, with a number of faire peeces, whereof some of exceeding greatnesse. It hath one gate to the Green-ward, with a drawbridge and a small Port on the River side. The Captaine hath in command two hundred horse. Before this lyeth the Medon, which is a pleasant greene, in the middest whereof is a May-pole to hang a light on, and for other pastimes on great Festivalls. On this side, the Citie

Description of Surat.

The Castle.

lyeth open to the Greene, but on all other parts is ditched and fenced with thicke hedges, having three gates, of which one leadeth to Variaw, a small Village, where is the ford to passe over for Cambaya way. Neare this Village on the left hand, lieth a small Aldea on the *Indian Idoll.* Rivers banke very pleasant, where stands a great Pagod, much resorted to by the Indians. Another Gate leadeth to Bramport, the third to Nonsary, a Towne ten cose off, where is made great store of Calico, having a faire River comming to it. Some ten cose further lyeth Gondoree, and a little further Belsaca, the frontire Towne upon *A faire Tanke or Pond.* Daman. Hard without Nonsary gate is a faire Tank sixteene square, inclosed on all sides with stone steppes, three quarters of an English mile in compasse, with a small house in the middest. On the further side are divers faire tombes, with a goodly paved court pleasant to behold: behind which groweth a small grove of Manga trees, whither the Citizens goe forth to banquet. *Stocke worshippers of a stocke or tree.* Some halfe cose behind this place, is a great Tree much worshipped by the Banians, where they affirme a Dew to keepe, and that it hath been oftentimes cut downe and stocked up by the rootes, at the Moores command, and yet hath sprung up againe. Neare to the Castle is the *Custome-house.* Alphandica, where is a paire of staires for lading and unlading of goods: within are roomes for keeping goods till they be cleared, the custome being two and an halfe for goods, three for victualls, and two for money. Without this gate is the great Gondoree or Bazar. Right before this gate stands a Tree with an Arbour, whereon the Fokeers (which are Indian holy men) sit in state. Betwixt this and the Castle, on the entrance of the Greene, is the market for horse and cattell. A little lower on the right hand over the river, is a little pleasant *Naites, nauta.* Towne, Ranele, inhabited by a people called Naites, speaking another language, and for the most part Seamen: the houses are faire therein, with high steps to each mans doore, the streets narrow: they are very friendly to the English. Heere are many pleasant Gardens, which

attract many to passe there their time: and on the trees are infinite number of those great Bats, which wee saw at Saint Augustines, hanging by the clawes on the boughes, making a shrill noise. This fowle the people say, ingendreth in the eare; on each wing it hath a hooke, and giveth the yong sucke. *Great Bats, their nature.*

The Winter heere beginneth about the first of June, and dureth till the twentieth of September, but not with continuall raines, as at Goa, but for some sixe or seven dayes every change and full, with much wind, thunder and raine. But at the breaking up, commeth alway a cruell storme, which they call the Tuffon, fearefull even to men on land; which is not alike extreame every yeare, but in two or three at the most. Monsons heere for the South, serve in Aprill and September, and for Mocha in February and March: from the South, ships come hither in December, January and February, and from Mocha about the fifth of September, after the raines: from Ormus for the Coast of India in November. But none may passe without the Portugalls Passe, for what, how much, and whither they please to give licence, erecting a Custome on the sea, with confiscation of shippe and goods not shewing it, in the full quantitie, to the taker and examiner. *Winter.* *Tuffon.* *Monsons.* [I. iv. 424.]

§. IIII.

His Journey to Agra: Observations by the way, and there; and of the Decan warres there.

THe second of January, I departed from Comuariaw (a small village three Cose from Surat) to Mutta a great Aldea 7 c. 21.8 c. to Carode, a great countrey Towne, by which on the North runneth Surat River. It hath a Castle, with two hundred horse Patans good souldiers, twentie two to Curka 12 c. it is a great Village with a River on the South side. In the way 7 c. is Beca, a Castle with a great Tanke, and a pleasant Grove, 23. 10 c. to Nacampore a great Towne under the Pectopshaw. In this way on the right hand beginneth a great ridge *Comuariaw.* *Mutta.* *Carode.* *Curca.* *Beca.* *Necampore.*

of mountaines, which come from Amadavar-wards, neare which Badur keepeth, holding divers strong holds thereon, that the King with all his force cannot hurt him. These Mountaines runne to Bramport: on them are bred many wilde Elephants, 24. to Dayta, 8 c. a great Towne. In the mid-way you passe a stony troublesome River. This Towne hath a Castle, and is almost encompassed with a River, seated in a fertile soyle. 25. to Badur, 10 c. a filthy towne and full of theeves: heere is made much wine of a sweete fruit called Mewa, but I found it not wholesome, except it be burnt. This Towne is the last of note in Pectopshaws Land, who is a small King or Rajaw, a Gentile, keeping on the top of inaccessible Mountaines, which beginne at Curka, and extend many Courses. He holdeth two faire Cities, Salere, and the other Muliere, where the Mamudees are coyned, each having two mightie Castles, which have way to them but for two men abrest, or for an Elephant at most to get up; having also in the way eightie small Fortresses dispersed on the Mountaines to guard the way. Upon the top of these Mountaines is good pasture, and abundance of graine, fountaines running thence into the Plaines. The Acabar besieged him seven yeeres, and in the end was forced to compound with him, giving him Narampore, Dayta, and Badur, with divers other Aldeas, for the safe conducting of his Merchants alongst this Plaine; so that he now remaineth this Kings friend, sends Presents yeerely, leaves one of his sonnes at Bramport, for pledge of his fealtie. He is said to have alway in readinesse foure thousand Mares of a strange breed and excellent: and one hundred Elephants. 26. 7 c. to Nonderbar a Citie, short of which are many Tombes and houses of pleasure, with a Castle and a faire Tanke. seven and twentie to Lingull, 10 c. a beastly Towne, with theevish inhabitants, and a dirtie castle; a deepe sandie way neare the Towne. 28. 10 c. to Sindkerry, a great dirtie Towne. In the way the Governour of Lingull (with others as honest as himselfe) would have borrowed some money of me, but seeing it

Badurs holds.

Wilde Elephants.

Dayta.

Badur.

Salere and Mulere, Cities of Bertopsha.

Castles impregnable.

Breed of horse rare.

Nonderbar.

Lingull.

Sindkerry.

prove powder and shot, gave over, and wee drew on our Carts without trouble. On the further side of Sindkerry runneth a River of brackish water, with drinking whereof, I got the bloody fluxe, which accompanied me to Bramport. 29. 10 c. to Taulneere, a theevish way, the Towne faire, with a Castle and a River, in time of raine not passable without Boat. 30. 15 c. to Chupra, a great Towne. I rested two dayes by reason of raine, in which time came the Governour of Nonderbar with foure hundred horse, without whose company I could not have proceeded without danger, Can-Canna having been beaten, and retired to Bramport, after the losse of the strong and rich Towne of Joulnapore, whereupon the Decanes grew so insolent, that they made roades into this way, and spoyled many passengers.

Taulneere.

Chupra.

Joulnapore.

The second of February, 6 c. to Rawd, a countrey Village. The unseasonable thunder, wind and raine, with my disease, almost made an end of me: which made us make Mukom the third and fourth, the fifth to Beawle 10 c. a great towne, with a faire castle, 6. stayed by foule weather, 7. 16 c. to Ravere, a great Towne, 8. 10 c. to Bramport, where I pitched my Tent in the Armenians yard, not being able for money to get an house, the Towne was so full of souldiers. Some 2 c. short of this Citie lyeth Badurpore, a faire City, and betwixt these two Cities, the Campe of Can-Canna under Tents, 2 c. in length (having some fifteene thousand Horse, two hundred faire Elephants, an hundred peeces of Ordnance of all sizes) on the North side. On the other side, within twentie or thirtie course, lay Amberchapon, an Abashed, and Generall of the King of Decans Forces, with some ten thousand of his owne cost, all brave souldiers, and some forty thousand Decanees: in so much that the Citie of Bramport had certainly been lost, had not the Prince Sultan Pervis, and Rajaw Manisengo, come instantly downe with great forces. For at this time he had sent to the Can-Canna to yeeld up the Citie upon composition, deeming him not able to hold it against him.

Rawd.

Mukom, stay for refreshing.
Beawle.
Rovere.
Bramport.

Badurpore.

The tents and compasse of both sides.

Description of Bramport. This Citie is very great, but beastly, situate in a low, unholesome aire, a very sickly place, caused especially by the bad water: On the North-east is the Castle on the
[I. iv. 425.] Rivers bank (comming from Surat) large and well fortified. By the Castles side in the River lyeth an Elephant
Artificiall Elephant. of stone, so lively, that a living Elephant comming one day to drinke, ranne against it with all his force, and brake both his teeth. The head is painted red in the forehead; and many simple Indians worship it. Some two Cose forth of the Citie, is Can Cannas Garden called Loll bage; the whole way thereto being under shadie trees very pleasant. Within it are divers faire walkes, with a stately small Tanke standing square betweene foure trees, all shaded and inclosed with a wall; at the entrance without, a faire Banketting house built aloft betweene foure trees.

I rested to the twelfth, for recovery (which God sent) under my Tent. Two dayes after my comming came
Raveresacked. newes of the sacking of Ravere, by fifteene hundred Decan Horse with other places neere thereto, we blessing God for our safe arrivall, the way now not passable with one thousand Horse. I was here certified also by an Armenians Letters, of a great overthrow given to the
Portugall losse. Portugall Armada upon the Mallabar Coast, consisting of fiftie Frigats and two Gallies, which being dispersed with foule weather, were sudainly out of divers creekes assailed by the Malabars, which was attended with spoile, fire, taking the rest fleeing. On the twelfth I rode to visit the Prince, and on the thirteenth, gave him a Present, found him courteous, promising what I desired. The Prince had with him twentie thousand Horse, and three hundred faire Elephants, and with him, Asaph Can with some three thousand, and Emersee Rastein late King of Candhar, with some thousand old Souldiers. And during my abode in the Campe, came also Raja Manisengo with ten thousand Horse, all Resboots, and neere a thousand Elephants: so that all the Plaines for a great distance were covered with Tents very brave to behold:

with the Armie came divers great Boates for the transportation of forces over waters. The Prince removing I returned to Bramport: and on the sixe and twentieth, hee beeing advanced 3 c. towards the Enemie, I went to him to take my leave, where newes came of the overthrow of certaine of Manisengos forces.

The first of March, the Governor of Bramport departed for Agra, and I with him 12 c. to Barre a great Village, *Barree.* stonie & steep way, being the passage over the great ridge of Mountaines which come from Amadavarwards. About some 4 c. of this way lyeth the strong and invincible Castle of Hassere, seated on the top of a high *Hassere a strong and strange Fort.* Mountaine, large and strong, able to receive (as is reported) fortie or fiftie thousand Horse. And on the top are many faire Tankes and good pasture grounds. It hath had in the dayes of Badur Sha late King thereof, some sixe hundred Peeces of Ordnance. The Acabar besieged it a long time, circling it on all sides, and at length tooke it by composition. For it is said, that there bred such an innumerable sort of Emmets or other small Wormes in all the waters, that the people swelled and burst with drinking thereof: which mortalitie caused him to compound and deliver it, being by meere humane force invincible. The third, 11 c. to Camla, a small Aldea, *Camla.* stonie, troublesome way. The fourth, to Magergom *Magergom.* 4 c. a great Aldea, bad way. The fifth, 10 c. to Ker- *Kergom.* gom a great Village, steepe way. The sixth, 13 c. to Berkul a small Village. The seventh, 8 c. to Taxapore *Berkul.* a small Towne. At 2 c. on this way, you passe a faire River called Nervor which comes from Baroche: upon the Banke is a prettie Towne and faire Castle, and under it the Ferrie place. To passe over with Camels is a way a C. lower on the left hand, where is an overfall, and not above three foot in the passage, but neere a mile over. The eight, 5 c. to Mandow, 3 c. whereof is *Mandow the Rivers of the old Totone.* up a steepe stonie Mountaine, having way but for a Coach at most.

This ridge of Mountaines extendeth North-east and

South-west. On the top at the edge of the Mountaine standeth the gate or entrance of the Citie, over which is built a faire Fort and House of pleasure; the walls extending all along the Mountaines side for many Coses. On the left hand at the entrance some two or three miles distant, on the toppe of a picked Mountaine standeth a strong Fort, and in other places dispersed some ten or twelve more. For 2 c. or better within this gate the City is ruined all save only Tombes and Meskites, which remayne in great numbers to this day, with some tottered walls of great Houses. The olde City is from gate to gate 4 c. long North and South, but East and West ten or twelve Coses; and yet to the East-ward of all lyeth good pasture ground for many courses. Aloft on this Mountaine are some sixteene faire Tankes here and there dispersed about the Citie. That which is now standing is very faire, but small in comparison of the former, with divers goodly buildings all of firme stone, and faire, high gates, that I suppose the like not to be in all Christendome. At the entrance on the South within the gate of the Citie now inhabited, as you passe along on the left hand, stands a goodly Meskite, and over against it a faire Palace, wherein are interred the bodies of foure Kings, with exceeding rich Tombes. By the side thereof standeth a high Turret of one hundred and seventie steps high, built round with Galleries and Windowes to every roome, all exceeding for goodly Ports, Arches, Pillars; the walls also all interlayed with a greene stone much beautifying. On the North-side where I came forth lyeth a piece of a foot and an halfe bore in the mouth, but the breech was in the ground. The gate is very strong with a steepe descent; and without this sixe other, all very strong, with great walled places for Courts of Guard betweene gate and gate. On this side is also a small Port, but the way thereto is exceeding steepe. All alongst on the side also runneth the wall, with flankers ever here and there among; and yet is the hill so steepe of it selfe, that it is not almost

The present described.

[I. iv. 426.]

possible for a man to climbe up on all foure to any part of it. So that to mans judgement it is altogether invincible; and yet was taken partly by force, partly by Treason by Hamawne, this mans Grandfather, forcing Seic Sha Selim whose Ancestors had conquered it from the Indians some foure hundred yeeres agoe. This Sha Selim was a very powerfull King of Dely, and once forced Hamawne to flye into Persia for ayde; from whence returning with Persian forces, he put him againe to the worst; who yet held out against him all his life time, as also a long time of Ecabars Raigne, flying from one Mountaine to another. Without the wals of the City on this side, the Suburbs entred 4 c. long, but all ruinate, save certaine Tombes, Meskits and goodly Seraies, no man remayning in them.

The first of name that took it was Can John a Patan who built the Turret, and lyeth buried in the Palace adjoyning with three of his Successors.

This Citie was built by an Indian some thousand yeeres agoe.

The way exceeding stony and bad at 4 c. end lyeth Luneheira, a small Saray where wee pitched the ninth. Betweene this and the ruines about 3 c. of the way, is a goodly Tanke inclosed with stone, and a banketting house in the middest: On the South whereof are faire houses of pleasure now ruinated, from whence goeth an arched bridge to the banketting house in the Tanke.

Luneheira.

Some halfe a Cose beyond Luneheira on the right hand, are foure or five faire Tankes with a great Pagode, a very pleasant place. The tenth, to Dupalpore 14 c. good way, a small Towne. The eleventh, to Ouglue a faire City twelve long Coses. This Countrey is called Malva, a fertile soile, abounding with Opium. Here the Cose or Course is two miles English. The twelfth, wee made Mukom. The thirteenth, to Conoscia, 11 c. good way, a little Village. I enquired the price of Opium. They give the head three scratches, from whence issue small teares, at the first white, which with the cold of the night turneth reddish, which they daily scrape, not without infinite trouble, the head beeing very small and yeelding little. The fourteenth, to Sunenarra 8 c. way much stony and theevish, a people called Graciæ, inhabiting the hils on the left hand, which often ungraciously

Dupalpore.

Ouglue.

Conoscia.

Opium.

Sunenarra.

entertayn Caravans. A hundred of them had done the like to a Caffila now, had not our comming prevented. It is a small Towne, short of which is a great Tanke
Pimpelgom. full of wilde fowle. The fifteenth, 10 c. to Pimpelgom a ragged Aldea. At 4 c. end of this way lyeth Sarampore, a great Towne with a Castle on the South-west side, with a faire Towne-house. Here are made faire Turbants and good linnen. Short of this Towne we met Caun John a great Minion of the Kings with ten thousand horse, many Elephants, and Boats carryed on Carts, going for Bramport. On the way also we passed divers of Manisengos men, hee having in all some twenty thousand, so that it was deemed there were one hundred thousand Horse assembled.

Cuckra. The sixteenth, 7 c. to Cuckra, a great Countrey Towne abounding with all sorts of Graine, Victuall and Mewa
Berroul. Wine: at 4 c. lyeth Berroul a great Aldea. The seven-
Delout. teenth, 12 c. to Delout, a great Aldea, the way for the five last Coses theevish, hilly, stony, the other pleasant
Burrow. Plaines. The eighteenth, 7 c. to Burrow a small Towne, but plentifull of Victuall, except flesh which is scarse all this way; the way dangerous. The nineteenth, 7 c. to
Sukesera. Sukesera a small ragged Towne. The twentieth, to
Syrange. Syrange 9 c., a very great Towne, where are many Betele Gardens. The one and twentieth and two and twentieth, wee make Muckom. The three and twentieth, to Cuchenary Saray 8 c. The foure and twentieth, to
Collebage. Sadura 5 c. The five and twentieth, to Collebage 7 c.
Qualeres. The sixe and twentieth, 12 c. to Qualeres, a pretty small Towne encompassed with Tamarind and Manga Trees.
Cipry. The seven and twentieth, to Cipry seven of Surat Couses a mile and an halfe way theevish, stony, full of Trees, a Desart passage: a walled Towne, faire Houses, covered with Slate. Two nights before some sixtie or seventie Theeves (mistaking for a late passed Caravan) assayled in a darke night one hundred and fiftie Potan Souldiers, and fell into the pit they digged for others, ten being slaine and as many taken, the rest fled. The eight and

twentieth, to Norwar 12 c. a Desart rascally way full of Theeves. In the Woods sate divers Chuckees to prevent robbing, but the Foxe is often made the Goose-heard. One pretty neat Meskite and in one place at the foot of the gate, a few poore Inhabitants wee saw in this dayes journey, and nineteene faire Saraies ruinated. *Norwar.*

The Towne at the foot of the hill, hath a Castle on the top of a stony steep mountaine, with a narrow stone causey leading to the top some mile or better in ascent. In the way stand three gates very strong, with places for Corps du guard. At the top of all is the fourth gate, which leads into the Castle, where stands a guard, not permitting any stranger to enter without order from the King. The Towne within is faire and great, with a descent thereto; being situate in a Valley on the top of a Mountaine very strangely. As it is reported, this cliffe is in circle some 5. or 6 c. and walled round with Towers and Flankers here and there dispersed, without treason invincible. This hath been the gate or border of the Kingdome of Mandow, and hath been beautifull, and stored with Ordnance, but now is much gone to ruine. *Strong Castle.*

The twenty ninth to Palacha 7 c. the thirtieth to Antro, a great Towne 12 c. the thirty one to Gualere 6 c. a pleasant Citie with a Castle. On the East side is on the top of a steep piked hill, a ruinous building where divers great men have been interred. On the West side is the Castle, which is a steep craggy cliffe of 6 c. compasse at least (divers say eleven) all inclosed with a strong wall. At the going up to the Castle adjoyning to the Citie, is a faire Court, enclosed with high walls, and shut in with strong gates, where keeps a strong guard, not permitting any to enter without publike order. From hence to the top, leads a stone narrow cawsey, walled on both sides; in the way are three gates to be passed, all exceeding strong, with Courts of guard to each. At the top of all, at the entrance of the last gate, standeth a mightie Elephant of stone very curiously wrought. This *Antro.* *Gualere.* *A strong Castle.* [I. iv. 427.]

Gate is also exceeding stately to behold, with a goodly house adjoyning, whose wals are all set with greene and blue stone, with divers gilded Turrets on the top. This is the Governours lodging: where is place to keepe Nobles that offend (he is said to have three such Noble-
Rantimore. Prisons or Castles, this, and Rantimore 40 c. to which are sent such Nobles as he intends to put to death, which commonly is some two moneths after their arrivall, the Governour then bringing them to the top of the wall, and giving them a dish of milke, which having drunke, he is cast down thence on the Rockes. The
Rotas. third is Rotas, a Castle in the Kingdome of Bengala, whither are sent those Nobles which are condemned to perpetuall imprisonment) from whence very few returne againe. On the top of this Mountaine of Gualere, is very good ground, with three or foure faire Tankes, and many other faire buildings. On the Towne side are many houses cut out of the maine Rocke, for habitation and sale of goods. On the North-west side, at the foot of the hill is a spacious meadow, inclosed with a stone wall, within which are divers gardens and places of pleasure, fit also to keep horses in time of warre. This Castle was the Gate or frontier of the Kingdome of Dely, bordering on Mandow, and is neere a mile of ascent.

Mendaker. The first of Aprill 1610. to Mendaker 9 c. the second
Doulpore. 10 c. to Doulpore. Within 2 c. of the Towne, you passe a faire River called Cambere, as broad as the Thames, short of which is a narrow passage, with hills on both sides, very dangerous. The Castle is strong, ditched round, and hath foure walls and gates one within an other, all very strong, with steep ascents to each, paved with stone; the Citie is inhabited most-what with Gentiles. The Castle is three quarters of a mile through, and on the further side hath like Gates to be passed
Jaiow. againe. The third to Jaiow 9 c. the fourth to Agra 9 c.
Agra. In the afternoone, the Captaine carried me before the King. I here found at my comming, Captaine Thomas Boys, with three French Souldiours, a Dutch Inginer, and

a Venetian Merchant with his sonne, and a servant, newly come by land out of Christendome.

In May and part of June, the Towne was much vexed with fires night and day, flaming in one part or other, whereby many thousands of houses were consumed, besides Men, Women, Children, and Cattell, that we feared the judgement of Sodome and Gomorrha upon the place. I was long dangerously sicke of a Fever; and in June the heat so exceeded, that we were halfe rosted alive. June the twenty eighth, arrived Padre Peniero, an arch-knave (a Jesuite I should say) who brought Letters from the Viceroy, with many rich Presents, tending only to thwart our affaires. In this time, Mo. Bowcan was complained of by the Captaine to the King, who commaunded Abdel Hassan the chiefe Vizier to doe justice; but birds of a feather will flie together, and Mo. Bowcan partly mis-reckoned, partly turned us over to a Bankrupt Bannian; so that of thirty two thousand five hundred one M. and an halfe due, he would pay but eleven thousand: neither would he pay that present.

Terrible fires at Agra.

See how Merchants speake the Jesuites, when Jesuites play theMerchants.

In July, came newes of the ill successe of the Kings forces in Decan, who beeing within some foure dayes journey of Amdananager, hoping to raise the siege thereof, were forced through famine and drought, to make their retrait for Bramport, whereupon the Citie, after much miserie indured, was lost. This armie consisted of one hundred thousand horse at the least, with infinite numbers of Cammels and Elephants: so that with the whole baggage, there could not bee lesse then five or sixe hundred thousand persons, insomuch that the waters were not sufficient for them; a Mussocke of water being sold for a Rupia, and yet not enough to be had, and all victualls at an excessive rate. For the Decan army still spoyled the Countrey before them, and cut betwixt them and supplies for victualing them out of Guzerate and Bramport, daily making light skirmishes upon them, to their great disadvantage, that without retiring the whole army

Amdananager lost to the Decan.

Perill of huge armies.

had been endangered. At their returne to Bramport, there were not to bee found thirty thousand horse, with infinite number of Elephants, Cammels, and other Cattell dead. This Moneth also came newes of the sacking of Potana, a great Citie in Purrop, and surprising of the Castle where the Kings Treasure lay, the Citizens flying without making resistance. But upon this Cavalero, presently came a great Ombra adjoyning, and tooke him in the Castle. The Citizens returning, he sent twelve of the chiefe of them to the King, who caused them to be shaven, and in womens attire, to bee carried on Asses through all the streets of Agra, and on the next day (as it is said) cut off their Heads.

Potana sacked.

Punishment of Cowardize.

Christianitie seemed to bee affected by the Mogull.

All this Moneth also was much stirre with the King about Christianitie, hee affirming before his Nobles, that it was the soundest faith, and that of Mahomet lies and fables. He commanded also three Princes, his deceassed brothers sonnes, to be instructed by the Jesuites, and Christian apparell to be made for them, the whole City admiring. And yet at the same time, Abdel Hassans judgement was, that it was not justice to pay debts to Christians, in Mo. Bowcans case, whereof againe we had reference from the King to him, perhaps on like ground, as some Europæans thinke it lawfull to make price of the goods and ships of Ethnikes, eo nomine, therefore setting out men of warre, so to make the Christian Name, not as an ointment powred out, that the Virgin soules may be converted, and love Christ, but as filthy matter running out of rotten hearts and poisoned lips, yea, with force and armes, to exoccupate the Kingdome of Christ in those parts: at least, let reformed Professors reforme this Man-of-warre-Profession against innocents, that the Name of God through them be not blasphemed among the Gentiles. But to returne to this dissimulation (as since it hath to the world appeared) those three Princes were Christened solemnly, conducted to Church by all the Christians of the Citie, to the number of some sixtie horse, Captaine Hawkins being in the head of them,

[I. iv. 428.]

Three Princes Christened.

with S. Georges colours carried before him, to the honour of the English Nation, letting them flie in the Court before Sha Selim himselfe. The eldest was named Don Philippo, the second Don Carlo, the third Don Henrico: and on the ninth of September, was christened another young Prince, the Acabars brothers sonnes sonne, by the name Don Duarte, the King giving daily charge to the Fathers for their instruction, that they might become good Christians. *English colours displayed before the Mogol.*

October the twelfth, we were certified by Letters of M. Jourdaine from Surat, that thirtie Frigats of the Portugals were cast away on the barre of Surat, hasting before the winter was broken up, to catch more English many of the men escaped, and were glad to beg releefe at the English doore. *Portugals afraid to come too late.*

§. V.

Descriptions of Fetipore, Byana; the way thither; of the Nill or Indico, and of divers Mogoll affaires, Cities, and Castles.

THe first of November, I was sent to buy Nill or Indico at Byana. I lodged that night at Menhapoore, a great Saray, 7 c. by which is a Garden, and Moholl or summer house of the Queene Mothers, very curiously contrived. The second at Cannowa, 11 c. at 4 c. end, is a Moholl of the Kings. And at every cose end from Agra, is erected a stone pillar for 130 c. to Asmere, where lieth interred the body of a great Moorish Saint, called Hoghee Mondee, whereto the Acabar wanting children, made a foot-pilgrimage to beg for issue, and caused a pillar at each course to be set up; and a Moholl with lodgings for sixteene great women at every eighth course alongst, and after his returne obtained three sonnes. *Saray is a kind of publike Inn. See Stell and Crowder.* *Asmere, a child-giving Saint.*

At 7 c. on this way, and 12 c. from Agra, is seated the famous citie of Fetipore, built by the Acubar, and inclosed with a faire stone wall, which yet standeth *Fetipore described.*

fresh, having foure faire and strong Gates, it being some three English miles betwixt gate and gate. In the middest it is all ruinate, lying like a waste desart, and *Ruines.* very dangerous to passe through in the night, the buildings lying wast without inhabitants; much of the ground beeing now converted to Gardens, and much sowed with Nill and other graine, that a man standing there, would little thinke he were in the middest of a citie.

To the entrance of the gate from Agra, some course in length upon a stony ascent, lie the ruines of the Suburbs; as also without the Southwest gate for two English miles in length, many faire buildings being fallen to the ground: and on the left hand are many faire enclosed Gardens, three miles alongst from the citie. At *The Bazar.* the entrance of the Northeast Gate, is a goodly Bazar (market place) of stone, halfe a mile long, being a spacious straight-paved street, with faire buildings on either side. Close within the gate is the Kings Saray, with large stone lodgings, but much ruined. At the head of this street stands the Kings house and Moholl, with much curious building: and on the further side *FaireMeskite.* hereof, upon an ascent, stands the goodliest Meskite of the East. It hath some twentie foure or thirty steps of ascent to the Gate, which is one of the highest and fairest (I suppose) in the whole world: on the top are a number of clustering pinnacles, curiously disposed. The top of this Gate may be plainely seene eight or tenne miles distance. Within is a goodly spacious court, very curiously paved with free stone, about sixe times the largenesse of Londons Exchange, with faire large walkes alongst the side, more then twice as broad, and double the height of those about the Burse of London, the pillars upholding them, beeing of one intire stone: and round about are entrances into many goodly roomes, neatly contrived. Opposite to the Gate toward the further side, stands a faire and sumptuous Tombe, artificially inlaied with mother of Pearle, and inclosed with a grating of stone curiously carved. Over head is rich

pargetting and paynting. Herein lyeth the body of a great Kalender, at whose cost the whole Meskite was builded. Under the court yard is a goodly Tanke of excellent water; none other being to be had through the citie, but brackish and fretting, by drinking whereof was caused such mortality, that the Acubar before it was quite finished, left it, and remooved his seat to Agra, so that this goodly Citie was short lived, in fifty or sixty yeares space beeing built and ruinate.

Kalender is an order of Moorish Votaries.

Bad water.

It was at the first called Sykary, which signifieth, seeking or hunting: but after the Acabar was returned from his Asmere Pilgrimage, and was father of this Sha Selim, hee named it Fetipore, that is, a Towne of content, or place of Hearts desire obtained. The North North-west side of the Citie, without the walles, is a goodly Lough for 2. or 3 c. in length, abounding with good fish and wilde fowle; all over which groweth the herbe which beareth the Hermodactyle, and another bearing a fruit like a Goblet, called Camolachachery, both very cooling fruits. The herbe which beareth the Hermodactyle, is a weed abounding in most Tankes neare Agra, spreading over all the water; the leafe I observed not, but the fruit is inclosed with a three cornered shell, of a hard woodie substance, having at each angle a sharpe picked pricking point, and is a little indented on both the flat sides like two posternes. The fruit being greene, is soft and tender, white and of a mealish taste, much eaten in India, being exceeding cold in my judgement: for alwayes after it, I desired Aqua-vitæ. It is called by the people Singarra. The other beareth a fruit in maner of a Goblet, flat on the toppe, and of a soft greenish substance, within which a little eminent, stand sixe or eight small fruits like Akornes, divided from each other, and inclosed with a whitish filme, at the first of a russetish greene, tasting like a Nut or Akorne; in the middest is a small greene sprigge naught to be eaten.

[I. iv. 429.]

Fetipore interpreted.

Hermodactylus described.

Cannowa is a small countrey Towne, round about which is made very good Nill, by reason of the fatnesse

Cannowa.

of the soile, and brackishnesse of the water: it maketh yeerely some five hundred M. Ouchen 3 c. distant makes very good; besides which, no Towne but Byana it selfe, compares with this. I remained heere to the two and twentieth and three and twentieth. 6 c. to Candere, a roughish dirtie Aldea. At 2 c. on this way, is one of those Moholls, before mentioned. It is a square stone building: within the first gate is a small court, with a place for the King to keepe his Darsany, and two or three other retiring roomes, but none of note. Within the second court is the Moholl, being a foure-square thing, about twice as bigge, or better, then the Exchange; having at each corner a faire open Devoncan, and in the middest of each side another, which are to bee spread with rich carpets, and to sit in to passe the time: And betwixt each corner and this middle-most, are two faire large chambers for his women (so that each Moholl receiveth sixteene) in severall lodgings, without doores to any of them, all keeping open house to the Kings pleasure. Round by the side goeth a faire paved walke, some eight foot broad: and in the middest of all the court stands the Kings chamber, where he like a Cocke of the game may crow over all. At Candere I remained till the eight and twentieth, and returned to Bachuna, 4 c. backe in the way.

Candere.

The Kings Moholls described.

Devoncan is a Hall.

Byana. The twentieth of December, I went to Byana 8 c. a backe way thorow the fields. This citie hath beene great and faire, but is now ruinate, save two Sarayes and a long Bazar, with a few stragling houses, many faire ones being fallen, and many others not inhabited (except by rogues or theeves) so that many streets are quite desolate. On the North-west some three or foure cose off, are the ruines of a Kings house, with many other faire buildings: the like ruines are to bee seene on the South-west side, over against a Towne called Scanderbade, in like distance upon the height of the rocky mountaines: the way leading up is a narrow steepe stony cawsey, not to be passed on horse-backe, some quarter of a mile the ascent: the

Ruines.

entrance is thorow a small wicket, passing the lips of the mountaines in a narrow gutte. On the right hand, upon the very edge, stands a pleasant building, where are divers Tombes: from each side the way may be made good with stones against millions of men. Passing a mile hence on a faire cawsey, you come to the Kings house, sometimes faire, now ruinate, where a few poore Googers remaine in the ruines. Many Tombes and Monuments yet remaine. At the foote of the hill toward Scanderbade, *A strong Fort.* is a pleasant Valley inclosed with a wall, and therein many gardens of pleasure. This City hath been in ancient times the seate of a great Potane King, and hath had the walles extending on the cliffes 8 c. in length, in those places where is any possibilitie of getting up, the rockes otherwhere over-hanging: the fortifications on the other side I saw not. It hath beene a goodly city, inhabited now only with Googers, which are keepers of cattell, and makers of Butter and Cheese. From hence notwithstanding all this strength, did the Acabar force Sha Selim the Tyrant, and then laid it waste, as he hath done Mandow, and most of the strong holds which he tooke. The countrey which affordeth that rich Nill which takes name of Byana, is not above twenty or thirtie cose long.

The herbe Nill, groweth in forme not much unlike *Description of Nill or Indico.* Cives or Cich-pease, having a small leafe like that of Sena, but shorter and broader, and set on a very short foot-stalke, the branches hard and of a woodie substance like unto broome. It usually groweth not above a yard *The growth and varietie of the Herbe.* high, and with a stalke at the biggest (which is at the third yeare) not much exceeding a mans thumbe. The seed is included in a small round codde about an inch long, resembling Fœnigræcum, save that it is more blunt at both ends, as if it had been cut off with a knife. It carryeth a small flower like that of Hearts-ease: the seed is ripe in November, and then gathered. The herbe once sowne dureth three yeeres, being cut every yeere in August and September after the raines. That of one

yeere is tender, and thereof is made notee, which is a weighty Reddish nill sinking in water, not come to his perfection: that of the second yeere is rich, and called Cyeree, very light and of a perfect Violet colour, swimming on the water: in the third yeere the herbe is declining, and this Nill is called Catteld, being a weightie blackish Nill, the worst of the three. This herbe being [I. iv. 430.] cut the moneth aforesaid, is cast into a long cisterne, where it is pressed downe with many stones, and then *Their making of Indico.* filled with water till it be covered, which so remaineth for certaine dayes, till the substance of the herbe be gone into the water. Then they let the water forth into another round cisterne, in the middest of which is another small cisterne or center: this water being thus drawne forth, they labour with great staves, like batter or white starch, and then let it settle, scumming off the cleare water on the toppe: then labouring it afresh, and let it settle againe, drawing forth the cleare water, doing this oft, till nothing but a thicke substance remaine; which they take foorth and spread on cloth, to dry in the Sunne: and beeing a little hardened, they take it in their hands, and making small balls, lay them on the sand to dry (for any other thing would drinke up the colour) this is the cause of the sandy foot. So if raine fall, it looseth his colour and glosse, and is called Aliad. Some deceitfully will take of the herbe of all three crops, and steepe them *To know good Indico.* altogether, hard to be discerned, very knavishly. Fowre things are required in Nill: a pure graine, a violet colour, his glosse in the Sunne, and that it be dry and light, so that swimming in the water, or burning in the fire, is cast forth a pure light violet vapour, leaving a few ashes.

The Great Mogol in danger of a Lyon. About the sixt of January, the King being on hunting, was assailed by a Lyon which hee had wounded with his Peece, with such fiercenesse, that had not a Captaine of his, a Resboot, Tutor of the late baptized Princes interposed himselfe, thrusting his arme into the Lions mouth as hee ramped against his Majestie, he had in all likelihood

been destroyed. In this strugling, Sultan Corom, Rajaw Ranidas, and others came in, and amongst them slew the Lyon, that Captaine having first received thirty two wounds: whom therfore the King tooke up into his owne Palanke, with his owne hands also wiped and bound up his wounds, and made him a Captaine of five thousand horse, in recompence of that his valourous loyaltie. *His thankfulnesse.*

The Kings manner of hunting is this: about the beginning of November, accompanied with many thousands, he goeth forth of his Castle of Agra, and hunteth some thirty or forty Course round about the Citie; so continuing till the ende of March, when the heat drives him home againe. He causeth, with choise men, a certaine wood or desart place to bee incircled, so contracting themselves to a neerer compasse, till they meet againe; and whatsoever is taken in this inclosure, is called the Kings Sikar or game, whether men or beasts; and whosoever lets ought escape, without the Kings mercy, must loose his life. The beasts taken, if mans meat, are sold, and the money given to the poore: if men, they remaine the Kings slaves, which he yearely sends to Cabull, to barter for horse and dogs; these beeing poore miserable theevish people that live in woods and desarts, little differing from beasts. *Kings manner of hunting.*

This Moneth, the King was providing more forces for Decan, notwithstanding the Decanees required his peace, offering to restore what they had taken. Caun Asom was sent Generall, and with him twentie thousand horse, accompanied with Matrobet Caun another Great Captaine, together with infinite treasure. With these forces went John Frenchman, and Charles Charke, entertained in his service for the warres. *This Ch. Charke I have spoken with since in London after divers yeares service.*

January the ninth, I departed from Agra for Lahor to recover debts, and carried twelve carts laden with Nil in hope of a good price. The places I passed were Rownocta twelve courses, Badeg Sara 10. Acabarpore 12 c. formerly a great city, still famous for the Antiquities of Indian Gobins or Saints. A little short of this place, *Journey to Lahor.*

is a faire Deury inclosed with a stone wall, in which is a Devoncan, and round about a little distance in vaults (or cloisters) are to be seen many Pagods, which are stone images of monstrous men feareful to behold, but adored by the Indians with flowers and offerings. Houdle 13 c. At the entrance of the Saray is a faire fountaine three stories, and one hundred steps. Pulwooll 12 c. Ferreedabade 12 c. Dely 10 c. On the left hand is seene the carkasse of old Dely,* called the nine castles, and fiftie two gates, now inhabited onely by Googers. A little short is a stone bridge of eleven arches, over a branch of Gemini: from hence a broad way shaded with great trees, leading to the sepulchre of Hamaron this Kings Grandfather, in a large roome spread with rich carpets, the Tombe it selfe covered with a pure white sheet, a rich Semiane over head, and a front, certaine bookes on small tressels, by which stand his Sword, Tucke, and shooes: at the entrance are other Tombes of his Wives and Daughters. Beyond this, under like shaded way you come to the Kings house and Moholl, now ruinous. The City is 2 c. betweene Gate and Gate, begirt with a strong wall, but much ruinate, as are many goodly houses: within and about this Citie are the Tombes of twenty Potan Kings, all very faire and stately. The Kings of India are here to be crowned, or else they are held Usurpers. It is seated in a goodly plaine, environed with goodly pleasant Gardens and Monuments.

Indians idolatry.

**Dely. There are said to bee foure Delyes within 5^c. the eldest built by Rase, who by his Ponde or Magicians counsell tried the earth by an iron stake, which he pulled out bloody with the blood of a Snake, which his Ponde said was signe of good fortune. The last of his race was Rase Pethory, who after seven times taking a Potan King, was at last by him taken and slaine. He began the Potan Kingdome. They came from the mountaines between Candahar and Cabull.*

Nalero is hence 14 c. about 2 c. without Dely, is the remainder of an auncient Mole or hunting house, built by Sultan Berusa a great Indian Monarch, with much curiositie of stone-worke: with and above the rest, is to be seen a stone * Pillar, which passing through three stories, is higher then all twenty foure foot, having at the top a Globe, and a halfe Moone over it. This stone they say, stands as much under the earth, and is placed in

*The second built by Togall Sha, a Potan King. The third little of note. The fourth by Shersheselim, where is that Tombe of Hamaron. *A stately Obeliske with Greeke or Hebrew inscriptions as some affirme, supposed to be set there by Alexander.*

the water, being all one entire stone (some say Naserden- [I. iv. 431.]
gady a Potan King would have taken it up, and was prohibited by multitude of Scorpions, and that it hath inscriptions.) In divers parts of India the like are to be seene, and of late was found buried in the ground about Fettipore a stone piller of an hundred cubits length, which the King commanded to bring to Agra, but was broken in the way, to his great griefe. It is remarkeable, that the Quarries of India, specially neere Fettipore (whence they are carryed farre) are of such nature, that they may be cleft like logges, and sawne like plancks to seele chambers, and cover houses of a great length and breadth. From this Monument is said to bee a way under ground to Dely Castle. Now here remaine onely Googers, and there are store of Deere. We saw in the way the ruines of divers places, and neere the same, the ruines of a wall 20 c. in circuit, being a Parke for game. Some part of this way was theevish, and some report being given out of the Kings death, many Rogues with that false alarme were abroad: we met the Fosder of Dely with some 2. thousand horse and foot in their pursuit, who burnt their Townes, & tooke them and theirs whatsoever he could get: and the next day at breakfast we were like to be surprized by theeves.

The stone of India.

Gonowre 14 c. Panneput 14 c. at the entry whereof was placed a Manora, with the heads of some hundred theeves newly taken; their bodies set on stakes a mile in length. Carmall 14 c. the way theevish, where but for our peece language we had been assaulted. On the North-west extend Mountaines neere to Lahor from hence, with snow on the tops. Tanassar 14 c. here is a Castle, a goodly Tanke, and by it Pagods, much reverenced by all the Gentiles throughout India. Neere it also are the Sal-armoniake pits. Shabad or Goobade 10 c. Amballa 12 c. Hollowa Saray 14 c. Syrinam 7 c. it hath a faire Tanke with a Summer-house in the middest, to which leads a Bridge of fifteene stone arches very pleasant. From hence is a small River cut to the Kings Garden a

Pagods.

Sal-armoniake pits.

The Kings garden. Some say it was made An. Dom. 1580.

corse distant, with a cawsey of forty foot broad, planted with trees on both sides to it. The Garden is fowre square, each square a cose in length, or better, inclosed with a Bricke-wall, richly planted with all sorts of fruits and flowers, rented yeerely (as I was told) for fifty thousand Rupias: crossed with two maine walkes forty foot broad, and eight high, with water running alongst stone channells in the middest, and planted on both sides thicke with faire Cypresses: one of these cawseys is also paved with peble curiously inter-wrought. At the crossing stands an eight square Mohol with eight chambers for women, in the midst thereof a faire Tank; over these eight other roomes, with faire Galleries round about: on the top of all a faire Jounter; the whole building curiously wrought in stone, with faire painting, rich carving, and pargetting: and on two sides two faire Tankes in the midst of a faire stone chounter, planted round with Cypresse trees: a little distant is another Mohol, but not so curious.

The cause of the quarrel twixt the Mogoll and his eldest sonne.

From hence we passed to Dorapy 15 c. Pulloceque Saray 13 c. Nicoder 12 c. Sultanpoore 11 c. Fetipore 7 c. a Saray built (if it were finished) by Sha Selim, in memoriall of the overthrow given Sultan Cusseroom his eldest sonne: the occasion whereof was this. Sha Selim upon some disgust tooke armes in his fathers life time, and fled into Purrop, where he kept the strong Castle of Alobasse (but came in some three moneths before his fathers deceasse) whereupon Acubar gave the Crowne to Sultan Cusseroom his sonne. But after Acabars death, Selim by his friends, seized on the Castle and treasure, and his sonne fled for Lahor, where hee gathered some twelve thousand horse all good souldiours and Mogols, possessing the Suburbs twelve daies, and proclaimed King in the Kasse, and his Father in the Castle. In this place he gave battell to Strek Fereed, and disordered his three hundred horse, and put them to the sword: to the second of him came Melec Ale Cutwall (the King being some 20 c. behind) with some two hundred horse, beating up the

Kings drummes, and giving a brave assault, shouting God save King Selim, upon which the Princes souldiours fainted and fled, the Prince himselfe fleeing only with five horse, and got 30 c. beyond Lahor for Cabull, which if he had gotten, he would have put his father to further trouble: but beeing to passe a River where hee gave Mohors of Gold, the Boate-man grew in distrust, and in the middest of the Channell leapt over-boord, and swamme to the shoare, where hee gave notice to the Governour of the Towne adjoyning, who presently with fiftie horse came downe to the River, where the Boat was still floting, imbarqued himselfe in another, and saluted him by the name of King, dissemblingly offering his aide, and inviting him to his house: which the Prince accepting, was locked up with his Company and guarded, till hee had sent the King word, who sent Germaunabeg to fetch him fettered on an Elephant. From hence his Father proceeded to Cabul, punishing such as he found tardie in this revolt, carrying his sonne with him prisoner, and returning by this place where the battell was fought (as some say) caused his eyes to be burned out with a glasse; others say, onely blind-folded him with a napkin tying it behind, and sealing it with his owne seale, which yet remaineth, and himselfe prisoner in the Castle of Agra. All alongst on both sides the way from Cabul to Agra, a reasonable distance, the King caused trees to be planted to shade the way, in remembrance of this exploit, and called this place Fetipoore, that is, hearts content, as ye before heard of the Citie, which for his birth was named so by his Father Accubar: these as any decay, must by the peoples toyle be supplied.

The prince taken.

Of his enlargement, &c. you shall read after in Sir T. Roes Journall.

Two Fetipores.

From hence to Hoghe Moheede 10 c. Cancanna Saray 12 c. Lahor 7 c. where I arrived February the fourth. On the twentie eighth, arrived here a Persian Embassadour allied to Sha Abash, with a great Caravan accompanying him. I by them learned, that the way to Candahar was now cleere, the warres being ended, which the Turkish Gelole had caused, who the former yeare had

Gelole a Traytor to two Kings.

[I. iv. 432.] fled to the Persian with some ten thousand Turkes, and had obtained some Iaggere neere thereto, whereof he purposing to make himselfe King, was overthrowne, and being sent for by the Persian, refused to come, till deluded by promise of a mariage, he was got to the Court, and there lost his head. We heard also of the Persians taking from the Turke, the strong Castle of Curdes, after a yeeres siege, with other Asian and Europæan ɳewes.

§. VI.

Description of Lahor, and of the Kings house there: how the Mogolls entred India: Of divers strong holds, strange Beasts, and Plants; fond Superstitions: Of the Wayes, Theeves, Outlawes, Cities, Buildings, adjoyned and intermixed: Princes not subject: Agra and Echebars Sepulchre described.

LAhor is one of the greatest Cities of the East, containing some 24 c. in circuit by the ditch which is now casting up about it, and by the Kings command, now to be inclosed with a strong wall. In the time of the Potans it was but a Village, Multan then flourishing, till Hamawn enlarged this. The Towne and Suburb is some 6 c. thorow. The castle or Towne is inclosed with a strong bricke wall, having thereto twelve faire gates, nine by land, and three openings to the River: the streets faire and well paved, the inhabitants most Baneans and handicrafts men; all white men of note lying in the Suburbs. The buildings are faire and high, with bricke and much curiositie of carved windowes and doores: most of the Gentiles doores of sixe or seven steps ascent, and very troublesome to get up, so built for more securitie, and that passengers should not see into their houses. The castle is seated on Ravee, a goodly River which falleth into Indus, downe which go many

The houses.

The River Ravee.

Boats, of sixtie tunne or upwards, for Tatta in Sind, after the fall of the raine, being a journey of some fortie dayes alongst by Multan, Seetpore, Buchur, Rauree, &c.

This River commeth from the East, and runneth Westerly by the North side of the Citie: upon which within the Castle is the Kings house, passing in at the middle gate to the River-ward. Within the Citie on the left-hand, you enter thorow a strong gate; and a Musket shot further another smaller, into a faire great square court, with Atescanna for the Kings guard to watch in. On the left-hand, thorow another gate you enter into an inner court, where the King keepes his Darbar, and round about which court are Atescanna's also for great men to watch in. In the middest there stands a high pole to hang a light on. From hence you go up to a faire stone Jounter or small court, in the middest whereof stands a faire Devoncan, with two or three other retiring rooms, wherein the King sits out all the first part of the night, commonly from eight to eleven. On the walles is the Kings Picture sitting cross-legged on a chaire of State: on his right-hand Sultan Pervése, Sultan Caroone, and Sultan Timoret, his sonnes: next these, Sha Morat, and Don Sha, two of his brothers (the three baptized before spoken, were sonnes of this later) next them Emersee Sheriff, eldest brother to Caun Asom (of whom it is reported his estate to be such, that of one hundred chiefe women which he kept, he never suffred any of their clothing after their first wearing to be ever touched by any stranger, but caused them to bee buried in the ground there to rot: as also that he alway had in service five hundred Massalgees, in so much that whensoever he went from court to his house in Agra, which was at least a corse, no man removed foote with his torch, but stood all alongst to his house) next this man, Emersee Rostene, late King of Candhar, then Can Canna (which signifieth Prince of the Cannes) then Cuttûp Caun, Rajaw Manisengo, Caun Asom, Asoph Caun, Sheck Fereed, Kelish Caun, and Rajaw Juggonat (who at his death had seven of his

The Kings house described.

Pictures.

The Pictures on the wall of the Princes or great men.

friends that burned themselves with him, besides one of his sisters, and a brothers childe.) On the left hand of the King stands Rajaw Bowsing, who beats away flyes, then Rajaw Ramdas, who holds his sword, Cleriff Caun, Caun John, Jemana Lege or Mawbet Caun, Mocrow Bowcan, Rajaw Bossow, Rajaw Ransing, Majo Kesso, and Lala Bersing. Note also that in this Gallery, as you enter, on the right-hand of the King, over the doore is the Picture of our Saviour; opposite on this left-hand of the Virgin Mary. This Devoncan is very pleasantly seated, over-looking the Ravee.

From hence passing thorow a small entrie to the West, you enter another small Court, where is another open Chounter of stone to sit in, covered with rich Semianes. From hence you enter into a small Gallery, at the end of which, next the River, thorow a small window, the King looks forth at his Dersanee, to behold the fights of wilde beasts on the meadow by the River. On the wall of this Gallery is drawne the Picture of the Acabar sitting in his State, and before him Sha Selim his sonne, standing with a Hawke on his fist, and by him Sultan Cusseroom, Sultan Pervis, Sultan Coroome, his three sonnes: at the end is a small Devoncan, where the King useth to sit; behind which is his lodging chamber, and before it all open into a paved court, alongst the right-hand whereof runneth a small Moholl of two stories, each containing eight faire lodgings for severall women, with Galleries and windowes looking to the River, and to the court. All the doores of these chambers are to bee fastened on the out-side, and none within. In the Gallery where the King useth to sit, are drawne over-head many Pictures of Angels, with Pictures of Banian Dews, or rather Divels, intermixt in most ugly shape, with long hornes, staring eyes, shagge haire, great fangs, ugly pawes, long tailes, with such horrible difformity and deformity, that I wonder the poore women are not frighted therewith. Within this court is a pleasant Devoncan and lodgings, and the way to another Moholl for the King to passe, but none other.

The Moholls. [I. iv. 433.]

Pictures of Angels and Banian Dews.

Now to returne to the former court, where the Adees or Guard keepe their watch, there is also on the left hand the new Derbar, beyond it another small court with Atescanna, and passing thorow another gate, a faire large square Moholl, called the New Moholl, of that largenesse that it may lodge two hundred women in state all severall. Likewise returning to the great court, passing right on you enter another small paved court on the left hand, and into another Moholl, the stateliest of the three, contrived into sixteene severall great lodgings, each having faire lodgings, a Devoncan (or Hall) a small paved court, each her Tanke, and enjoying a little world of pleasure and state to her selfe; all seated very pleasantly upon the River. Before the Moholl of Sultan Casserooms mother, is placed an high pole to hang a light on, as before the King, for that shee brought forth his first sonne and heire. In the midst stands a goodly Gallery for the King to sit in, with such ugly Pictures over-head as before. At the end are drawne many portraitures of the King in state sitting amongst his women, one holding a flaske of wine, another a napkin, a third presenting the Peally, behind one punkawing, another holding his sword, another his bow, and two or three arrowes, &c.

Large Moholl for two hundred women.

Pictures of his women and their offices.

Before this Gallery is a faire paved court, with stone gratings, and windowes alongst the waters side; at the end a faire marble Jounter, convexed over-head, looking over the River, beneath it a Garden of pleasure; behind, the Kings lodgings very sumptuous, the walles and seelings all over-laid with pure gold; and round alongst the sides, about a mans height, some three foote distant are placed faire Venice Looking-glasses, three and three each above other: and below these alongst the walles, are drawne many pictures of this mans Ancestors, as of Acabar his Father, Hamowne his Grand-father, Babur his great Grand-father, who first set foote into India, with thirtie of his Nobles, all clad like Kalendars or Fookeers, which so came to Dely to Secanders Court

Babur first conquerour: his stratagems.

then raigning, where by his very countenance he was discovered, yet found mercy, and returned upon his oath not to attempt any thing during the said Secanders raigne; which he performed: but after his death he sent his sonne Hamawne upon his Successor Abram, from whom he tooke the whole Kingdome. Yet at length rose up a great Captaine of the Blood-Royall in Bengala, who fought a great battel with Hamawne neare Ganges, put him to flight, and so closely followed him, that he drave him forth of the Kingdome to the Persian Shaw; of whom hee obtained new Forces (with whom came Byram, Caun Canna his father, for Generall) and reconquered all, living after that in security. This King dying, left Acabar very yong, appointed Byrame Caun Protector, whom the Acabar, comming to yeares, cast off, and on a Roomery or Pilgrimage to Mecca, as is said, made away with him. His sonne Can Canna or Caun, of the Caunees, doth also much curbe Sha Selim the King, with his friends and Allyes, being able to make better then an hundred thousand horse. Sha Selim affirmeth himselfe to be the ninth lawfully descended from the loynes of Tamerlane the Great, being the Great-grand-child of Babur, King of Cabull.

Tamerlane.

But to returne to the entrance of this Moholl, passing forth of that court thorow a strong gate, you enter into the City againe; this house and appurtenances of Mohols being at the least two English miles in circuit. On the East-side of the Castle hard without the wall, is the Garden of Asoph Caun, small, neat, with walkes (planted with Cypresse-trees) divers Tankes and Jounters: as you enter, a faire Devoncan supported with stone pillars, with a faire Tanke in the midst, and in the midst of that, on foure stone pillars, a Jounter for coolenesse. Beyond are other Galleries and walkes, divers lodgings for his women neatly contrived; and behind, a small Garden, and Garden-house. In the midst of the Garden is a very stately Jounter with faire buildings over-head and a Tanke in the center with large

Asoph Caun his Garden.

and goodly Galleries alongst the foure sides thereof, supported with high stone pillars. Adjoyning to this is a Garden of the Kings, in which are very good Apples, but small, Toot white and red, Almonds, Peaches, Figges, Grapes, Quinces, Orenges, Limmons, Pomgranats, Roses, Stock-gellow-flowers, Marigolds, Wall-flowers, Ireos, Pinkes white and red, with divers sorts of Indian Flowers. *Apples, with fruits and flowers.*

On the West-side of the Castle is the Ferry to passe over to Cabul (and so to Tartary or Cascar,) a very great road-way, and the further side of the River is a goodly Countrey. Infinit numbers of Gardens full of rarity exceeds, two or 3 c. in length. Passing the Sugar Gonge is a faire Meskite built by Shecke Fereed; beyond it (without the Towne, in the way to the Gardens) is a faire monument for Don Sha his mother, one of the Acabar his wives, with whom it is said Sha Selim had to do (her name was Immacque Kelle, or Pomgranate kernell) upon notice of which the King caused her to be inclosed quicke within a wall in his Moholl, where shee dyed: and the King in token of his love, commands a sumptuous Tombe to be built of stone in the midst of a foure-square Garden richly walled, with a gate, and divers roomes over it: the convexity of the Tombe he hath willed to be wrought in workes of gold, with a large faire Jounter with roomes over-head. Note that most of these monuments which I mention, are of such largenesse, that if they were otherwise contrived, [I. iv. 434.] would have roome to entertaine a very good man, with his whole houshold. Without the Dely Droware, where the Nolat or great Drum beats, is a goodly streight street, about three quarters of a mile long, all paved; at the end of which is the Bazar, by it the great Saray, besides which are divers others, both in the City and Suburbs, wherein divers neate lodgings are to be let, with doores, lockes and keyes to each. Hence to the North-east lyeth Ambere, the place of hospitality: from hence to the South-east the habitation of divers loving, &c.

Anno 1611. *Cabull sacked by theeves.* The seventeenth of May, came news of the sacking of Cabul by the Potan theeves, which kept in the Mountains, being eleven thousand foot, and one thousand horse, the Governour thereof being at Gelalabade about other affaires, & the Garrison so weak, that they were able only to maintaine the Castle. In six houres they spoiled the City and retired with great booty. The King for better awing of these rebels, hath placed twenty three Ombraes betwixt Lahor and Cabul, and yet all will not serve, they often sallying from the mountaines, robbing Caravans and ransacking townes. The eighteenth of August, arrived a great Caravan from Persia, by whom we had newes from an Armenian, which had served M. Boys, of the French Kings death, and of affaires betwixt the Turk and Persian; he having *Tauris raced.* destroyed the country about Tauris, raced the Citie, and filled up the wells to hinder the Turks armie: the Merchants by this means (to our griefe) not daring to adventure beyond Candhar.

Of divers wayes in the Mogols Kingdome, to and from Lahor and Agra, and places of note in them.

Relation of the way from Lahor to Cabull, beyond Cabull 60 c. runne mountaines, at the foote of which lyeth the way to Cascar. FRom Lahor to Cabull passing the Ravee at 10 c. stands Googes Seray: beyond which 8 c. Emenbade, a faire City: thence to Chumaguckur 12 c. a great towne: to Guzurat 14 c. a faire Citie of great trade: at 7 c. of this way you passe the River Chantrow, neare a corse over: to Howaspore 12 c. to Loure Rotas 15 c. a Citie with a strong Castle on a Mountaine, the Frontier of the Potan kingdome to Hattea 15 c. to Puckow 4 c. to Raulependé 14 c. to Collapanne 15 c. to Hassanabdall 4 c. a pleasant Towne with a small River, and many faire Tanks, in which are many fishes with gold rings in their noses hung by Acabar, the water so cleare, that you may see a penny in the bottome: to Attock 15 c. a Citie with a strong Castle, by which Indus passeth in great beautie: to Pishore

36 c. to Alleek Meskite 10 c. the way dangerous for rebels, which are able to make ten or twelve thousand men: to Ducka 12 c. to Beshoule 6 c. to Abareek 6 c. to Aleboga 9 c. by which runneth Cow, a great River, which comes from Cabul: (way still theevish) to Gelalabade 4 c. to Loure-charebage 4 c. to Budde-charbag 6 c. to Nimla 8 c. to Gondoma 4 c. to Surcrood 4 c. a Saray, with a small River which lookes red, and makes to have a good stomack: to Zagdelee 8 c. to Abereek 8 c. to Dowaba 8 c. a great mountain in the way 4 c. ascent: to Butta Cauke 8 c. to Camree 3 c. to Cabul 3 c. It is a great and faire Citie, the first seate of this Kings great Grand-father, with two Castles and many Sarayes. 20 c. beyond is Chare-cullow, a pleasant faire Citie, and 20 c. beyond Gore-bond, a great Citie bordering upon Usbeke. 150 c. beyond Cabul is Taul Caun, a Citie in Buddocsha. *Cabull.*

From Cabull to Cascar, with the Caravan, is some two or three moneths journey. It is a great kingdome, and under the Tartar. A chiefe Citie of trade in his Territorie is Yar Chaun, whence comes much Silke, Purslane, Muske, and Rheubarb, with other Merchandize: all which come from China, the gate or entrance whereof is some two or three moneths journey from hence. When they come to this entrance, they are forced to remaine under their Tents, and by license send some ten or fifteen Merchants at once to doe their businesse, which being returned, they may send as many more. But by no meanes can the whole Caravan enter at once. *Cascar.* *Yar Chaun.* *China.*

From Lahor to Cassimere the way is as in Cabull way to Guzerat: from thence North, or somewhat Easterly withall 16 c. to Bimbar; to Joagek Hately 14 c. to Chingesque Hately 10 c. to Peckly 10 c. to Conowa 12 c. thence 8 c. you ascend a mountaine called Hast Caunk Gate, on the top of which is a goodly plaine, from whence to Cassimer is 12 c. thorew a goodly Countrey. The City is strong, seated on the River *Of this see my Pilg. l. 4. c. 12. §. 3. Goes his travell from Lahor to Cabul and China. Cassimere.*

Bahat, the Countrie is a goodly Plaine, lying on the mountaines, some 150 c. in length, and 50 c. in breadth, abounding with fruits, graine, Saffron, faire and white women. Heere are made the rich Pomberies, which serve all the Indians. This Countrey is cold, subject to frosts, and great snowes, neare to Cascar, but separated with such mountaines, that there is no passage for Caravans: yet there commeth oft-times Musk, with Silke and other merchandize this way by men, and goods are faine to be triced up, and let downe often by engines and devices. Upon these mountaines keepes a small King called Tibbot, who of late sent one of his daughters to Sha Selim to make affinitie.

Impassible Mountaines.

Another way from Agra to Surat.

Nicholas Uphet made another way from Agra to Surat, by Fetipore, Scanderbade, Hindoine, Cheningom, Mogoll Saray, Nonnigong at the foot of a Mountaine, which with others adjoyning, are held by two Rajaws of no note. Opposite to these on the left hand, beginne the mountaines of Marwa, which extend neare Amadaver. Upon these mountaines stands an impregnable Castle, called Gur Chitto, the cheefe seat of Rana, a very powerfull Rajaw, whom neither Potan, or the Acabar himselfe could ever subdue: which comes to passe by reason that all India hath been Gentiles, and this Prince hath bin, and still is esteemed in like reverence by them, as the Pope of Rome by the Papists. And for this cause the Rajaws, which have been sent against him, frame some excuses that they may not indamage much his Territories, which extend hence alongst Amadaver way an hundred and fifty great corses, and in breadth toward Ougen 200 c. inclosed for the most part with inaccessible mountaines, and fortified well by art in places accessible. He is able to make twelve thousand good horse upon any occasion, and holds many faire Townes and goodly Cities. The way followeth by Gamgra, Charsoot (chiefe seat of Rajaw Manisengo his Prigonies) Ladaney, Mousalde, Banderamde.

Gur-chitto an impregnable Castle.

Rana Pope of the Resboates or Indian Gentiles.

[I. iv. 435.]

Prigonies are Lordships.

Description of Asmere before the Mogoll made it his Royall residence.

Asmere, seated upon the top of an inaccessible Mountaine of 3 c. ascent, being a Fort invincible: the Citie at

the foot not great, inclosed with a stone wall, ditched round, the buildings reasonable faire; without the wals are many Antiquities, amongst which some 2 c. toward Agra is a very faire Tanke. This place is only famous for the Sepulchre of Hoghee Mundee, a Saint much respected by the Mogols, to whom (as is said before) the Acabar made a Romery on foot from Agra to obtayne a Sonne. Before you come to this Tombe, you passe three faire Courts, of which the first contayneth neere an acre of ground, paved all with blacke and white Marble, wherein are interred many of Mahomets cursed Kindred: on the left hand is a faire Tanke inclosed with stone. The second Court is paved like the former, but richer, twice as bigge as the Exchange in London; in the middest whereof hangs a curious Candlesticke with many lights. Into the third you passe by a Brazen gate curiously wrought; it is the fairest of the three, especially, neere the doore of the Sepulchre, where the pavement is curiously interlayed: the doore is large and inlayed with Mother of Pearle, & the pavement about the Tombe of interlaid Marble; the Sepulchre very curiously wrought in worke of Mother of Pearle, and Gold, with an Epitaph in the Persian Tongue. A little distant stands his seate in a darke obscure place, where he sat to fore-tell of matters, and is much reverenced. On the East-side stand three other Courts, in each a faire Tanke; on the North and West stand divers faire houses, wherein keepe their Sides or Church-men. Note, that you may not enter any of these places but bare-foot.

Esteeme of a Mahumetan S. Hoghee Munde.

From hence the way lyeth to Cairo, Mearta (which hath a stone Castle with many faire Turrets, a faire Tanke, and three faire Pagodes richly wrought with inlayd Workes, adorned richly with Jewels, and maintayned with rich Offerings) Pipera, Jouges gong Settrange, Canderupe, Jeloure, (this last is a Castle, seated on the height of a steepe Mountaine, 3 c. in ascent, by a faire stone cawsey, broad enough for two men to passe a-brest. At the first Cose end is a gate and place of Armes: there

Pagodes.

Jelowre a strong Castle.

the cawsey is inclosed with wals on both sides, and at the 2 c. end is a double gate: at the 3 c. stands the Castle where you must enter three severall gates, the first very strongly plated with Iron, the second not so strong, with places over it to throw downe scalding Lead or Oyle: the third strongly plated with Pikes, sticking forth like harping Irons. Betwixt each of these gates are spacious Courts for Armes, and within the further gate is a faire Portcullis. Being entred on the right hand stands a faire Meskite, with divers Devoncans adjoyning, both to doe Justice, and to take the Aire. On the left hand stands the Governours house on the height of the hils overlooking all.

A flight-shot within the Castle is a faire Pagode built by the Founders of the Castle, Ancestors of Gidney Caun which were Indians. He turned Moore, and bereaved his elder Brother of this hold by this stratageme. He invited him and his women to a Banket, which his brother requiting with like invitation of him and his, insteed of women he sends choice Souldiers well appointed and close covered, two and two in a Dowle; who beeing entred after this manner, possest themselves of the Ports, and held it for the Great Mogoll, to whom it now appertayneth, being one of the strongest seated Forts in the world. Some halfe Cose within the gate is a goodly Tanke foure square, cut directly downe into the Rocke, affirmed to bee fiftie fathome deepe, of cleere and good water. A little further is a faire Plaine shaded with many goodly trees, beyond which on the top of a little piqued Mountayne, is the Sepulchre of King Hassward, while he lived a great Souldier, since his death a great Saint, honoured in these parts. Here lye also interred two sonnes of Gillould a Potan King of Dely: neere to which is a wall which divides the Castle neere a Cose in circuit, (the whole Castle beeing about 8 c. in compasse) nigh whereto is said to keepe a huge Snake of five and twentie foot long, and as bigge as a man in the waste, which the people will by no meanes hurt, holding it a good fortune; for it

Cunning treacherie.

A Dowly or Dowle is a Chaire or Cage wherein they carry their Women on mens sholders.

A huge Snake.

hurts no man, but keepes amongst the bushes and bryars of this piqued Mountaine. This Castle is called the Gate or Frontire of Guzurate. From hence you come to Mudre, Billmall (the foundations of whose ancient wall, are yet seene) they have beene 24 c. in circuit, many goodly Tankes also going to ruine, by one of which is the Founders Sepulchre, whither the Indians resort to worship: From hence to Amadabade, is a deepe sandy Desart Countrey. Rodeapore in this way hath many Sepulchres, (I let passe it and the rest.)

Billmall a great Citie.

Amadabade or Amadavar is a goodly City, and scituate on a faire River, inclosed with strong wals and faire gates, with many beautifull Turrets. The Castle is large and strong, where resideth Caun Asom his Sonne, the Vice-Roy in these parts. The buildings comparable to any Citie in Asia or Africa, the streets large and well paved, the Trade great (for almost every ten dayes goe from hence two hundred Coaches richly laden with Merchandise for Cambaya) the Merchants rich, the Artificers excellent for Carvings, Paintings, Inlayd Workes, imbroydery with Gold and Silver: at an houres warning it hath in readinesse sixe thousand Horse; the gates perpetually strong guarded, none suffered without license to enter, nor to depart without Certificate. The cause of this is Badurs Neighbour-hood in his strong hold, within 50 c. of this Citie to the East, where Nature with some helpe of Art and Industry hath fortified him against all the Mogolls power; and whence some foure yeeres since (proclaiming Liberty and Lawes of good fellowship) hee sacked Cambaya with a sudden power, combined by hope of spoile, of one hundred thousand men, which for fourteene dayes continued possessors there and sharkers. There is also betwixt this and Trage a certaine Rajaw on the Mountaines able to make seventeene thousand Horse and Foot, the people called Collees or Quullees, keeping in a Desart Wildernesse which secures him from Conquest: and on the right hand is another able to make tenne thousand Horse, holding in a Desart Plaine a Castle

Amadavar described.

Badur, whose Progenitors were Kings of Guzurat. [I. iv. 436.]

Two other Rajawes which stand out.

impregnable; whose Land is subject to Gidney Cauns government, but these seven yeeres hee hath denyed him Tribute, and stands on his defence. This Rajaw is said to have a Race of Horses not equalled in all the East, each valued at fifteene thousand R. reported to bee much swifter then the Arabian, and able to continue with reasonable speed a whole day without once drawing bitte; of which he is said to have one hundred Mares. From Geloure to this Citie is all a sandy, woody Countrey, full of theevish beastly men, and of Mankind, Savage Beasts, Lions, Tygres, &c. 30 c. about this City is made Nill called Cickell, of a Towne 4 c. from Amadavar, not so good as that of Biana.

An excellent race of horses.

Cambaya.

Cambaya is hence 38 c. sandy, wooddie, theevish way: it stands by the Sea, encompassed with a strong bricke wall, the houses high, and faire, the streets paved in a direct Line with strong gates at the end of each, the Bazar large: about the Citie are such infinite numbers of Munkeyes, leaping from house to house, that they doe much mischiefe, and untyling the houses, are readie to braine men as they passe in the streets with the stones that fall. On the South is a goodly Garden with a Watch-tower of an exceeding height; on the North are many faire Tankes. It is the Mart of Guzurat, and so haunted by the Portugals, that you shall often finde two hundred Frigats at once riding there. It aboundeth with all sorts of cloth and rich Drugges. The Bay is 8 c. over, dangerous to passe by reason of the great Bore which drownes many, and therefore requires Guides skilfull of the tydes: in the neape tydes is least perill. Theeves also, when you are over the Channell, are not a little dangerous, forcing you (if not the better provided) to quit your goods, or in long bickerings, betraying you to the tydes fury, which comes so swift that ten to one you escape not. Foure Coses beyond this Bay is Joumbeser, now much ruined, and from thence eighteene to Boroche, a woodie, dangerous passage, in which are many wilde Peacockes. Within 4 c. of Boroche is a great Mine of Agats. It is a faire

Munkeyes.

Port. Frigats.

Violent tyde called the Bore.

Boroche.

A Mine of Agats.

Castle seated on a River twice as broad as the Thames, to the mouth of which is hence 12 c. Here are made the rich Baffatas, in finenesse surpassing Holland Cloth, for fiftie Rupias a Booke, which contayneth fourteene English yards, and are not three quarters broad.

Hence to Varjaw 20 c. a goodly Countrey and fertile, full of Villages, abounding with wild Date Trees, which generally are plentifull by the Sea-side in most places, whence they draw a liquor called Tarrie or Sure, as also from another wild Coco-tree called Tarrie, 2 c. hence is Surat.

Tarrie or Taddie, a strong Wine.

In a Towne betweene Boroche and Amadavar, lyeth a Great Saint of the Moores called Polle-Medomy much resorted to out of all places of India, for wealth, children, or what else they desire. Divers in the way goe with great chaines on their legges, and with their hands chained together, and their mouthes locked up, (only opening them for food) and when they come before him in this manner of their humble devotion, they affirme that presently their chaines and lockes flye open, not one returning in vaine, if themselves bee not vaine in their hopes, and in these and other like affections, which wayting on lying Vanities, forsake their owne Judge.

Polle Medomy a Moore Devil or Saint. Pilgrimage to him.

Miracles as true as—

From Agra to Cannowes is 130 c. East, the Citie great and unwalled, seated on an ascent, and the Castle on the height well fortified: at the foot whereof anciently Ganges tooke his course, but hath now broken a passage thorow the Valley some 4 c. distant, notwithstanding as yet a small branch remayneth there. Ganges is within his bounds three quarters of a mile broad, but with great raines swels over his bankes, covering the whole Vale neere 10 c. It hath thirtie Rivers of note which fall into it, as doth he himselfe into the Gulfe of Bengala. In it are innumerable Alagaters or Crocodiles, there called Murgurmach. It hath eighteene faire branches. Thence to Lacanowes is 30 c. a Towne of great traffique for Linnen and other Merchandize. To Oude from thence are 50 c. a Citie of ancient note, and seate of a Potan

Certaine places of note in the Countrey of Purrop. Cannowes.

Ganges his beginning, and greatness.

Lacanowes.

Oude.

King, now much ruined: the Castle built foure hundred yeeres agoe. Heere are also the ruines of Ranichand Castle and Houses which the Indians acknowledge for the great God, saying, that he tooke flesh upon him to see the Tamasha of the World. In these ruines remayne certaine Bramenes, who record the names of all such Indians as wash themselves in the River running thereby; which custome they say, hath continued foure lackes of yeeres (which is three hundred ninetie foure thousand, and five hundred yeeres before the Worlds Creation.) Some two miles on the further side of the River is a Cave of his, with a narrow entrance, but so spacious and full of turnings within, that a man may well loose himselfe there, if he take not better heed; where it is thought his ashes were buried. Hither resort many from all parts of India, which carry from hence in remembrance certaine graines of Rice as blacke as Gun-powder, which they say have beene reserved ever since. Out of the ruines of this Castle is yet much Gold tryed: here is great Trade, and such abundance of Indian Asse-horne, that they make hereof Bucklers, and divers sorts of Drinking Cups. There are of these Hornes, all the Indians affirme, some rare of great price, no Jewell comparable, some esteeming them the right Unicornes Horne.

Holy, holy place and Indian Fables.

Indian-Asse-horne.

[I. iv. 437.] From Oudee to Acabarpore 30 c. some 30 c. from whence lyeth Bonarce the principall Mart of Bengala goods. From Acab, to Jounpore 30 c. seated on a small River, over which is a bridge with Houses like London Bridge, but nothing so good. The Castle hath beene a seat of the Potan Kings, there yet remayning two faire Meskites, with many other ancient Monuments: the houses are like those of Amadavar, the circuit some 8. or 10 c. Hence come excellent sweete Oyles, Carpets, Hangings embrodered with Silke, all sorts of fine Linnen, &c.

The returne from Jounpore another way to Alabasse to Agra.

Thus much from Agra to Jounpore this way: from thence (returning that way to Agra) to Alabasse is 110 c. 30 c. all which are thorow a continuall Forrest. The

Towne and Castle stand on the further side of Ganges pleasantly seated, called anciently Praye, and is held one of the Wonders of the East. Divers Potan Kings have sought to build here a Castle, but none could doe it, till Acabar layd the foundation and proceeded with the Worke. It stands on a Point or Angle having the River Gemini on the South-side falling into Ganges. It hath beene fortie yeeres a building, and is not yet finished, neither is like to bee in a long time. The Acabar for many yeeres had attending this worke by report twentie thousand persons, and as yet there continue working thereon some five thousand of all sorts. It will be one of the most famous buildings of the World. In this Castle Sha Selim kept when he rebelled against his Father. The outward wals are of an admirable height, of a red square stone, like Agra Castle, within which are two other wals nothing so high. You enter thorow two faire gates into a faire Court, in which stands a Piller of stone fiftie Cubits above ground (so deeply placed within ground that no end can be found) which by circumstances of the Indians, seemeth to have beene placed by Alexander or some other great Conquerour, who could not passe further for Ganges. Passing this Court you enter a lesse, beyond that a larger, where the King sits on high at his Dersane to behold Elephants and other Beasts to fight. Right under him within a Vault are many Pagodes, being Monuments of Baba Adam, and Mama Havah, (as they call them) and of their Progenie, with Pictures of Noah and his Descent.

Alabasse Castle.

A mighty Castle.

Alexanders Piller.

The Indians suppose that Man was heere created, or kept here at least for many yeeres, affirming themselves to be of that Religion, whereof these Fathers were. To this place resort many thousands from all parts to worship: but before they approch these Reliques, they wash their bodies in Ganges, shaving their heads and beards, thereby deeming themselves clensed from all their former sins. Out of this Court is another richly paved where the King keepes his Derbar; beyond it another

Mon. of Adam and Eve, and of the Creation.

Pilgrimage & Holy-water.

whence you enter into the Moholl, large, divided into sixteene severall Lodgings for sixteene great Women with their Slaves and Attendants: in the middest of all, the Kings Lodgings of three Stories each contayning sixteene roomes, in all eight and fortie Lodgings, all wrought over-head with rich Pargetting and curious Painting in all kind of Colours. In the midst of the lowest storie is a curious Tanke.

Strange Tree. In this Moholl is a Tree which the Indians call the Tree of Life (beeing a wilde Indian figge Tree) for that it could never bee destroyed by the Potan Kings and this mans Ancestors, which have sought to doe it by all meanes, stocking it up and sifting the very earth under it to gather forth the sprigs, it still springing againe, insomuch that this King lets it alone seeking to cherish it. This Tree is of no small esteeme with the Indians. In the waters side within the Moholl are divers large Devoncans, where the King with his Women often passe their times in beholding Gemini, paying his tribute to Ganges. Betweene them and the waters side at the foote of the wall is a pleasant Garden shaded with Cypresse Trees, and abounding with excellent fruits and flowres, having in the midst a faire Banquetting House, with privie staires to take Boate. From hence in October or November when the great Frost is past you may passe by Boats for Bengala; but the passage is dangerous: 4 c. downe are two Castles opposite on the Bankes, Harrayle and Gussee, seated on two hils raysed by industry, built by the Potans.

Menepore. From Alabasse to Menepore is 20 c. alongst the River Ganges. At 2 c. on this way is a sumptuous Tombe for this Kings first Wife, Mother to Sultan Casseroon, and Sister to Raja Manisengo, who upon the newes of her Sonnes revolt poysoned her selfe. From hence passing Ganges is a more direct way to Jounpore.

Chappergat. *A faire Saray.* To Chappergat is 12 c. here is one of the fairest Saraies in India, liker a goodly Castle then a Inne to lodge strangers, the lodgings very faire of stone with

Lockes and Keyes able to lodge a thousand men: a man can scarse shoote from side to side with an Arrow; neere to it is a faire bridge both built by one man: the way perillous for Theeves. Itay is thence 12 c. anciently the seate of a Potan King but now ruined. On the height of the hill cut steep downe, is seated a strong Castle double walled, having at the entrance the figure of a mans face which the Indians much worship powring abundance of Oyle upon it. To Amedipore is 43 c. a plentifull Countrey full of good Saraies for Caravans. Much Indico called Cole of a grosse sort is made in this way, which is spent in India, or transported for Samercand, Cascat, and those parts, none passing into Christendome, except mixed with that of Biana. Hence to Agra is 7 c. passing Gemini close to the Citie.

Itay. Face worshipped.

Lands lying Easterly from Lahor with their Lords.

ALongst the Ravee Easterly, lyeth the Land of Rajaw Bossow, whose chiefe seate is Tem-mery, 50 c. from Lahor. He is a mighty Prince now subject to the Mogol, a great Minion of Sha Selim. Out of this, and the adjoyning Regions, come most of the Indian Drugges, growing on the Mountaines, Spikenard, Turbith, Miras, Kebals, Gunlack, Turpentine, Costus, &c. This Raja confines the Kings Land Easterly. Bordering to him is another great Rajaw, called Tulluck-Chand, whose chiefe City is Negercoat, 80 c. from Lahor, and as much from Syrinan, in which City is a famous Pagod, called Je or Durga, unto which worlds of people resort out of all parts of India. It is a small short Idoll of stone, cut in forme of a man; much is consumed in offerings to him, in which some also are reported to cut off a piece of their tongue, and throwing it at the Idols feet, have found it whole the next day (able to lye I am afraid; to serve the father of lyes and lyers, how ever) yea some out of impious piety heere sacrifice themselves,

Tem-mery.

[I. iv. 438.]

Negercoat.

Idolatrous pilgrimage, and cruell devotions.

cutting their throats, and presently recovering: the holyer the man, the sooner forsooth he is healed, some (more grievous sinners) remaining halfe a day in paine, before the Divell will attend their cure. Hither they resort to crave children, to enquire of money hidden by their parents, or lost by themselves, which having made their offerings, by dreames in the night receive answere, not one departing discontented. They report this Pagan Deity to have beene a woman (if a holy Virgin may have that name) yea that shee still lives (the Divell shee doth) but will not shew her selfe. Divers Moores also resort to this Peer. This Raja is powerfull, by his Mountaines situation secure, not once vouchsafing to visite Sha Selim.

Calsery. On this Rajaw Easterly confineth another, called Decanspergas, a mightie Prince, his chiefe seat Calsery about an 150 c. from Agra, his Country held 500 c. long, North and South 300 c. broad, populous, able to raise upon occasion five hundred thousand foot, but few or no horse; the Land plentifull in it selfe, but sends forth little.

Serenegar. *Dow Lager.* To the Eastward of this Rajaw, betwixt Jemini and Ganges lyeth the Land of Rajaw Mansa, a mighty Prince and very rich, reported to be served, all in vessels of massie gold: his Countrey 300 c. long, and one hundred and fifty broad, his chiefe seat Serenegar: the Mountaines called Dow Lager, upon which in time of Winter falls such extreame Snowes, that the Inhabitants are forced to remoove into the Valleyes. Yet doe I not thinke that any of these Lands extend Northerly above forty degrees, but the height of the Mountaines causeth this extremity of cold. This Rajas Land extendeth within some 200 c. of Agra, part within 50 c. of Syrinan, very plentifull.

Extremitie of cold.

Camow. On the further side of Ganges lyeth a very mighty Prince, called Rajaw Rodorow, holding a mountainous Countrey, his chiefe seat Camow; his territories extend 400 c. long, and not much lesse in breadth, abounding with graine,

have many goodly Cities: thence cometh much Muske, and heere is the great breed of a small kind of Horse, called Gunts, a true travelling scalecliffe beast. This Prince is puissant in foot, but hath few Horse or Elephants, the mountaines not requiring the one, and the cold excluding the other: his Lands thought to reach neare China.

Gunts, a race of horse to climb hilles.

To the South of this Raja, thwart the streames of Ganges, is seated another, Raja Mugg, very powerfull in horse, foote, and Elephants. In his Land is the old rocke of naturall Diamonds, which yeelds him no small benefit. His Lands extend East, somewhat South 700 c. from Agra. Beneath him amongst the streames of Ganges, keepeth a Potan Prince of the Dely-Kings race, whom the King cannot subdue, by reason of the streames and Ilands of Ganges. He confineth upon Purrop, and makes often inroades upon the Kings lands, enforcing Sha Selim to maintaine a frontire army. Hence to the mouth of Ganges, all is the Kings land: only in the mouth, the Portugall Out-lawes hold a small Fort, and doe much mischiefe, living in no forme of subjection to God or man.

Rocke of Diamonds.

Port. outlawes.

On the further side of Ganges, is the mightie King of Arracan, enjoying a large territory, and infinite numbers of small Barkes. Eastward from him is the Kingdome of Siam; behind it Ova and Jangoma. Betweene Tanassar and Arracan is the Kingdome of Pegu; the Land now lyeth waste. To the South is the Kingdome of Queda, Malacca, &c. On the Sea-coast of Bengala, this King hath two chiefe ports, Ougolee (tyrannized by the Portugals) and Pipilee, passing which, and the Land of Orixa, you enter into the Lands of Goloconda, on whom Sha Selim maketh warres, and hath forcibly taken much of his Land. His chiefe Port is Masulipatan, and his Royall seat Braganadar and Goloconda, that late builded. Alongst the sea side toward the Cape, is the mightie King of Bezeneger, under whom the Portugals hold Saint Thome and

See of Pegu Floris his Relation before.

Negapatan, but are not suffered to build a Castle. But I let passe these neighbouring Indies, and return to Agra, the Mogols royall residence.

Description of Agra, and the Castle.

Agra hath not been in fame above fiftie yeeres, being before Acabars time a Village, who removed (as you have heard) from Fetipore for want of good water. It is spacious, large, populous beyond measure, that you can hardly passe in the streets, which are for the most part dirty and narrow, save only the great Bazar and some few others, which are large and faire. The Citie lyeth in manner of a halfe-moone, bellying to the land-ward some 5 c. in length, and as much by the Rivers side, upon the bankes whereof are many goodly houses of the Nobility, pleasantly over-looking Gemini, which runneth with a swift current from the North to the South, somewhat Easterly into Ganges. Upon the banke

The Castle.

of this River stands the Castle, one of the fairest and admirablest buildings of the East, some three or foure miles in compasse, inclosed with a faire and strong wall of squared stone; about which is cast a faire ditch, over

[I. iv. 439.]

it draw-bridges. The walles are built with bulwarkes somewhat defensible, regalled with a counter-scarfe or front without, some fifteene yards broad. Within this are two other strong walls and gates. To the Castle are foure gates, one to the North, by which you passe to a Rampire with great peeces, another West to the Bazar, called the Cichery gate, within which, over against the great gate, is the Casi his seat of Chiefe-Justice in matters of law, and by it two or three murtherers very great (one three foot in the bore, and fifteene long) of cast brasse. Over-against this seat is the Cichery or Court of Rolls, where the Kings Viseer sits every morning some three houres, by whose hands passe all matters of Rents, Grants, Lands, Firmans, Debts, &c.

Seats of Justice.

Beyond these two gates you passe a second gate, over which are two Rajaws in stone,* who were slaine in the

**It is said that they were two Brothers Resboots, Tutors to a Prince their Nephew, whom the King demaunded of them. They refused, and were committed, but drew on the Officers, slew twelve, and at last by multitudes oppressing were slain, and here have Elephants of stone, and themselves figured.*

Kings Derbar before the Kings eyes, for being over-bold in speech, they selling their lives bravely, in remembrance of which they are heere placed. Passing this gate, you enter into a faire streete, with houses and munition all alongst on both sides. At the end of this street being a quarter of a mile, you come to the third gate, which leads to the Kings Derbar, alwayes chained, all men, but the King and his children, there alighting. This gate is to the South called Acabar Drowage, close within which is the Whores child, many hundreds of which attend there day and night, according as their severall turnes come every seventh day, that they may bee ready when the King or his women shall please to call any of them to sing or dance in his Moholl, he giving to every one of them stipends according to their unworthy worth.

Singsters or whoores attending. Some say they are there as a Court of guard of women, of which are here two or three hundred daily by succession.

The fourth Gate is to the River called the Dersane, leading into a faire Court extending alongst the River, in which the King lookes forth every morning at Sun-rising, which hee salutes, and then his Nobles resort to their Tessillam. Right under the place where he lookes out, is a kind of scaffold whereon his Nobles stand, but the Addees with others awayt below in the Court. Here also every noone he looketh forth to behold Tamashan, or fighting of Elephants, Lyons, Buffles, killing of Deare with Leopards; which is a custom on every day of the weeke, Sunday excepted, on which is no fighting; but Tuesday on the contrary is a day of blood, both of fighting beasts, and justiced men, the King judging and seeing execution. To returne to the third Gate, within it you enter into a spacious court with Atescanna's round about like shops or open stalls, wherein his Captaines according to their degrees, keep their seventh day Chockees. A little further you enter within a rayle into a more inward Court, within which none but the Kings Addees, and men of sort are admitted, under paine of swacking by the Porters cudgells, which lay on load without respect of persons.

Tessillam is a gesture of humiliation.

The Kings Derbar.

Being entred, you approach the Kings Derbar or Seat, before which is also a small Court inclosed with railes, covered over head with rich Semianes to keepe away the Sunne; where aloft in a Gallery, the King sits in his chaire of State, accompanied with his Children and chiefe Vizier (who goeth up by a short ladder forth of the Court) no other without calling daring to goe up to him, save onely two Punkaw's to gather wind. And right before him below on a scaffold is a third, who with a horse taile makes havocke of poore flies. On the right hand of the King, on the wall behind him, is the picture of our Saviour; on the left, of the Virgin. Within these railes none under the degree of foure hundred horse are permitted to enter. On the further side of this Court of presence, are hanged golden bels, that if any be oppressed and can get no justice by the Kings Officers, by ringing these bells when the King sits, he is called, and the matter discussed before the King. But let them be sure their cause be good, least he be punished for presumption to trouble the King. Here every day betweene three and foure a clocke, the King comes forth (and many thousands resort to doe their duties, each taking place according to his degree) where hee remaines hearing of matters, receiving of newes by letters read by his Vizier, graunting of suites, &c. till shutting in of the Evening, the drumme meane while beating, and Instruments playing from a high Gallery on the next building opposite: his Elephants and Horses passing by in brave fashion, doing their Tessillam, and being perused by Officers to see if they prosper. In the Castle are two high turrets, over-laid with pure massie gold, which may be seen from farre, one over his Mohol, the other over his Treasury. After his going in from the Derbar in the Evening, some two houres after he comes out againe, sitting forth in a small more inward Court, behind the other, close to his Moholl, into which none but the Grandes, and they also with tickets to be renewed with every Moone, are permitted to enter,

Of his Elephants yearly presenting, of his Treasures in this Castle, &c. see Capt. Hawkins former relations. Of other things, see that which followes in Sir T. Roes Journall.

where he drinkes by number and measure, sometimes one and thirtie, and running over, mixing also among, severe judicatures. From this Court is his privy passage into a curious Garden, and to his Barge, by which he often passeth the River to an other Garden opposite. It is remarkeable, that both in Court, and here in these Gardens, no Courtiers or Gardeners are tied to attendance, but by their seventh dayes turne.

Some adde,* that the Citie hath no walls, but a ditch round about, not broad, and dry also: adjoyning to the ditch without the Citie are very large suburbs. The City and suburbs are one way seven mile in length, three in breadth. The Noble mens houses and Merchants built with bricke and stone, flat roofed, the common sort of mudde walls, covered with thatch, which cause often and terrible fires. The Citie hath sixe Gates, the adjoyning River Gemini being broader then the Thames at London, on which are many Boats, some of one hundred Tunnes, but these cannot returne against the streame. Most of the Noble mens houses are by the Rivers side. From Agra to Lahor sixe hundred miles, the way is set on both sides with Mulbery-trees.

**A written booke entituled, A discourse of Agra, and the foure principall waies to it. I know not by what Author, except it be Nic. Uphlet.* [I. iv. 440.]

King Acabars Sepulchre is 3 c. distant from Agra in the way to Lahor, nothing neere finished as yet, after tenne yeares worke. It is placed in the midst of a faire and large Garden, inclosed with bricke walls, neere two miles in circuit; is to have foure Gates (but one of which is yet in hand) each, if answerable to this foundation, able to receive a great Prince with a reasonable traine) alongst the way side is a spacious Moholl for his fathers women (as is said) to remayne and end their dayes in deploring their deceassed Lord, each enjoying the lands they before had in the Kings time, by the pay or rents of five thousand horse the principall, so that this should be to them a perpetuall Nunnery, never to marry againe.

Description of Acabars Tomb.

In the Center of this Garden stands the Tombe foure square, about three quarters of a mile in compasse. The

first inclosure is with a curious rayle, to which you ascend some sixe steps into a small square Garden quartered in curious Tankes, planted with variety of sweets: adjoyning to which is the Tombe, rounded with this gardenet, being also foure square, all of hewne stone, with faire spacious Galleries on each side, having at each corner a small beautifull Turret, arched over head, and covered with various Marble. Betwixt corner and corner are foure other Turrets at like distance. Here within a faire round coffin of Gold, lieth the body of this Monarch, who sometimes thought the World too little for him. This Tombe is much worshipped both by the Moores and Gentiles, holding him for a great Saint. Some tenne or twelve foot higher, you ascend by staires to another Gallery, (like, but narrower, to the former, as are also the rest that follow) containing onely three of those Turrets between corner and corner. Here in the midst is his Wardrobe for a memoriall. The third story hath but two of those middle Turrets on a side: the fourth one: the fifth hath only the corner Turret, and a small square Gallery. The Tombe was not finished at my departure, but lay in manner of a coffin, covered with a white sheet, interwrought with Gold flowers. By his head stands his Sword and Target, and on a small pillow his Turbant, and thereby two or three faire gilded bookes. At his feet stand his shooes, and a rich Bason and Ewre. Every one approaching neere makes his reverence, and puts off his shooes, bringing in his hand some sweete smelling flowers to bestrew the Carpets, or to adorne the Tombe.

At my last sight thereof, there was onely over head a rich Tent, with a Semaine over the Tombe. But it is to be inarched over with the most curious white and speckled Marble, and to be seeled all within, with pure sheet-Gold richly inwrought. These foure last Turrets also inclosing the Sepulchre, are of most rich curious Marble, & the ground underfoot paved with the like. There are in continuall worke about this and other build-

ings about it, the Moholl and Gate, not so few as three thousand. The stone is brought from a rich Quarrey neere Fetipore, which (wee have said) may be cut in length and forme, as Timber with sawes, and Plankes and seelings are made thereof.

Chap. V.

The ninth Voyage of the Indian Companie to the East Indies, in the James, whereof was Captaine Edmund Marlowe of Bristoll, and the Master John Davy, which wrote this Journall.

THe tenth of February, 1611. we departed from the Downes upon our Voyage. The thirteenth at night we anchored within the Ile of Wight, where we stayed till the one and twentieth of the same Moneth, and then set saile and turned out at S. Helens point. The same day at noone we had Dunnose North from us three leagues off, the Dragon before us, and the Hosiander and the Salomon put in the Needles. *February* 1611.

The eleventh day of Aprill, 1612. by observation wee were under the Equinoctiall line: and in longitude from the Meridian of the Lizard, sixe degrees twenty minutes West. This night the variation was five degrees thirty seven minutes from North to the East. The twenty seventh, the variation of the Needle was fourteene degrees seven minutes. This day at noone we were in latitude by observation, nineteene degrees fortie minutes: the longitude from the meridian of the Lizard, eleven degrees twenty foure minutes West. These twenty foure houres we sailed two leagues South by East. Here we saw an Iland South-east from us fourteene leagues. This Iland I saw when I was with Sir Edward Michelborne. This Iland is like Corvo. The latitude is twenty *Aprill* 11. 1612. *They crosse the Equinoctiall.* *This seemeth to be the Ile de Martin Vaz.*

degrees thirty minutes: the longitude eleven degrees thirty minutes West from the Lizard. The variation of the Needle fourteene degrees thirty minutes. This Iland riseth ragged; upon the Easter end standeth a little pike, but the Iland is round like Corvo. East North-east from this Iland is another Iland or two in sight, seven or eight leagues off.

[I. iv. 441.] The seven and twentieth of June, at nine of the clocke at night, wee saw the Land of Saint Laurence, in latitude by judgement foure and twentie degrees eight minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope, five and twentie degrees no minutes. The variation was fifteene degrees, and ten minutes.

The eight and twentieth, in the morning the variation of the needle was fifteene degrees, no minutes, in foure leagues off the shoare, betweene the headland of the Bay, and the Ilands before the Bay, is no ground in seventie or eightie fathomes.

They anchor in the Bay of Saint Augustine.

This night wee anchored in the Bay of Saint Augustine, in five fathomes by the South-land. This day wee weighed and came in by the River with the shippe. The one of our anchors lay in five and thirtie fathomes, and the other in ten fathomes. You may ride in shoalder water off each side, if you will: for this channell of deepe water is but narrow. Here no Sea can come to hurt you, because the Shoalds and Land breake it off. It may well be called an harbour, for the goodnesse of the place. Wee spent twentie dayes in this Bay.

Julie 18. *They depart from the River of Saint Augustine.*

The eighteenth of Julie, in the morning we set saile for Bantam, and wee steered off West by north from the river to go to the northward of the Ilands. And in this course you have no ground with the lead; for it is all steepe home to the shoare of the other side; for when you have twentie fathomes within the Ilands, you are hard by the stones: but by the Ilands and shoalds is faire shoalding from seven to thirtie fathoms, and no ground, the gut betweene the hills being East

by South from you, you goe right into the rode, or East.

The eighteenth, at noone wee were in latitude three and twentie degrees, five and fortie minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope, two and twentie degrees, eight and fiftie minutes East, and two leagues off the next land. Heere the land is all white by the waters side.

They saile toward Bantam by the outside of the Ile of Saint Laurence.

The nineteenth, in the morning the variation was fifteene degrees no minutes and then the ship was from the neerest land twelve leagues: and the latitude by judgement three and twentie deg. five and fiftie minutes. At noone, the latitude by observation foure and twentie degrees, one and thirtie minutes: and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope two and twentie degrees, two and twentie minutes East. These foure and twentie houres we sailed upon a right line South-west by South twentie leagues. This night the variation was fourteene degrees thirtie minutes.

September 24. Iles of Nintam.

The foure and twentieth of September, in the morning wee saw the Iles of Nintam, which are in latitude, one degree, thirtie minutes. The Sound betweene the two great Ilands is eighteene leagues from Priaman, and eleven leagues from the Shoalds before Tecou. Beware you come not neere these Shoalds by night, but rather lie short three or foure leagues till day-light. And then when you see three hommockes, that will rise up like three Ilands; have a speciall care, that you have one at your bolt-spreet end, to give warning of any spots in your way: for there are Corralbods that you may easily perceive. Your course from this Sound of the two great Ilands of Nintam to goe for Tecou or Priaman, is East North-east to the Shoalds aforesaid. But when you come thorow the Sound, keepe your lead going: and come no neerer the South great Iland then sixteene fathome: for towards the Eastside are Shoalds: and a breach off the Norther-Iland also, as you shall see upon your Larboord-side going in.

They arrive in the Rode of Priaman in Sumatra.

For your better knowing when you draw neere the Shoalds of Tecou, set the three hommocks which are like three Ilands, but are upon the Maine, for it is low land by them: and when you have them North-east and by East, you shall begin to meet with them: and when the said land is North North-east you are past them. But bee very carefull every where: for it is all bad ground hereabout before you passe the high land of Manancabo, which is in latitude foure degrees, thirtie minutes, or thereabout.

The sixe and twentieth, wee anchored in the rode of Priaman; where wee found the Thomas: and wee stayed there to recover sicke men fourteene dayes. And then the Hector and wee did set saile for Bantam. The latitude of Priaman is in fiftie minutes Southerly. The variation foure degrees ten minutes. The Rode is behind the second Iland in sixe fathomes: upon which Iland you have fresh water and wood. The Barre of Priaman is fast by.

October 8. The eight of October, the ship came downe by the Hector, where wee stayed for her to goe for Bantam, and in the morning set saile.

They arrive at Bantam. The three and twentieth, wee came into the rode of Bantam with the James and the Hector.

November. The fourth of November 1612. wee weighed from the rode of Bantam, to goe for Coromandel, by the straight of Sunda: but the wind and streames were so much against us, that we were forced into the Straight of Sunda againe, to fit our ship being much weather-beaten.

December 11. The eleventh of December, wee anchored againe by Pulo Panian, and went to worke to romage our ship to take in ballast.

Januarie 10. *The Straight of Malacca.* The tenth of Januarie, being ballasted, watered, and fitted, wee set saile for the Straight of Malacca: but being late in the monson, streames and winds both against us, with much toyle to ship and men wee plied seventie leagues from Bantam, and could get no farther

from the tenth of this moneth to the first of March: whereupon our hope was then past for that. And taking advise amongst ourselves, wee concluded to water and wood, and so to returne for Bantam, and to proceed without Sumatra. *March.* *They are put backe to Bantam.*

The eleventh, being fitted with wood and water, we bare up for Bantam the second time. [I. iv. 442.]

The fifth of June 1613. at noone, in latitude 12. degr. no minutes, and longitude from the salt hills, 23. degrees, no minutes West. Heere you shall see plainly, that we have been carryed with the streame foure degrees, thirty minutes, which is ninty leagues. For whosoever he be, that shall saile downe from Bantam, or up, he shall find such uncertaine sailing, if he looke not well to the variation of the needle, that he may well misse his expectation for the arrivall at his Port. For there is neither English nor Hollander, that can find any way how to deale with those streames, but only by the variation: for that will helpe much in ten or fifteene leagues, if it be carefully observed. Heere we saw the land, it is so low, that you cannot see it before you see the Pagods or Pagan Churches: and we were when we saw the land foure leagues off. You may be bold with your lead in fifteene fathomes by night upon the Coast, and by day in ten fathomes: but take heed you have a sure man at the lead, for it will shoald suddenly; for after you come to have thirty fathoms, you will come presently to shoald water, for it is like a well, and the ground Ozie. Your course along the shoare is North and by East to Paleacate, and so up to Masulipatan. This land was about Negapatan. Heere we steered North North-east all night, in three and twenty and seventeene fathoms, three or foure leagues: the variation thirteene degrees, ten minutes, you shall in twelve degrees of latitude surely see the land. *June* 5. 1613. *A special note.* *They discrie the Land.* *Negapatan.*

The sixth at noone, we anchored in the Road of Paleacate in eight fathoms sand. There is a middle *They arrive at Paleacate.*

ground, where you have but five fathoms, and sixe, seven, eight, within that againe. The markes for the Roade are the round Hill by the other hill West Northerly, and the Hollanders Fort South-west and by West, as wee road. The variation is thirteene degrees, ten minutes. The latitude thirteene degrees, thirty minutes.

The eight at noone, we were in latitude fourteene degrees, forty minutes: we sailed since we weighed the last night twenty three leagues, the depths five and twenty and three and twenty fathoms: the course North and by East; but the lead is our guide under God.

The ninth at noone, in latitude fifteene degrees, thirty minutes. Heere you have the land in sight, but not the high land of Petepoli. These foure and twenty houres wee sailed seventeene leagues North in fifteene and sixteene fathoms. And this high land is a Pagodie or Pagan Church. You may, if you will, hale in with it into five fathoms, when the hill is North North-west, but you must goe off East for it, for we did so. *A good note.* But beware in going off for a lownesse of sand, and come no nearer it then twelve or thirteene fathoms, till you be surely past it. This high land is from the high land of Petepoli sixe leagues.

They Anchor in the Road of Petepoli. The tenth, we anchored in the Road of Petepoli, in five fathoms sand. This new high Iland North North-west from us, and the platforme of Palm-trees upon the Island East North-east, Easterly, and the Barre North-west and by North from us. All the Sea-cost is low land. The latitude fifteene degrees, two and fiftie minutes. The variation thirteene degrees, fifty minutes, perfect and full.

A Factory with nine men erected at Petepoli. The nineteenth, in the after-noone we set saile, when the Factory was fitted. The Merchants which wee left there, were Master George Chansey, and our Purser, with seven men more to keep our house and goods.

The twentieth calme, you goe East South-east nine

leagues, in seven or eight fathomes, and then North North-west: feare not in five fathoms or lesse, after you are about the point, for it is low land. There is but one great tree bigger then any of the rest to know the Road by, that must you bring West and by North from you, and you shal have three fathoms and a quarter soft Ozie, and ride three miles off the land.

A great tree, a chiefe marke for to know the Roade.

The one and twentieth, we anchored in the Roade of Masulipatan, where we found a ship of Holland: heere we were well entertained. Heere we did stay about sixe moneths, to wit, untill the sixteenth of January: and then we weighed and went for Petipoli, where wee arrived the nineteenth of the same, and stayed there to take in the goods and Merchants, till the seventh of February. And then wee set saile for Bantam, and kept the same courses which wee did before downe, all the way up. We arrived at Bantam the twentieth of Aprill 1614. where we stayed till the tenth of June 1614. and then set saile for Patane.

They arrive at Masulipatan.

They returne from Petepoli for Bantam.

They arrive at Bantam.

They set out for Patane.

The tenth of June 1614. at noone, we had sight of the Islands nine leagues from Bantam, our going is from five, sixe, seven, eight, twelve, fourteene, and so to foure and twentie fathomes: at this time our course was North North-east, after you are cleare off the Road, the wind from the East South-east: the latitude Southerly five degrees, foure and forty minutes.

June 10. 1614.

The eleventh, at sixe of the clocke in the morning, we were by the two Ilands that lye North from Bantam, in five degrees of latitude by Sumatra, in twentie fathomes, which is the surest course out and home. Heere you must be carefull to looke well out for two sands, that lye even with the water. From six in the morning we sailed seven leagues North North-east, in sixteen, fifteene, fourteene and thirteene fathoms, and are now from Bantam seven and twentie leagues North and by East nearest, the wind from the East to the South-east. From twelve in the night we sailed eleven leagues North, in ten and eleven fathoms Ozie: but

when you passe the Riffe, you have hard sand: the latitude foure degrees, twelve minutes Southerly. Be-
[I. iv. 443.] ware by night, goe not without ten fathomes, nor within to the Maine to lesse then sixe or seven. And so be bold with a sure man at the Lead: for that must be the best Pilot.

The twelfth, in the morning from eight degrees Easterly, wee sailed seven leagues North North-east in eight, seven, sixe and five fathomes, and are with the second Riffe.

From the second in the morning to eleven in the morning; wee sailed seven leagues North North-east by judgement: but the streame did set so fast in, that wee were forced to anchor in foure fathome and a quarter lesse: the riffe land in sight, but not Lucapara. Heere must especiall care bee had, when you come with the land
The Ile Lucapara. off the Riffe, that is, twelve leagues short of Lucapara, and fortie eight leagues from Bantam, that you come not within sixe fathomes till you see Lucapara, for it is very uncertaine ground, full of pits. And for a warning to avoid it, beware you bring not the Riffe land last mentioned South-west and by South, but keepe off in seven fathomes, till you see Lucapara, and then you need not feare; for the Iland is bold two leagues off, but remember you must leave it to the Eastward of you, and when you see it, feare not five or foure fathomes, for that is the depth you may be bold in with the Maine of Sumatra, but in the best toward the Iland is five and an halfe, and sixe fathomes. The streame setteth North North-west, and South South-east, it hath sixe foot water. The floud commeth from the South-ward, and the ebbe from the North-ward. The thirteenth, we rid still with very uncertaine weather.

The fourteenth, we came with the Iland and Maine, and put through betweene them in five fathomes and an halfe. And at noone we had the Iland East North-east a league from us, for so neere is the deepest water: then steere North till the point bee North-west and by West in five

or sixe fathomes. The distance is foure leagues, keepe the Iland South South-east from you, for about it is very uncertaine ground.

Then the next reach lyeth North North-west neerest: but keepe Sumatra side, and not Banca, although you have deeper water: for Banca side is Rockes, and sounding depths, Sumatra is Ozie. And you may bee bold in this first reach: and you shall have nine, ten, eleven, twelve, eighteene or twentie fathomes, till you come with the high land of Banca, which at Lucapara wil shew like Ilands, then shal you see Ilands, besides the great Iland of Banca three leagues before you, and Sumatra side fall in with a bite, and all flat ground: wherefore come no neerer then seven, and no farther off then nine fathomes, but rather for advantage hale neere unto the flats of Sumatra in sixe or five fathomes. Here is the Channell and narrowest: here goes tydes strongly one way, aswell as the other. The fifteenth, the next reach lyeth North-west by North eight leagues, and wee were with it sixe degrees East.

Banca is a great Iland.

The sixteenth, the next reach lyeth North-west and by West, and West North-west downe to Palimbam point: but keepe neere Sumatra in sixe or seven fathomes: for Banca side is not good; although it bee deeper water, yet there are many Rockes toward the end of the great Iland of Banca. This reach is seventeene leagues long to the Towne of Palimbam, and the hill Monpin is North from you, which standeth upon the Norther end of Banca. Then is the Road of Palimbam South South-west from you: your depth ten fathomes off Sumatra side. The distance betweene the Iland and Sumatra at this ende is sixe leagues in my judgement.

Palimbam point.

The hill Monpin, upon the Northerene end of Banca.

Keepe Sumatra side by night or day in seven fathomes, till you have the Norther end of Banca East South-east for a Riffe that lyeth off the Norther end two leagues: and then will your latitude bee one degree, one and twentie minutes Southerly, and foure leagues off Banca. But you must alter courses to bring it thus. For when

Banca is North-east and by East, Then you must steere North North-east, and North, as Lead and discretion shall guide: but goe not with lesse then ten fathomes by night.

The seventeenth, at noone one degree ten minutes Southerly: Here you saile North in eight or nine fathomes Ozie: and here you see that Ile of Pulo Tuio without you. Here by reason we had it calme, we anchored in nine fathomes. Heere the streame did set West South-west and East North-east.

The Ile of Pulo Tuio.

The eighteenth, heere your course is North North-east, seven, eight, nine and ten fathomes. And when you have the two Northermost Ilands in the Offing South-east from you, then is Pulo Sio North-west and by North. And being thus it hath two hils with a Valley in the midst, and two little Ilands by it. And when it is South-west, it sheweth round like the Mew-stone.

The nineteenth, this Iland hath water and wood, but none Inhabitants. The latitude of this Iland is fortie minutes South.

The twentieth, now your depths must bee from fifteene to twentie in and off, and your course North to Linga, the land is faire in sight, goe not off by any meanes, rather anchor. Heere is hard ground.

Linga.

Bintam.

Now your course to Bintam is North & by West neerest, but go not without foure and twentie, nor within twentie. And that will bring you in sight of the round hill of Bintam, which hath in latitude one deg. ten min. and is the fairest way. The hill standeth in the middle of the Iland.

Pulo Timon.

The one and twentieth, now your course for Pulo Timon is North North-west, and North by West having alwayes sight of land, I meane Ilands; and your depths are twentie, nineteene, and eighteene fathomes, Ozie. The latitude of Pulo Timon is two degrees fortie seven minutes Northerly, or much thereupon.

[I. iv. 444.] *Pulo Capas.*

The two and twentieth, from Pulo Timon to Pulo Capus is thirtie sixe leagues North by West neerest in eighteene, nineteene, twentie, and twentie two fathomes.

And when you have the Ilands West off you, then have you thirtie sixe fathomes close by the Iland. If occasion serve you may goe betweene the Ilands and the Maine in a faire Channell. These Ilands are in the latitude of foure degrees fiftie two minutes Northerly.

The foure and twentieth, from Pulo Capus to the other Ilands, which are so many that you cannot tell them, the course is North-west by North fourteene leagues: and then the Norther end of the Iles is distant from the Souther end nine leagues. The depths are twentie two and twentie foure fathomes.

The five and twentieth, now your course to Patane is West North-west fortie eight leagues: goe no further off the land then twentie leagues, nor no neerer, then twelve or thirteene leagues, unlesse you have occasion to anchor. The Land is bold and high. After you passe sixteene leagues West North-west, there are no more Ilands till you come to Patane, but only one Rocke: and you may if you will, goe betweene the Maine and it. This Rocke is fourteene leagues short of Patane.

They arrive at Patane.

The thirtieth, we anchored in the Roade of Patane in three fathomes and an halfe, where we did ride til the first of August: and then set saile for Sangora to trimme our ship. This Sangora is a very good place under two Ilands, fast by the Maine, and from Patane fourteene or fifteene leagues.

Sangora.

August, 3, 1614.

The third of August 1614. we came to an Anchor in the Road of Sangora under the Eastermost Iland of the two, and there we trimmed our ship well, and came away the ninth of September, arrived at Patane the next day following, where we stayed till the sixt of October, to take in the goods of the Globe, to carrie them for Bantam.

The ninth of October we set saile from Patane, being bound for Bantam; holding the same course backe, that we came forth; and the ninth of November we arrived safe at Bantam. Wee rid there till the seven and twentieth of January, to lade our ships, and to fit all things for our Voyage home for England.

They returne for England. The death of Capt. Edmund Marlow.

The nine and twentieth, wee set saile from thence: And within some hundred leagues from Bantam homeward bound dyed our Captaine Master Edmund Marlow, an excellent man in the Art of Navigation, and all the Mathematicks. The first place at which we anchored was the Bay of Saldanha, where we stayed for our Consort the Globe: which arrived there the next day following.

The nine and twentieth of Aprill 1615. wee came to an anchor in the Roade, where wee stayed till the seventeenth of May. And then being well fitted in both our ships, wee did set saile for Santa Helena, where wee safely arrived the third of June, and rode there till the seventh in the morning. Then wee set saile together for England, where, God bee praysed, we safely arrived the third of August 1615.

Chap. VI.

A Ruter, or briefe direction for readie sayling into the East-India, digested into a plaine method by Master John Davis of Lime-house, upon experience of his five Voyages thither, and home againe.

§. I.

Nauticall Observation of places betwixt the Lizard and Saint Augustine in the Ile of Saint Laurence.

Lancerota.

FIrst, the Lizard hath in latitude fiftie degrees ten minutes. The Cape Finisterre in Galicia hath in latitude forty three degrees twentie minutes, and longitude from the Meridian of the Lizard, two degrees thirtie sixe minutes West. The Iland of Lancerota hath in latitude twentie eight degrees, forty minutes, and longitude from the Lizard five degrees twentie foure minutes West.

The variation of the Compasse sixe degrees sixe minutes from North to East. And when you are in the latitude of thirtie three degrees thirtie minutes, and chance to have five degrees twentie minutes of variation, you may assure your selfe to be North North-east from the said Iland, and your course is South South-west to goe with it.

Grand Canaria. The Grand Canaria hath in latitude twenty seven degrees fortie minutes, and longitude from the Lizard sixe degrees thirtie minutes West. The variation is sixe degrees from North to East. Likewise in the latitude thirty degrees thirty minutes: when you have five degrees and fiftie minutes variation, you have the said Iland South and by West from you. [I. iv. 445.]

The Iland of Saint Marie, being the Eastermost of the Azores, hath in latitude thirtie seven degrees; and longitude from the Lizard fourteene degrees West. The variation of the Compasse one degree fortie minutes from North to East. But when you are in the latitude of thirtie degrees thirtie minutes comming home-ward, and finde five degrees variation, and would see the Ilands in your course, goe North-east for Saint Marie: but it is better to goe more Northerly, and so you shall bee sure to see some of them: for the variation is much upon that rate in the North-east course, till you come in with the Ilands.

Sal. The latitude of Sal, which is one of the Ilands of Cape Verde, is ten degrees thirtie minutes, and longitude from the Lizard twelve degrees twelve minutes. The variation three degrees, thirtie minutes from North to East.

Bonavista. Bonavista is from Sal sixe leagues. The mid-way betweene the Meridian of Cape Verde and these Ilands in the latitude of nine degrees, you have two degrees fifteene minutes of variation to the East-ward: and the neerer you are to the Maine land, the lesse variation. But when you come in five degrees of latitude, if the Ternados doe not meete with you before, there you shall beginne to have them, which are winds blowing everywhere.

The best course to passe the Equinoctiall Line.

But if you will passe the Equinoctiall, use what diligence you may, in plying to get from these unhealthfull and troublesome windes: but keepe your selfe so, that you may bee but South and by East, or South South-east from Maio, because it may bee in your minde, that your much going to the East-ward will bee a helpe when you stand over with the generall wind. But you may there spend much time, and get little advantage. Now assoone as you have the wind at South South-east, and are in two or three degrees off the line, stand away with it. For if you may passe the Line in ten degrees of longitude from the Lizard, your variation will be sixe degrees ten minutes from North to East, and you shall feele neither the East South-east streame to hurt you, nor the North-west and by West streame, that setteth over to the West-Indies.

But if the wind doe hinder you much, feare not to passe the Line in fourteene degrees of longitude from the Lizard, your variation will bee in that place sixe degrees fortie five minutes. And beeing past, make your way to the South-ward as speedily as you may: but if the wind be at East North-east or East, as many times it will bee, doe not goe to the East-ward of the South-east and by East, although in your minde it were the best course: for if you doe, you shall find the wind at South-east and South South-east, and it will bring you downe to your South course againe, although you have spent so much time as in your South course would have carried you without the Tropicke into the variable winds way, which is in twentie sixe or twentie eight degrees.

For it is great oddes, when a man may saile thirtie sixe leagues in foure and twentie houres, and will sayle but foure and twentie close upon a wind. For when you have brought your selfe into the variable winds way, it cannot be long before you have a slent to get up to the Cape of Good Hope, where you shall note, that your variation will increase in running South from the Line. For when you come in twentie degrees to the South-

Increase of variation in running Southward of the Line.

ward, you shall have fifteene degrees of variation, and more to the West-ward fourteene. Whereby if you note it well, you shall perceive, that in these parts, betweene the Tropickes I meane, it keepeth no method in Easting or Westing, as it doth without them: as you may see at the Ile De Fernando de Loronha, the latitude whereof is foure degrees South, and longitude from the Lizard nineteene degrees twentie minutes West. The variation is there eight degrees ten minutes, from North to East: if you come there to ride, the Roade is upon the North-east side, but it is ill ground in some place. The depth, nine, eight and seven fathomes water, sandie grounds, with a stone or Rocke heere and there.

The Ile of Fernando de Loronha.

This land riseth like Paules steeple, and that land like the steeple will bee when you are in the Roade South South-west from you. There is much broken ground and Ilands by the Ile it selfe. Heere is good refreshing and good water, but dangerous landing for the Sea to sinke your Boats and drowne your men.

The Portugals of Fernamburo have some few Slaves heere that make Cotton and keepe their Cattell. They have Guiney Wheate there growing.

The Iland of Santa Helena hath in South latitude sixteen degrees, & longitude from the Lizard foure degrees thirtie minutes East: and from the Cape of Good Hope twentie three degrees thirtie minutes West. The variation is seven degrees thirtie minutes from North to East. This Iland is one of the best for the bignesse thereof for the refreshing of men, that I know in the Sea: it standeth so healthy, and hath so good a Roade for Shippes, as a man can desire. The Roade is open to the North-west side: right before the Chappell you may ride in twelve, tenne, nine, eight, or seven fathomes water, good ground and no danger, but what you see a long the shoare.

The Ile of Santa Helena.

The Iland is little, but very high land, a man may see it eighteene leagues off. Upon it are all things fitting for a mans comfort, comming with it in distresse. If you [I. iv. 446.]

will see this Iland, you have the wind alway at South-east or thereabouts. Therefore keepe your selfe in the latitude of sixteene degrees tenne minutes, or fifteene degrees, and runne West upon that height, and you cannot misse it: whether it bee day or night you need not feare, but this you may assure your selfe, that in your course from the Cape of Good Hope, there is nothing that will wrong you. I meane no streame nor Current. For I have seene that my selfe three times comming from the Cape the South-east wind will take you in thirtie degrees, and sometimes before, and will carrie you to the North-ward of the Equinoctiall Line.

The Bay of Saldanha.

Saldanha, which is the Bay where we doe commonly anchor out-ward bound, hath in latitude thirtie foure degrees twentie five minutes, and longitude from the Lizard twentie eight degrees East. The variation thirtie minutes from North to East. For the knowing of the land hereabout Saldanha, it is all high land. But commonly when you come from the West-ward it is foggie and darke upon it, so that you shall see the breach of the shoare, before you can come to make it, or know it. If you see the land when you are in the Offing rise like a Table, and other round hils by it, one like a Sugar-loafe; bring this Table East by South, and then stirre so see, till you come close under the land, for this course will bring you in with the point of the Souther land going into the Roade. Now when you see the point it selfe, which is low land, you shall see the Ile of Penguin: but keepe your selfe neerer the point then to Penguin Iland, because there are sunken Rockes all toward the Iland: keepe your Lead going, for toward the point you shall have ground at fifteene fathomes, and then you may bee bold to goe by it in ten fathomes water. Then the Roade is South-east by East from this point in sixe fathomes, or five if you list. The Table will bee South South-west the middle of it, and the Sugar-loafe South-west halfe Westerly. The worst winds for that Roade are from the North-west to the North-east. Heere is

good watering and fresh victuals, when the people come downe with it.

There is fresh-fish in the River to bee had at sometime of the tyde with a seine: it doth high sometimes five foote water, and sometimes sixe, sometimes more, and sometimes lesse.

Betweene the Coast of Brasil and this Roade the Compasse hath twentie degrees variation, and more or lesse as you are to the North-ward or South. For the more you are to the South-ward, the more you have, and to the North-ward the lesse. But in thirtie three degrees thirty minutes, you have the highest variation twenty one degrees from North to East, & longitude from the Lizard seven deg. thirtie minutes, or from the Cape of Good Hope, thirtie five deg. thirtie minutes West: Now when you come in eleven degrees no minutes of variation, you may assure your selfe, if your variation bee good, you are three hundred and thirtie leagues short: and it will keepe a good method in decreasing after the rate of thirtie or eight and twentie leagues to a degree: for when you are in two degrees of variation, you shall bee eight and fortie or fiftie leagues short: and when you have fortie minutes, and cannot see the land, you are but ten leagues off.

The highest variation betweene Brasil and the Cape of Good Hope.

Now if you can see the Land close by the waters side, before you can see the other high land, the fogge hanging upon the shoare, and are in thirtie foure degrees of latitude, you may see white sandie wayes close by the waters side, your course is to the point, if they beare East South-east from you, and beeing neere the shoare is North-east. For these white sandie wayes are almost three leagues short of that point going into the Roade, and fast by the point to the South-west from the said point going for the Roade, the two points doe lye North-east and South-west. And then the land toward the Cape lyeth South-east and by East, and South South-east. So likewise the land lyeth to the North-ward off the Bay North North-west, and South South-west.

Penguin Iland and this Point lye North and by West, and South and by East.

Connie Iland. To the Northward of this Iland is an Iland called Connie Iland, and it lyeth in latitude thirtie three degrees twentie seven minutes, and North North-west from Penguine Ile. This Connie Ile hath bad ground about it: but you may goe betweene the Maine and that Iland. If you will anchor, this Ile upon the Wester-side hath a dangercus ledge of Rockes lying off it to the Seaward. The Maine all along the shoare is bold, but what you may see.

Chapmans Chance. Chapmans Chance hath in latitude thirtie foure degrees tenne minutues, and is an Harbour, which lyeth within the South-west point under a little Hill like Charing Crosse, close hanging by the Sea-side of the South South-west side of the land like a Table, standing in the very bottome of the Bay.

This is a very good Harbour for the ships: for the maine land of the Cape will be shut in upon the Wester-side of the land: and there is good ground, and a good depth to ride in, as ten, nine, eight, seven, sixe, or five fathomes.

This Harbor is not past ten miles over land to [I. iv. 447.] Soldanha from it: and a man may come away with that wind that you cannot come forth withall from Soldanha. Wherefore when any shall have beene there with a ship, they shall better know it. Wee went not in with our ship, because we were all fit to goe about, before wee did know it to bee a Harbor. For wee did suspect it by chance standing in with a scant wind, and being toward night our Captaine Master Edmund Marlow sent one of the Masters Mates in the Pinnasse to see whether it were a Harbor or not, having little wind, and by that time hee came in with it, the Sunne was downe, so that he could not see and take that notice he would for quick returning to the ship.

Cape Falso. Cape Falso hath in latitude thirty foure degrees thirty minutes, and is distant from the Cape of Good Hope, nine leagues East South-east.

Betweene these two Capes there is a deepe Bay, and before it there is a Rocke even with the water; but it lyeth neere the Cape of Good Hope. In this Bay is the great River called Rio Dolce, that runneth farre up in the Land. There is good refreshing, as the Hollanders report, for they have beene there with their ships. *Rio Dolce.*

Heere at Cape Falso is no variation that I can find by observing South from it. The Land lyeth to the Cape das Aguilhas East South-east from the Cape of Good Hope, and is distant sixe and twentie leagues: no danger is to be seene, but a bould shoare along the coast. And so it is bould sixtie leagues to the Eastward: for so farre I have sailed to the East-ward of Cape Das Aguilhas the land lyeth East Northerly for one hundred leagues. *No variation.* *Cape das Aguilhas.*

The very Cape Das Aguilhas hath in latitude thirtie foure degrees, fiftie minutes South, and is very low land. But there is high land to the East-ward of the last named Cape. You may have ground with your Lead in seven or eight leagues off the land, for one hundred leagues East, at seventie, sixtie, sixtie five, fiftie five, fiftie, fortie fathomes, sandie blacke ground upon your Leade, which will helpe you much in comming home if you cannot observe the variation nor latitude. The variation of Cape Das Aguilhas is no degrees thirtie minutes from North to West. And at the Cape of Good Hope the Compasse is varied from North to East five and twentie minutes. Assoone as you are to the West-ward of Cape Das Aguilhas, you shall have Ozie and deepe water; whereby you may see that this will helpe you well in darke weather to know how the lands are from you, and how to hale in with the Cape of Good Hope.

When you saile into the East-India from the Cape of Good Hope, you must bee very carefull in your course: for till you come up to have seven or eight degrees of variation, you shall find it sometimes very uncertaine, shouts of streames that will set a man sometimes one

way, sometimes another as I have often found it to bee so, and have had none other meanes to helpe my selfe, but by the variation which is very sure, if you bee carefull in observing. But after you passe eight degrees of variation, you shall not need to feare the streames, if you bee bound to the East-ward, for the streames or tydes doe set betweene the variation aforesaid, and the Cape Das Aguilhas.

The great benefit of the Variation.

Now if you find betweene the Cape and this variation of seven or eight degrees that you doe not alter it to your ship running East; for this is your fittest course, if you bee bound for Bantam, or within for any place of the Ile of Saint Laurence, till you come up to the variation aforesaid, as you may chance at five or sixe degrees, assure your selfe you are wrong with it. For the variation will increase by the rate of nine and twentie or thirtie leagues, to the Ile of Saint Laurence. I meane these leagues in Easting from the Meridians, and not the course you saile by, for if you saile North-east and by East, and you shall have thirtie sixe leagues for one degree and halfe Easting, or longitude, which will alter one degree of variation.

Note.

And the more North-ward your course is, the lesse variation you have, as you shall plainly understand: for in five and twentie of latitude in sight of Saint Laurence, you have sixteene degrees no minutes. And running North by the land to the River of Saint Augustine, you shall have but fifteene degrees in the latitude of twentie three degrees and thirtie minutes, which is plaine that it is lesse to the North-ward, then to the South-ward. So likewise up to the East-ward in the latitude of eleven degrees no minutes, the highest variation is twentie three degrees forty minutes. And in the latitude of thirtie three degrees no minutes, the highest variation is twentie seven degrees ten minutes, as I have seene and observed my self, and in my judgement in ten leagues Easting and Westing of the same Meridian, as hereafter shall more plainely appeare in their due places.

§. II.

[I. iv. 448.]

A note for finding out of the River of Saint Augustine in Saint Laurence, of divers small Iles in the way thence to Achen, and of many Ports and passages in and about Sumatra.

THis River of S. Augustine hath in latitude, twenty three degrees thirtie five minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope, twenty three degrees twenty minutes East. The variation is fourteene degrees fifty minutes from North to West. But when you goe for it, seeke the land in the latitude of twenty foure degrees twenty minutes, because in the latitude of twenty five degrees tenne minutes, there is dangerous falling for Rockes and shoalds, which I have seene. And in this latitude twenty foure degrees twenty minutes, you have the variation fifteene degrees forty minutes. The shoare bold, but what you see before you. And the coast lieth South and North by a meridian Compasse, without counting the variation, or medling in this place with it, but steere North and North and by East, as discretion will guide you by the land: then comming along the shoare in twenty foure degrees tenne minutes, you shall see a head-land, which hath upon it a round hill of white sand, and is like a Castle, with some few trees by it. This head-land is short of the Bay thirteene leagues, and your course is North and by East and North still, no danger till you see the Iles and shoalds before the Bay: and in the Countrey you shall see a land rise like unto Westminster Hall, and a gut betweene two high lands, like Dartmouth. The River is between these two hils: when you come with the Iles and shoalds, and will goe into the North-ward of them, you may be bold of the shoalds in seven fathomes, if you will loofe in by them, but anchor not by them: for it is bad ground, with Corall that will cut your Cable in sunder, if you ride but little time there; but rather hale East, up for the Chan-

The River of S. Augustine in the Ile of S. Laurence.

nell comming from the River, where you have Ozie by the Maine, in twelve, foureteen, or twenty fathomes water: and you shall find deepe water in along to the River, till you come fast by the two hills, and Westminster Hall within the point on the West North-west side. There you may choose your roade from twenty fathomes to twelve, eleven, tenne, nine, eight, seven, sixe, or five fathomes. But it is Ozie ground without the two headlands, and sand within. This River lieth from the Iles without shoalds East, and is distant five leagues. Here is good filling of water, and wooding, very good victuals; but you pay silver: for that they desire most. The people are of a reasonable disposition; but you need not to trust them, nor none else where you come, but stand alwayes upon your Guard, while your Boat goe into the River to fill water. You shall have a very good Oxe for four shillings, and a Goat for one shilling English, and as good as you have in England. The men of this place are tall and well made.

The Cape of S. Sebastian.

The Cape of S. Sebastian hath in latitude twentie five degrees fortie five minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope, twentie five degrees no minutes. The variation of the Compasse sixteene degrees fortie minutes, from North to West. Here upon the South-east side is a very good place for refreshing, as the Hollanders report, much upon the latitude of twenty foure degrees no minutes.

Santa Lucia, a good place of refreshing.

It is named Santa Lucia; for as they have reported to mee, there is a race of the Portugalls left there. They say the ships ride verie secure, and have above nine or eight fathomes water, sandie ground, and an Iland or two before it. And this must bee much better for shipping bound up or downe, then the River of S. Augustine, because it is upon the head of the Iland.

The Ile of S. Mary.

The Ile of S. Marie, upon the East side of S. Laurence, hath in latitude sixteene degrees thirtie minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope thirty one degrees no minutes. The variation nineteene degrees fiftie minutes from North to West. This Iland is in-

habited; and there we had Hennes, Limons, and other refreshing, good water; but never a Harbour, all Roads: you may ride off the West side, before a Towne of twelve or sixteene houses. The depth of water is twenty fathomes, more or lesse. The distance from this Island, over to the Maine is tenne leagues. To the North North-west, from this Iland is a great Bay, that lieth sixteene leagues deepe West North West in from the Souther-side of the Bay, there is good riding under a little Iland, and in from that upon the Maine, there is a river of fresh water. And there is likewise water and wood upon the Ile by the Roade, you may ride in twelve, tenne, nine, or eight fathomes: but you had need to shue your anchors: for it is so soft Ozie, that your anchors will come home. Here you have Rice in abundance, hens, and some cattell. The people have warre, one side of the Bay with the other. Trust these people not too farre for treachery. It is a place of very uncertaine and contagious weather, for raine, thunder and lightning, as ever I came in, and very unholsome; for we lost many men here. But if distresse urge a man to it, you may unlade a ship, or doe any businesse by the Iland, with standing upon your guard, and using the people friendly, as the Hollanders have been driven unto. The latitude of this Bay is, fifteene degrees fortie minutes. But if you go with S. Marie first, you cannot misse it: for it is the next Bay upon the Maine unto the Iland. The name of this Bay is Antongill. We did ride here in the first East Indian Voyage for the Merchants of London, in the yeere 1601, from December to March, and then we went for the East Indies. [I. iv. 449.] *The bay of Antongil.*

The latitude of the Ile de Roque Piz is eleven degrees no minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope, forty one degrees no minutes of the great Circle East. Here in the sight of these two Ilands, we had the highest variation of the Compasse, which was twenty three degrees thirty minutes. Now South from this place, as neere as I can judge by sundry times going *The Ile de Roque Piz.* *The highest variation.*

up and downe, we have likewise the most variation, that is: if you be in the latitude of twentie seven or twenty eight degrees, then you have twenty sixe degrees no minutes: if you bee in thirty three degrees no minutes of latitude, you have twenty seven degrees twenty minutes of variation. And this you may see in my Voyage in the James, begun in February, 1611. and ended the third of August, 1615.

Baixos das Chagas. The Shoalds, called Baixos das Chagas, have in latitude sixe degree no minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope, fiftie three degrees thirty six minutes East. The variation is nineteen degr. fiftie min. from North to West. These shoalds are very dangerous. There are three or foure Ilands and other dry sands: we were twenty foure houres upon and among these Shoalds. There is in some places corall, in other some sand; sometimes tenne fathomes, and by and by sixe fathomes: the best water the ships had, was foure fathomes: but God be thanked, we had no hurt to any one of the ships. We were cleere by keeping the Iles South South-west from us: for upon the North North-east side it is, that we found the way out. If they had been well laid in our Charts, we had missed them.

In the Channel of Maldina, the Compasse varieth 17. degrees. And at the Cape de Comori sixteene degrees.

The Ilands of Nicubar. The Ilands of Nicubar, lying off the North end of Sumatra, have in North latitude seven degrees tenne minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope, seventie three degrees no minutes East. The variation is seven degrees five minutes from North to West. If you goe with these Iles of Nicubar, as you come from the West-ward, when you come within fiftie or fortie leagues, you shall meete with overfals, or the running of some tydes, which will make you mistrust shoald water: but we found *none* with our Lead when we sounded. Many such you shall passe. I thinke they be the streames comming from the Bay of Bengala. Among these Ilands there is no danger, but what you see: you

may bee bold to water and fit your selves here. The people will not come aboord your ship, but will buy and sell in their Canoes. Farther into the North-ward are more Ilands; as in eight degrees lieth an Iland called Ilha de Sombrero, because upon the Souther-side the land is like a hat. Under this Iland is good riding; and the people will come to your shippe from the other Ilands to the East-ward, for there are many Ilands.

Ilha de Sombrero.

Achen, which is a Citie upon the West North-west side of Sumatra, hath in latitude five degrees forty minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope seventie foure degrees fortie minutes East. And the variation is sixe degrees twentie five minutes from North to West. You may ride in seven or eight fathomes, or at low water in five or sixe: it hyeth five foot upon the Barre. Your roade is to the Eastward of the Castle, and a round hil in the Countrey South-east from you. The ground is Ozie where you ride. There is high land upon the Wester-side of the Towne. The hill, which is South-east of you, is called the hil of Pedir, because there is a Towne of that name under it, twenty five leagues from Achen. Before the Road in the Offing are five or sixe Ilands. The Pepper of this place is better then the Pepper of Bantam. At Pedir Pepper is to be had, but little else. The land lieth from the Road of Achen forty or fifty leagues East and West.

Achen in Sumatra.

And if you will goe for the straight of Malacca, there is no danger till you come to the Eastward of the Iles das Jarras, but a faire depth, at twenty five or thirtie fathomes water. The tydes set as much one way as the other. At these Iles das Jarras, you may see the high land of Malacca: but here about Sumatra, is all low land. And your variation here about the Equinoctial is all one, as I said before, when I spake of the highest, that there is within lesse variation then without, in the latitude of fourteene or fifteene degrees. For when you have seven degrees fiftie minutes in the Offing, you are much upon seven degrees thirtie minutes longitude from

The Iles das Jarras.

Bantam. And that distance you are in for longitude from Bantam, when you are under the Equinoctiall line, and have sixe degrees thirty five minutes of variation. So that much upon that rate of thirty one leagues in the Offing of Easting or Westing, will alter one degree of variation, or one degree and an halfe of longitude; and within you runne fortie leagues, or two degrees. This I have found by experience both within and without going home from Bantam.

If you were at Achen, and would saile for Priaman, which is a Towne upon the West side of Sumatra, and hath in latitude no degrees fiftie minutes South, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope seventie seven degrees forty minutes East: The variation foure degrees forty minutes from North to West: The surest way is this. To the East-ward of Priaman there are Ilands, in the South latitude of one degree and thirty minutes, which are called the Iles of Nimtam. Your course is to goe with these Ilands, and come not betweene the maine, but keepe the Sea, till you see those Ilands: keepe in one degree twenty minutes of South latitude, and you shall surely fall with the North end of the biggest. Now this great Iland being the biggest of the two, is twenty leagues long very neere: and there are many little Ilands neere it. And when you are with this Iland, go up by it, for it is the bolder of the two, but have your Lead going now and then to prevent dangers, yet I have found the least to be tenne fathomes water. When you are shut within these Ilands, your course is East by North eighteene leagues: but saile not by night, but hull rather, and saile by day. Now although Priaman and this Iland doe lie East by North, and West by South, yet your best way is, to direct your course East North-east, and North-east by East, among; and then you shall see three hummocks in the maine, before you can see the low land; and then having sight of them, you may goe in till you see the low land of the Maine: but looke well about you: for when these hills come to

The Iles of Nimtam.

[I. iv. 450.]

the North-east from you, there is shoald water, and bankes of stone: but you may borrow of them with your Lead in seven fathomes: then are you six leagues from the roade of Priaman, and your course East South-east, or South-east by East with your Lead going now and then. For the knowing of the road of Priaman, when you have the hils North and West from you, you shall see many Ilands to the South-ward; but the first will shew white, and none of the rest. So that Iland lieth West South-west from the roade three leagues. And the land in the Countrey above Priaman is high, and like a Saddle in the middest. This high land beareth from the road North-east and by East. I set it downe with this notice, because there are foure Ilands before the roade within which you ride, and may mistrust to goe within these Ilands, when you come from the West North-west, because they will not be open, but shew like a paire of breeches till you have brought them East North-east from you; then will they beginne to open, for there is good going in betweene them, leaving two on the one side, and two on the other. But come not neere that little uttermost Ile by the maine: for there is all flat ground. But keepe in nine or eight fathomes, till you come with the other three Iles that lie in a row, and then goe into the South-ward of the Norther of these three Ilands, and under that Iland is the road. Wherefore be bold of it in five or sixe fathomes, because it is but narrow between that Ile, and the River running from the Towne, to wit, much upon the breadth of the Thames at Blackewall. Upon this Ile, under which you ride, is a Well made artificially by those that have used to water there. It is a good road when you are in, but moore your ship sure. The people here are covetous, and still begging for one thing or other; yet they used us very well, and brought us hens and such victualls as the place affoardeth. Here is good trade from Java with Junkes, for their Pepper they bring them salt, which is verie scant upon this side of the Iland. And about

Shoald water and bankes of stone.

The road of Priaman.

September and October there commeth every yeare a Guserate with Cotton cloth to serve this side of the Iland, and ladeth away Pepper, and carrieth away some Gold: for Gold is more plentie there, then Silver, as we might plainely see by the Countrie-people: for they are very desirous of Rials of eight. Here is some Benjamin to be had, and verie good Storax, with other Commodities.

Store of Gold in Sumatra.

Storax.

Tecou.

Tecou is seven leagues from this road, but it is shoaldie water, and ill for ships, because they must ride farre off. But Prawes and such small vessels as the Countrey people use, are fittest, and will bring all their Commodities unto you into Priaman road, after they know a shippe to bee there, tenne leagues.

Many Ilands are to the South of Priaman.

To the Northward of Priaman there are no Ilands three or foure leagues off: but to the Southward the coast is full of Ilands along till you come into two degrees and an halfe of latitude. The coast lieth from Priaman two degrees twenty minutes of latitude South. Your course is South, when you set saile from Priaman, you may goe within those Ilands by the road: because by the Souther Iland lieth a shoald close by the off side: your depth is five and sixe fathomes. In going downe to the Southward, keepe the maine still, and goe not without among those Ilands: for it is ill ground and shoalds. But saile not by night, till you come into the latitude of two degrees thirtie minutes. For as you passe by the high land, that is distant from the road of Priaman thirteene leagues, it is very dangerous: keep your selfe in twenty or thirty fathomes water off the maine, and looke well about you when this high land commeth toward the East. Between that gut of high land as you passe like Dartmouth, is the Towne of Celledai. I have had by going neere those Ilands here, about thirteene leagues from the aforesaid road, but foure fathomes water, and have seen the stones under the ship, and have gone but little in againe toward the maine, and have had sixteene fathomes, and twelve fathomes water: wherefore there is no feare by the maine land,

keeping your Lead going: then being cleare off these Ilands, your course is South and by East by the maine, till you come to two degrees thirty minutes: and then the land lieth to three degrees tenne minutes South-east, and then South-east and by South to foure degrees, and so to five degrees no minutes by the same course.

The land is very high and bold heere in five degrees, no minutes. In five degrees and thirtie minutes lyeth the Isle of Engano, but there is no anchoring by it; for I have sought to anchor, but it is rockes and deepe water. But if you have any occasion, you shall find in the latitude of foure degrees, ten minutes, a very good roade under an Island fast by the maine, where you may ride in seven fathoms, and no danger but what you see, but may boldly turne into the Roade, if the wind be at South-east, Ozie ground. Heere you may have wood and water, if you have need: But beware, two leagues West South-west from this Island, it is very dangerous shoald in the sea, the water breaketh much upon it; wherefore keepe in by the Island, and give the point a birth: but you cannot go betweene the maine and this Isle with a ship, because it is narrow and shoaldy water. [I. iv. 451.] This Road or Harbour is named by the Countrie people, Celebar: we did ride heere with Sir Edward Michelborne thirteene daies, to doe some businesse. You shall never with a South-east wind misse some Junckes of Java, or of some other place riding there. The land to the Northward in the countrie is high, but by the sea-side reasonable, not very low neither. This high land in five degrees, twentie minutes, is called Monancabo, and is extraordinary high. The course alongst the shoare is South South-east Easterly, till you come to see a little Iland fast by the maine, that lieth in sixe degrees, no minutes, or much thereupon. Heere you shall see a round hill in the countrie East from you, which will be North, when you come with the three Isles by the point of Sumatra, that lye East one from the other. Then shall you have the Salt-hills East

The Ile of Engano.

A very good roade.

Celebar.

Manancabo.

The salt hills.

and by South from you, when this hill is North, and the distance from the three Islands lying East and West, to the three salt hills, which are three Islands, that lye South and North one from another, to be ten leagues. The Land of Sumatra, from the little Island to the other three Islands, lyeth East South-east, and is distant foure leagues. This land is not very high, but in the countrie it is high land. The depth by this land is foure and fiftie fathomes; and by the three East and West Islands, there is sixteene fathoms water; and further up, you have thirtie fathomes, when the round hill is North from you. Now you must understand, that heere as you goe upon the Coast of Sumatra, are more Islands then a man can number. But if you will go into the Road of Marrough, you may boldly beare in among those Islands that lye North-east and by East, till you come to the maine land of Sumatra, where you shall have twentie or thirtie fathomes, and no danger, but what you see. Now when you come in with the maine foure leagues West South-west from this Head-land, which is called Marrough, you shall have all to the Northward off you low land, and many Islands; but you must go East South-east unto the Head-land of Sumatra: for this Roade of Marrough is along the shoare from the three little Islands fast by the maine, till you come almost to the point that maketh the Straight of Sunda, you may anchor in twentie or twelve fathomes water, Ozie ground, a faire birth off: There is good refreshing, and Rivers all along the shoare. The land is very high heere in from the Roade. But if you come with the three Salt hills or Islands, that lye South and North one from the other, which are distant, as I said before, from the three East and West Islands by Sumatra ten leagues, and would go for this place of Marrough, steere in with the high land North, when you are to the Eastward of the South Salt hill, and you go right with it; for the land above it is like a barne, and none there-about like it: you may be bold every way here-

The Roade of Marrough.

about, for there is no danger, but what you see with your eyes, no where without the Straights mouth. In the very straight or narrow betweene Sumatra and Java side, which you will, if you go to the Westward of the three South and North Islands, you need not feare, although you see three rockes stand three miles West from the Salt hill; for you may come fast by them, or put betweene any of those Islands, the depth will bee much about twentie or thirtie fathoms. The course from the Head-land of Sumatra, where the three East and West Islands are, is East North-east with the Point or Head-land of Sumatra, that maketh the Straights entrie. The Coast of Java lyeth from the Point of Palimbam downe to seven degrees almost of Southerly latitude; where are many Islands on this side, South-west and North-east; and you have ground with the lead at thirtie or fortie fathomes, in some place: But a little without the Point of Palimbam you may anchor in twelve fathomes, Ozie ground. The latitude of the South-east salt hill, is sixe degrees, ten minutes: The longitude from the Cape of Good Hope eightie one East, the variation three degrees, twentie minutes. These salt hills stand nearer Java then Sumatra by two leagues, you may see both Maines at one time, if it be cleare, and you be in the mid-way. The land of Java is high within the countrie, and low by the water-side. The streame in the Straight setteth twelve houres one way, and twelve houres the other, but most strongly; for you cannot beare a head with a hard gale at some times: wherefore go off on one side, and anchor, it maketh no matter on which. But if you chance to go in by Sumatra side, keep nearer Sumatra by a good deale, then to the Islands, till the Islands bee East and by South from you, for there is a rock under water, which breaketh at low water, that lyeth West and by North from the Island. Sumatra is bold, so you can keepe off the land; and so is Java side also. The way to Bantam, when you are about the Point of Palimbam, is

Three Rockes three miles West from the salt hills.

The lying of some part of the Coast of Java.

The Souther salt hill is in eightie one degrees of longitude from the Cape of Good Hope.

A rocke under water.

by the land East South-east, and South-east and by East, with your lead going till you see a flat Island called *Pulo Panjan.* Pulo Panjan, which is distant from the Point of Palimbam nine or ten leagues. When you come to this Island, you may go without it, or within it at your pleasure: but keepe your lead going, and come not nearer then five or sixe fathomes off that Island. Then if you looke in upon the maine, you shall see a round hill in the countrie bearing South, or betweene that and South South-west. This hill standeth right over the Towne of Bantam: if you have it South South-west from you, goe in with that course, till you come to see five Islands together, right from Pulo Panjan. Your Road is by *Pulo Lima.* these five Islands called Pulo Lima, where you may ride in what depth you will under foure fathoms, Ozie ground. It higheth five foote water in the Roade. Wherefore when you chuse to ride, remember the Tide, for otherwise you may bee on ground at low water. The *The variation is three degr. in Bantam Roade.* variation in the Road is three degrees from North to West. Heere are many Islands in this Road round about you.

[I. iv. 452.]

§. III.

The way from Bantam to the Straight of Palimbon, upon the East-side of Sumatra, of Banca, Bintam, Straights of Sincapura, and Sunda, with other places.

WHen you weigh from Bantam Roade, you goe North-east by East in foure or five fathoms, till you come with the point of the maine, where it commeth to beare South-east by South, you have very shoald water upon that spit of hard ground. Wherefore keepe off betime: before you come neare in foure or five fathoms, there is a good bigge Island on your North North-west, as you go from Bantam, which you may leave on your larbord side in going from the aforesaid Towne, and your depthes are five or sixe

fathoms. Heere will the land toward the Straight make like an Island, because you have lost sight of the low land. Heere in your North North-east course, you have a long bed of small Islands in your way, and low withall, but bold: for there is eighteene or twentie fathomes water among them, Bantam bearing South-west by South Westerly from these Islands. Their latitude is from five degrees, to five degrees, thirtie minutes.

A long bed of small Islands.

When you are at the Norther end of these Islands, go North North-east and North over for the Coast of Sumatra: and in your course your depthes will be thirteene, twelve, ten, nine, eight, seven, sixe, five, foure and a halfe fathomes; and then you shall see the low land of Sumatra, the trees I meane, and your ground under your lead will be Ozie. The latitude about three degrees, thirtie minutes South. Now when you come in with a riffe of hard sand here-about, and have in your North and by West course foure fathoms and an halfe: Note it well, and hale off againe East North-east into your old depthes, which are from ten to seven fathoms or five off Sumatra, your course North by West, and North North-west, to hold the coast from five to ten fathoms. But go not without ten fathoms neither by night nor day; for the Coast is bold in sixe fathoms. But if you go from Bantam North, you must looke very carefully about for a shoald, that lyeth in that course from the aforesaid Towne off the Roade, till you have sight of the two Islands upon the Coast of Sumatra, that lye three leagues from that maine land; and then you have no more Islands by Sumatra, till you come in three degrees of South latitude; and there shall you fall with Lusapara-falsa, which is the first of those foure Ilands, at the South South-west end of Banca. And looke out very well for them, in going your North by West course, as the depths wil guide you from five or sixe, to nine or ten fathoms, Ozie ground. When you have sight of these foure Islands, you shall see much broken ground by them, and among them very shoald water. Heere

Sumatra.

Note.

A shoald.

Lusapara-falsa.

likewise you shall see two round homockes of a good height: and though they seeme to you to stand upon the maine of Sumatra, yet they doe not so, but upon the Island of Banca. The aforesaid foure Islands have three degrees, no minutes South latitude. When you come to have these Islands East from you, your shoalding will be five and foure fathomes, and your course North, and North by West, till you have the Southermost Isle South-east, by East from you. Then you goe North North-east by Banca, in eight and seven fathomes, for the Island of Banca is steepe. When you come with these Islands, keepe Sumatra side for the bolder side: the channell is in breadth three miles. Now in edging to the other side, you shall go from eight fathoms into three fathoms. Then have you hard ground on that side, and Ozie ground on Sumatra side. This course of North North-east, is but one reach or three miles, before you go North againe. Heere at the narrow the Tide setteth North and South, and runneth twelve houres one way, and twelve houres the other. When you are past the bankes or shoalds by these Islands, your depthes are ten and nine fathoms: then you saile three leagues North by the land. The next reach lieth North by West, and the depth in the best is fifteene fathoms. And when you draw neare to the high land upon the North side of the Island of Banca, your course is North North-west, and the best depthes twentie fathomes. It is very flat and shoald heere upon Sumatra side. This course of North North-west, and North-west by North, continueth nine leagues. Then you saile twentie leagues North-west by West, the depth will be foure and twentie fathoms. The latitude in this course, is one degree, eight and thirtie minutes South. When you have the North-end of these Islands South-east by South from you, it will shew like broken Islands. But as you go, keepe off the maine, because it is shoald still. Your next course is North ten leagues, in ten, nine, eight and seven fathoms. Heere you have sight of three or foure Islands,

The Isle of Banca.

to the Northwards of the great Island, but no sight of the maine land. The latitude heere is one degree, five minutes South. Then your course is North-east by North, with a round Island, and other little Islands by it. This round Island is like the Monston of Dartmouth, the depthes ten, nine, eight, and seven fathoms, and latitude about fortie minutes South. This Isle is called by the Countrie people Pulo Sio, but Linscot calleth it Pulo Powe. Heere you may have water and wood, if you need. Then your course is to go without Linga from hence North North-west, and the depth is fifteene or sixteene fathoms: and the distance from Pulo Sio to Linga, is thirteene leagues. At the Souther end of Linga are many Islands; and there are at the Norther end also many. This Island of Linga lyeth under the Equinoctiall line, as wee found by observation, where the Charts made it to lye almost a degree in South latitude. It is full of Islands and suncken grounds hereabout. Heere we found the tide to runne South South-east, and North North-west. The depth in the offing is twentie fathomes, Ozie ground: your course is North by West fifteene or sixteen leagues, where you shall see eight other Islands. But in your going beware of the tide, and keepe in fifteene or sixteene fathoms water, and Ozie ground: the latitude of these eight Islands is fiftie minutes North. Heere you may likewise have wood and water among these Islands. These Islands and suncken grounds continue to one degree, ten minutes of North latitude: the Tide runneth twelve houres, the flood from the Northward, and ebbe from the Southward, the depth twentie fathomes. Heere along by these Islands is fourteene fathomes, till you come up to the Isle of Bintam, which hath in latitude one degree, ten minutes North, upon the South-east side of this Island is bold shoalding from fourteene to nine fathomes, yet hath a round hill in the middest of it, and it is a greater Island then any that is neare it: upon the Easter point I came over in seven fathomes: the Tide of

Pulo Sio.

Pulo Linga.

[I. iv. 453.]

Linga lyeth under the Equinoctiall Line.

Eight Islands.

The Isle of Bintam.

the Norther side setteth West by North. And when you
The Straight of Sincapura. are past this Easter point, you are open of the Straight of Sincapura. Heere the Tide setteth East from the Straight of Sincapura. Thence you go North-east and by North seven leagues, with a strong streame against
Pulo Tinge. you, for an Island called Pulo Tinge, upon the Coast of Jor, in latitude two degrees, twentie minutes North, you may see the round hill of Bintam even with the water, for their distance twentie leagues, and the course is
Pulo Timon. North by West. Heere wee saw an Island called Pulo Timon: and the other Islands by it are called Pulo Lore, leaving two round hilles upon it. And Pulo Tinge, where we roade, hath a piked hill upon it. Their latitudes are two degrees, thirtie minutes, and two degrees fortie minutes.

Jor. The Coast of Jor is bold from Pulo Tinge. When you have made the Straight of Sincapura, and would goe for Jor, your course is North-west by West. But beware of the Current, you may bee bold in sixteene, eighteene, twentie, or five and twentie fathomes, and good ground to anchor.

From Pulo Sio steere South-east for an Iland called
Pulo Paccadoure. Pulo Paccadoure, distant from Pulo Sio eleven leagues, in latitude one degree no minutes South. It is a ragged Iland, and hath by it two little Ilands. The depth is fifteene fathomes. Be sure to keep in that depth, and you shall goe without danger. From this ragged Iland your course is South-east by East nine leagues, to an
Pulo Pagadure. other Iland called Pulo Pagadure, and your depths are fifteene or sixteene fathomes. In that course be very carefull: for Banca upon this side is all Rockes and breaches, in some places eight or nine leagues off, and so it is without you againe all bad ground. Then from this Iland your course is South-east by East, to an Iland
Pulo Calasai. called Pulo Calasai, or the Mariners Iland: and their distance is fortie leagues: when you see this Iland of Mariners, lie short off it, because you cannot anchor by it for fowle ground. Your depth from this Iland to the

other is fifteene fathomes. From this Mariners Iland, you may see the high land upon Banca beare West by North from it, and is distant fifteene leagues. *Banca.*

The head of Banca lieth from this Ile South-west by West nine leagues. Saile not by night by any meanes when you see this Iland: for if you goe never so well by your Compasse, the streames will deceive you, and put you to the East-ward of an Iland called Chinabata. *Chinabata.* Your course is to goe betweene Banca and these Ilands; because it is all Rockes to the East-ward like steeples. This Ile of Chinabata and Pulo Calasai, lie South and North one from the other, and are distant thirteene leagues. Your course betweene Banca and Chinabata is South South-west: looke to the streame, and borrow of Banca in this place in twentie or twentie five fathomes. The distance betweene them is tenne leagues. The Rockes in the Offing are called Pulo Pelican. From which straight to the coast of Sumatra, the course is South-west by South, till you have shoalding off the maine. And goe as you did outward from Bantam, keeping the shoalding of Sumatra in seven or eight fathomes, till you draw neere the straight of Sunda.

I have hereunto added like Nauticall observations, I suppose, written by Thomas Clayborne, leaving the censure and use to the more skilfull. He intituleth them,

Certaine principall Notes, gathered by mine owne experience, in my three Voyages into these parts: wherein the true course, and distances, with shoalds and rockes is shewed: and on which side you may leave them: as hereafter followeth.

THe Souther-most Salt hill lyeth in sixe degrees no minutes of South latitude; and if you bee bound for Bantam, you may goe betwixt the Salt hils, or on either side of them, if neede be: but most men goe to the *Note.*

South of them. If you bee South from the Southermost Salt hill, about two leagues, or lesse, your best course to Palimbam point, is betweene the North-East by East, [I. iv. 454.] and the East North-east. The distance betwixt the Salt hills and that point twenty leagues. In that course you shall leave the Iland that maketh the straights of Sunda on the Lar-boord side, and that Iland is five leagues short of Palimbam point. From Palimbam point your course is East South-east about three or foure leagues with Pulo Pangam: then leaving that Iland on your Lar-boord side, and being cleare of it, you must steere East South-east, about two leagues more: then South South-west, and South by West about one league, and that will bring you into Bantam roade, where you may come to an anchor in three fathomes, soft Oze.

Certaine Notes from Bantam Roade to the Ilands of the Maluccaes, with the course and distances: as hereafter followeth.

FRom Bantam roade North-east by North two leagues, then East by North, and East North-east two leagues, and that will bring the low point to the Eastward of Bantam Bay, South from you about one league: but come no neerer that point then three fathome; then East, and East by North foure leagues, and then you shall have foureteene fathome, and shall be neere five Ilands, with white sand without them, and a Ledge of Rockes East from them about halfe a mile; these you must leave to the North-wards of you. From these Ilands your course is East South-East, with the Eastermost Iland of Jacatra. From the Eastermost Iland of Jacatra, which is the Norther-most from this Iland, your course is North-east by East foure or five leagues, then East thirtie leagues; then looke out for a sand that lieth about three leagues from the Maine, and if it be cleare weather, you shall see a low Iland to the North of you, but you may goe either betweene the Iland and the sand, or betweene the sand and

the Maine: but the best way is to goe three leagues to the Southward of the Iland. Then East by South and East seventy leagues, and that wil bring you in sight of Madura. Note, if you be foure or five leagues from the West end of Madura, you shall have thirtie three fathome; and being five leagues off the Easter end, you shall have fortie one or fortie two fathomes. All alongst this coast, you shall have Ozie ground. From the West end of Madura, your best course is to steere East by North, while you have brought your selfe in the latitude of sixe degrees: and then keepe your selfe in that latitude if it be possible, and so (by Gods helpe) you shall goe cleare betweene the shoales of Celebes, and another shoale that lieth South South-west from the shoales of Celebes. The Southermost point of the shoales of Celebes lieth in six degrees. From the South point of the shoales of Celebes, your course is East North-East with the straights of Celebes: the distance betweene them is thirty leagues. From the straights of Celebes to Ternata, the principall Iland of the Maluccas, upon a straight line, the course is North-east, distant about two hundred leagues.

If you be minded to goe for the Moluccas, then from the straights of Celebes, your course is North-east by East, and North-east thirty leagues, and that will bring you into a straight between two lands, namely, Celebes and Cambyna: the distance betweene these two lands is five leagues: in the middle between them, you shall have thirtie eight fathomes, sandy ground. But this is to be noted, when you come betweene these two Ilands, you cannot saile by night: for it is dangerous, while you be cleare of the straights of S. Thomas, distant from this place aforenamed twenty leagues; so that you must goe upon severall courses, as hereafter followeth.

Note.

The straights of S. Thomas.

First, North-east by North sixe leagues, then North North-east eight leagues, then East and East by North tenne leagues, and this will bring you into the straights of S. Thomas, which straights you shall hardly perceive, untill you come very neere them: for they are narrowe,

and one land shooteth in an other. The going through is East about one league, and the least water you shall have in running of that league, is eleven or twelve fathomes. In running of those twentie leagues aforenamed, you shall be land-locked, and shall see sixe or seven sands dry with the rimme of the water, most of them will be on your Lar-boord side: but this course aforenamed (by Gods helpe) will carry you cleare of them all. From the straights of S. Thomas, your course is North-east by East, and East North-east foureteene leagues, and that will carry you into the Sea, but not out of the sight of land: then North North-east thirty eight leagues; and then looke out for a small Iland, and a shoale that lieth North North-west from that small Iland. You must bring that small Iland East from you about two leagues, or seven miles: then steere North by East, and North North-east five leagues, then West North-west, and North-west by North two or three leagues, then North-east by North foure or five leagues, and that North-east by North course will carry you betweene two shoales, that lie in two degrees no minutes South latitude. The distance between them is not one mile, and they are dry at low water: you shall have foureteene fathome betweene them. When you are cleare of these shoales, and are within one league of that land, which that North-east by North course doth carry you unto, then you must steere East South-east about two leagues, then North-east by East with the straights of Bengaja, which lie in one degree twenty minutes to the South of the Equinoctial: this straight lyeth North-east by North, and so you must goe through.

The straights of Bengaja.

Machian.

[I. iv. 455.]

Bachian.

From the straights of Bangaja to Machian, the course is North-east by East distant seventie two leagues. Bachian lieth in no degrees thirty minutes to the North of the Equinoctiall, and being neere this Iland, if it bee cleare weather, you shall see all the Clove Ilands, which shew like high piked hills in the middest of them. You may steere with any of them at your pleasure, if

wind and weather serve: for there is no danger lying neere them

Notes of Botun.

BOtun is a great Iland, and an high land, the longest part of it lieth North North-east, and South South-west. Upon the North North-West part or ende of the Iland, there is a River of fresh water. If a man be at the Norther ende of Botun, and bee minded to saile to the Kings Towne, his course is betweene the South by West, and South South-West, and so shall sayle along the land twenty leagues, as it were up a River, betwixt two lands, Botun to the Eastward, and Cambyna to the West, distance betweene them foure leagues, in some places but three, in some places but two leagues, and in some very narrow.

A dangerous shoald.

In this course afore-named, nine leagues short of the Kings Towne, there is a shoale, not very bigge, yet dangerous, and dry at a low water. Now to know when you are neere it, you shall see a round hill upon Buttoone, neere the water side: that hill and the shoale lie East by North, and West by South one from the other; you must leave that shoale on your Lar-boord side. From this shoale, your course is still betweene the South by West, and South South-West, to goe with the narrow straights, foure miles short of the Kings Towne: this Straight is one league through, and about halfe a mile broad, the course is South South-West through, and it is no great matter for the course in that place, so you keepe the shippe in the middle, which is best: for there is no riding in the narrow, by reason of the swift Tydes that runne there. Hee that goeth through, must take his Tyde with him to drive him through, for (lightly) there is never any wind there, the land is so high over the Masts on both sides. But you may anchor two leagues short of this narrowe, and ride well (by Gods helpe) in thirty fathome sand. So, when you be through this straight, you must steere South South-west one league,

to goe cleare of a point of land that you must leave on your Lar-boord side; and beeing cleare of that point, you must hale up South South-East about foure miles, if the wind will give you leave, and then you may come to an anchor in eight and twentie fathome, hard sand, neere a flat Iland.

The road of Botun is in five degrees fifteen minutes of South latitude.

Then you shall see the Towne of Botun, upon the side of an hill, from you about one league. The Roade of Botun lieth in five degrees fifteene minutes of South latitude. From Botun road West South-West foure leagues, then South-West, and South-West by South five leagues, then West by South and West thirtie leagues, and that will bring you to the Straights of Celebes.

From the Straights of Celebes to the Iland of Banda upon severall courses, as followeth: First, East seven and thirtie leagues, then East by South fifteene leagues, then North-east halfe a point to the North-ward, about seventeene leagues, and that will bring you into the latitude of five degrees tenne minutes, and then your best course is East North-east, with Buro, distance betweene that and Buro sixtie three leagues. From the South part of Buro to the South part of Amboyno, are eight and twenty leagues. From the South part of Amboyno to Banda, the course is East South East distance about thirty leagues. Banda lieth in foure degrees fortie minutes. Your going in is betweene the high Mountaine called Gunappi, and the great Iland of Banda, the hill beeing on your Lar-boord side, and the great Iland on your Star-boord side.

Buro.

Amboyno.

Banda.

Chap. VII. [I. iv. 456.]

A Journall of the tenth Voyage to the East-India, with two shippes, the Dragon, and the Hosiander (accompanied with the James and Salomon, but those for other Voyages) and in them three hundred and eightie persons, or there-about: Written by Master Thomas Best, chiefe Commander thereof.

§. I.

Observations in their way to Surat.

THe first of February, 1611. we set saile from Gravesend, and anchored in Tilbury Hope. *February* 1. 1611.

The two and twentieth of March, at noone latitude observed fifteene degrees, twentie minutes. At two of the clocke in the after-noone faire aboord Maio. *March* 22. *Maio.* Bonavista and Maio lye South-west by South, distant some twelve leagues. Note that the North North-west, and the North part of Maio is all foule ground; and due North from the high homockes, there lyeth a great ledge of rockes from the land, some five or sixe miles off: and a mile without the rockes you shall have twentie fathomes water. On the West-side of the Iland you may borrow in twelve or fifteene fathomes, till you come into the Roade, where we anchored in foure and twentie fathomes. *A great ledge of Rockes.*

The eight and twentieth in the morning, we came close by an Iland, the latitude of it is twentie degrees, thirtie minutes, and longitude from the Meridian of Maio, one degree, fiftie minutes East. We did not land upon it, but came within two or three miles of it. I take it there is hardly anchoring to be found: there may be some refreshing in it; wood there is, and there may bee water: for on the Souther part of it there is a faire plaine plot,

and it was very greene: wee could not finde ground comming within two or three miles of it. From this Iland East North-east, some seven or eight leagues lyeth another Iland: and from the first Iland East by South, or East South-east, lye two or three high white rockes, some foure or five leagues off.

Another Iland.

Two or three high white rockes.

June 28. *They depart from Saldanha.*

The eight and twentieth of June, we all set to sea: we stayed in Saldanha Road one and twentie dayes, and bought for the three shippes nine and thirtie Beeves, and an hundred and fifteene sheepe, with a little brasse, which we cut out of two or three old kettles: The sheepe we bought for small pieces of thinne brasse, worth some peny or three halfe pence a piece: the Beeves with the brasse cut off kettles, to the value of twelve pence for a Beefe. It is a place of great refreshing: for besides the Beefe and Mutton, there is great plentie of good fish, and fowles of many sorts, great store of fat Deere, but wee could kill none, very excellent Rivers of fresh water, and an healthfull and good ayre. I landed eightie or ninetie sicke men, and lodged them in Tents eighteene dayes, and they all recovered their healthes, save one that dyed. From the seventh of June, till the day of our departure from Saldanha, being the eight and twentieth of June, we had nothing but faire weather; the Sunne very warme, and the ayre very sweet and healthfull. Wee were an hundred leagues East from Cabo das Aguilhas, before wee found any current, and then found it strong.

Note.

July 31.

The one and thirtieth of July, Latitude observed seventeene degrees, eight minutes, and longitude twentie degrees, seven and fortie minutes, the wind at South, faire weather. At foure in the after-noone, we saw the Iland de Juan da Nova from us East South-east, distant foure leagues, in bignesse, so much as we saw, (and I thinke wee saw all of it) for length some three or foure miles, very low, and riseth like rockes; off the West-end, a mile or two from it, we saw a breach, but we could not get ground with an hundred and thirtie fathomes, sounding with our Pinnasse or skiffe: the latitude of it is

The Isle de Juan da Nova.

seventeene degrees, no minutes, very certainly observed, and in our judgements well laid in our plats, both for latitude and longitude: it is a most sure signe of being neare this Iland de Juan da Nova, if you find or see great store of fowle; from having the Iland North-east to South-east, we saw much fowle, some white, their wings topped or painted only with blacke, and some blacke fowle. *Signes of the Isle da Juan da Nova.*

The first of August, North North-east thirtie leagues, latitude fifteene degrees, one and fortie minutes, longitude one and twentie degrees, two and twentie minutes. *August* 1.

The second, North-east by North one quarter North, sixe and twentie leagues, latitude fourteene degrees, five and thirtie minutes, longitude one and twentie degrees, eight and fiftie minutes.

The third, North-east by North, one quarter North two and twenty leagues latitude observed thirteene degrees, five and thirtie minutes, and longitude from the Cape twenty two degr. thirty minutes, the wind at South South-east, partly calme. Note that comming this course from the Isle Juan da Nova, we have not met with any Currents: whereby it is evident that the Current which runneth to the South-west, very strongly aboord the Maine, from the latitude of fourteen degr. South, doth not runne in the offing twenty leagues from land. At foure in the after-noone we saw land East North-east, and North-east by East from us, some twelve leagues off, having on the Easter-part of it a very faire Sugar-loafe hill. This Ile is called Mal-Ilha, and is one of the Iles of Comoro. Also at the same time we saw the Iland Comoro bearing off us North North-west and North by West high-land. [I. iv. 457.] *Note.* *Mal-Ilha one of the Iles of Comoro.*

The fourth, at six in the morning, we were faire aboord the South South-east end of Mal-Ilha, and haling in with the land to have found some place to anchor in, when we were some eight or nine miles from the shoare, we saw the ground under the ship; but not lesse then eight or ten fathoms water: the Hosiander being two miles *Shoald-water.*

within us, shee finding not lesse then foure or five fathoms, but her Boat was in three fathoms. Then we sent off both our Pinnasses, which kept shoalding on a Banke of eight, ten, and twelve fathomes, being from the Banke halfe a Cables length, no ground in an hundred fathomes. At the North-end of this Mal-Ilha there is a faire big Iland high land, and may be some five or sixe miles about; and from this little Iland to the maine land of Mal-Ilha, may be some eight or nine miles, full of rockes, two of them of good height. Now the Banke or ledge of Rockes, for so it is, lyeth all along the West-side of Mal-Ilha: and continueth untill the little high Iland (before mentioned) beare South-east of you, and then it endeth. Heere I had sixteene fathom, faire white sand, fishing ground. And thus being at the North-end of this Ledge, and the little Iland bearing South-east, you may steere in with land, keeping the Iland faire aboord: and within the rockes or broken ground and Mal-Ilha, you shall see a Bay, wherein there is good anchoring. The Dutch shipping hath been there sixe or eight saile of them together: That yeare they were heere, when they assaulted Mozambique, two of my men now in my ship, were then in the shippes. Now to the Eastward of you, as you come in from the Banke or Ledge of Rockes, you have likewise a great shoald, and the offermost end of it lyeth from the little Iland North-east, or North-east by East, but from the Iland at least five or sixe miles, and no ground betweene, that we could find, in forty or fifty fathomes. In fine, all the North-side of Mal-Ilha is very dangerous: but the channell mentioned, without danger: for we stood in as farre as the little Iland: but the wind being faire Southerly, we could not lead it in. For I would have anchored in the Bay, if I could have got in; for a mile to the Westward of the Bay is a Towne, the people good, and great refreshing; as Beeves, Goats, Hennes, Limons, Coco Nuts, of each great store; and good water. The aforesaid Fleet of Hollanders, in this place, recovered the

A great Ledge of Rockes.

Six or eight ships of Holland at Mal-Ilha.

healthes of foure or five hundred men in five weekes. In those parts there is no place of greater refreshing then this. Now the best way to come to this place, is to come by the South-east side of the Iland. Mal-Ilha hath latitude twelve degrees, thirty minutes, and longitude three and twenty degrees, two minutes; Variation fifteene degrees, twenty minutes. This Iland is well named Mal-Ilha, for it is the most dangerous of any place that ever I saw: it is the next to Comoro, on the South-east side of Comoro, and is distant some twelve or fourteene leagues. *Mal-Ilha next to Comoro.*

The first of September, at the breaking of the dawning, we saw the land East from us, some three or foure leagues off. When we saw the land, I was short of my reckoning eightie or ninetie leagues: which I judge to proceed of some Current from the Coast of Melinde, setting to the East: neither from the latitude of Socatora to Daman could we see the Sunne, to know that variation. *September 1. Sight of land.*

The third, at seven in the morning, we commanded two Boats of the countrey, by shooting foure peeces to them, to come aboord of us: and they told us that the Church, and Castle, and Towne which we saw, and now did beare off us South-east by South, was the Towne of Daman. Out of these two Boats I tooke two men, which undertooke to carry the Dragon to the Barre of Surat, with promise that they would not bring me into lesse than seven fathoms water.

The fifth, a Boat of Surat came aboord of us with Jaddow the Broker, which had served Captaine William Hawkins three yeeres, and Sir Henry Middleton the time of his being heere; and the Customers brother, and three or foure others. All which continued with us till the seventh day. And then at foure in the afternoone we came to an anchor at the Barre of Surat: the Barre hath latitude one and twenty degrees, ten minutes. Variation sixteene degrees, twenty minutes, or sixteene degr. seven and twenty min. Heere I came to an anchor *They arrive at the Barre of Surat.*

in eight fathomes and a quarter at high water, and at low water sixe fathoms and an halfe nepe tides: but in the spring tides it would rise heere in the offing, for so have I found, three fathoms, and three fathoms and a halfe.

The eleventh, Thomas Kerridge came aboord, and signified their kind intreaty, and much welcome to the people, and brought with him from the Justice and Governour of Surat, a Certificate under their Seale for our quiet and peaceable trade and entercourse with them, and also a Letter of relation written by Sir Henry Middleton, which hee left with the Mocadan of Swally. The same day we returned him againe with Hugh Gittins.

[I. iv. 458.]

§. II.

Their Acts with the Mogols Subjects, and fights against the Portugals: setling a Factorie, and departure to Achen.

THe thirteenth of September, sixteene Sailes of Portugall Frigats put into the River.

The two and twentieth it was determined by counsell, that wee should send a Post to Agra to the King, to signifie our arrival, and to require his answere certaine, Whether hee would permit us trade, and to settle a Factorie. Otherwise to depart his Countrey.

The thirtieth, this morning I heard of the taking of Master Canning the Purser, and William Chambers: whereupon I caused the Guzurat ship to anchor fast by me, thereby to stay her, till I might see and heare how all stood on land. Also wee stayed a Barke of Rice, being informed that it belonged to the Portugals of Bassare: and from Bassare she came. In fine, I tooke out of her twelve or fourteene Quintals of Rice, and gave them thirteene pence a Quintall for it. After I had the ship, I wrote to the chiefe on land, that they should send me all my men, with the value of all the goods which I

had landed; which being performed, I would then deliver their ship with all their people, and gave time till the fift of October to returne mee answere: by which time if they did not, then I would dispose of ship and goods at my pleasure. Some tenne of the chiefe men of the ship I tooke into my ship: in the ship there being some foure hundred men, or foure hundred and fiftie.

The sixth, Medi Joffer came aboord accompanied with foure chiefe men, and many others. Hee brought me a great Present. He came to intreate of Trade, and release of the ship which I held.

The tenth, I left the Barre of Surat, and came to the Roade of Swally, and anchored in eight fathomes at high-water. It is from the Barre of Surat some ten or twelve miles North. The seventeenth; the Governour of Amadavar came to the water-side. The nineteenth, I landed, having aboord of my ship foure men for pledges. The one and twentieth, I concluded with the Governours and Merchants for trading with them, and setling a Factorie in any part of their Countrey.

The Governor of Amadavar came to Swally.

The Articles agreed upon, and sealed by the Governour of Amadaver, and the Governour of Surat, and foure principall Merchants, and to be confirmed by the Seale and Firme of the Great Mogoll within fortie dayes after the former sealing, or else to be void; for the setling of Trade and Factories in the Cities of Surat, Cambaya, Amadavar, Goga, or in any other part or parts of this Countrey within the Great Mogols Dominions. Witnessed under our hands and Seales, the one and twentieth of October, 1612.

1. INprimis, that all which concerneth Sir Henrie Middleton be remitted, acquited and cleered to us: that they shall never make seisure, stoppage, nor

stay of our Goods, Wares and Merchandizes to satisfie for the same.

2 That they shall procure from their King the great Mogoll at their proper cost his grant and confirmation of all the Articles of agreement under the great Seale of his Land, and shall deliver the same unto us for our securitie and certaintie of perpetuall amitie, commerce and dealing with them within fortie dayes after the sealing hereof.

3 That it shall bee lawfull for the King of England to keepe and continue his Embassadour at the Court of the Great Mogoll during the time of the said peace and commerce, there to compound and end all such great and weightie Questions, as may any way tend to the breach of the said peace.

4 That at all times upon the arrivall of our ships in the Roade of Swally there shall bee Proclamation in the Citie of Surat three severall dayes together, that it shall bee free for the Countrey people of all sorts to come downe to the water side, there to have free trade, dealing and commerce with us.

5 That all English Commodities shall pay custome, according to the value or price that it beareth at the time that it is put into the Custome-house, after the rate of three and an halfe the hundred.

6 That all pettie and Pedlerly ware be free of Custome, provided that it exceed not in value tenne Rials of eight.

7 That we shall have ten Manu for our Manuda carryed from the waters side to Surat: and after the same rate backe againe: and for Carts we are to repaire to the Moccadam of Swally to send for Surat, and at Surat to repaire to the Broker for Carts downe againe.

[I. iv. 459.] 8 That if any of our men dye in those parts, that then neither the King, nor Governour, nor under Officer shall make title or challenge to any thing that to the dead belonged, nor demand fees, nor any kind of Taxes, nor Customes.

9 That if all our men dye heere in these parts, be-

tween the times of the comming of our shippes, that then by some Office thereto appointed just and true Inventorie, notice, and knowledge be taken, of all such Monies, Goods, Jewels, Provisions, Apparell, and what else to our Nation belongeth: and the same shall safely preserve and keepe, and deliver to the Generall, Captaine, or Merchants of the first ships that shall after heere arrive: and to receive a discharge from the Generall, Captaine, or Merchants, to whom such Goods and Monies shall be delivered.

10 That they secure our men and goods upon the Land, redeeming all such both goods and men as shall happen to be taken upon the Land by the Portugals: and shall deliver both men and goods againe to us free of all charges, or the value of our goods and men instantly.

11 That as in all Kingdomes there are some Rebels and disobedient Subjects; so in our Nation there may be some Pirats, and Sea-Rovers, which may happen to come into these parts, and heere may rob and steale: if any such shall happen, then will not we by our Trade and Factorie heere bee lyable or answerable for such goods so taken, but will ayde them with our best meanes that are so grieved, by Justice to our King, for redresse and restitution unto them.

12 That all such provisions of victuals as shall bee spent during the time that our ships shall remayne heere in the Roades of Surat and Swally, shalbe free of Custome: provided it doe not amount unto above a thousand Dollers in Money.

13 That in all Questions of wrongs and injuries that shall be offered unto us, and to our Nation, that we doe receive from the Judges and those that be in authoritie, present and speedie Justice according to the qualitie of our complaints and wrongs be done us, and that by delayes we be not put off, and wearied either by time or charges.

The fourteenth, I landed the Present for the Great Mogol, and brought it to the Tent of the Governour of

Amadavar, who tooke notice of the particulars: also of our Kings Letter to their King to advertise their King thereof. Which done, I returned the Present to my shippe againe, according to agreement with the said Governour. For I had told him, that unlesse their King would confirme the Articles concluded on, and likewise write our King a Letter, I would not deliver the Present, nor our Kings Letter: for if he refused so to do, then was he not a friend, but an enemie, and to the enemie of my King, I neither had Letter nor Present. Also the same day, the former finished, I delivered our Present to the Governour of Amadavar, and another to his sonne.

The fourteenth of November, 1612. the Cafila of Frigats came in sight of us, some two hundred and fortie saile. I had thought they had come to fight with us: but they were the Fleet of the Merchant men bound for Cambaya. And every yeare there commeth the like Fleet, all Portugals from the South Coast, to wit, from Goa, Chaul, &c. to goe to Cambaya: and from thence they bring the greatest part of the lading, which the Caracks and Gallions carrie for Portugall. By which may appeare the great Trade that the Portugals have in these parts.

Notice of foure Gallions.

The seven and twentieth, I received Letters from Master Canning and Edward Christian: both signified of the comming of foure Gallions to fight with us, and that they were readie, riding at the Barre of Goa, the fourteenth of November.

The fight between foure Portugal Gallions and us. Of these fights see a larger Relation in my Pilgrimage, lib. 5. cap. 7. § 4. The Portugals had foure great Gallions and some twentie sixe Frigats. They lost in these fights

The nine and twentieth, Master Canning came aboord: and the Portugall Fleet comming in sight of us yesterday, drew neere up with the floud: and at two in the after-noone I did set saile, and at foure I was about two Cables lengths from the Vice-Admirall, fearing to goe neerer for want of depth, and then I began to play upon him both with great and small shot, that by an houre we had well peppered him with some fiftie sixe great shot.

their quondam credit and one hundred and sixtie, or as others five hundred men. And English Trade setled maugre their force. Nathaniel Salmon of Leigh, was Master of the Hosiander.

From him wee received one small shot, Saker or Minion into our Maine Mast, and with another he sunke our long Boate: now being night we anchored, and saved our Boate, but lost many things out of it.

The thirtieth, assoone as the day gave light, I set saile and steered betweene them, bestirring our selves with our best endevours, putting three of their foure shippes on ground on the sands thwart of the Barre of Surat.

At nine I anchored. This morning the Hosiander did good service, and came through also betweene the ships, and anchored by me, upon the floud the three ships on ground came off: we set saile, they at anchor, and came to them, and spent upon three of them, one hundred and fiftie great shot: and in the morning some fiftie shot: and at night we giving the Admirall our foure Peeces out of the sterne for a fare-well, he gave us one of his Prow Peeces, either a whole or Demi-culvering, which came even with the top of our Fore-castle, shot thorow our Davie, killed one man, to wit, William Burrell, and shot the arme of another.

This day the Hosiander spent wholly upon one of the ships, which was on ground, and from the enemie received many shot, one of which killed the Boat-swayne Richard Barker. Night being come wee birthed our selves some sixe miles from them, and anchored: and at nine of the clocke they sent a Frigat to us, which being come neere, came driving right on the halfe of the Hosiander: and being discovered by their good watch, they made to shoote at it; the first, caused it to set saile; the second went thorow their sailes, and so they tooke their leave. Their purpose, doubtlesse, was to have fired us, if they had found us without good watch.

[I. iv. 460.] *This Frigat was sunke with the shot, as Mr. Salmon the actor was authour unto me, and eightie of her men were taken up drowned. December.* 1. 1612.

The first of December, 1612. we rode, they not comming to us, nor we to them: they might without danger of the sands have come to us, not we to them. This day I called a Counsell, and concluded to go downe to have a broader channell, hoping also that the Gallions would follow us. The second, we went downe some sixe or

The Portugalls give over the fight. seven leagues, but they followed us not. The third, at flood we plyed up againe, and anchored faire in sight of them.

The fourth in the morning, we weighed, and stood away before them. In the after-noone they gave us over, and stood in with the land againe: and at night we directed our course for Diu.

The fifth at night, we anchored some foure or five leagues to the Eastward of Diu in fourteene fathoms, faire aboord the shoare.

Madafeldebar. The ninth, we came to Madafeldebar, and anchored in eight fathomes. It is from Diu some ten or eleven leagues, and lyeth nearest East and by North, a faire Coast, no danger but that you see: your depth, if neare Diu, fifteene, sixteene, when halfe-way, twelve fathoms, then ten and nine, not lesse: it is a faire sandy Bay; and on the West-side of the Bay is a River that goeth farre into the Countrey: and this place is some five or sixe miles short to the Westward of the Isles of Mortie. The fifteenth in the morning, we departed from Madafeldebar, to go to Moha, only to discover the Bay: because some that were there in the Ascension, reported it to be a good place to winter in. At foure of the clocke in the after-noone, we anchored in the Bay of Moha; which is from Madafeldebar nine or ten leagues, East North-east. Having found the Coast and channell very good, depth ten fathomes; no danger, but what you see. I sent our Pinnasse on land, where presently we had twenty good sheepe, at three shillings a sheepe, the best we had this Voyage.

Moha, or Mova, or Mea.

The sixteenth in the morning, I sent our Pinnasse on land, where we found few people, but the ruines of a great Towne.

The seventeenth in the morning, the Generall of the Campe sent to me foure men, to intreat me to send unto him one of my men, that he might talke with mee.

The one and twentieth I landed, and had much conference with the Generall of the Campe: he much desired

that I would land two peeces of Ordnance, making many and great promises of favour to our Nation; but I refused him. He presented me with a horse and furniture, and two Agra Girdles: And I presented him a Vest of Stammell, two Peeces, two Bottles of Aquavitæ, and a Knife. The two and twentieth, we saw the foure Gallions comming toward us, and at nine at night they anchored within shot of us.

The three and twentieth in the morning, by Sunne, we weighed, and began with them, and continued fight till ten or eleven. Then they all foure weighed, and stood away before the wind, and so went from us: for they sailed large, much better then wee: wee followed them two or three houres, and then anchored. This day I spent upon them an hundred thirtie three great shot, and some seven hundred small shot. In this fight John Hackwel was killed with a great shot. The foure Gallions anchored from me some two leagues.

The foure and twentieth, by Sunne rising, I weighed and went to the foure Gallions, and by eight began our fight, and continued it till twelve. And this day shot two hundred and fiftie great shot, and one thousand small shot. By this time both sides were weary, and we all stood into the sea, and steered away South by East. The foure ships following of us, at two or three of clocke they laid it about and anchored. Now I began take knowledge of our powder and shot, and found more then halfe of our shot spent, and of the Hosianders, having now spent on the foure shippes sixe hundred, five and twenty great shot, and three thousand small shot. Being from the land some foure or five leagues, we met with a sand, whereon there was some two or two fathoms and an halfe, and it lyeth from Moso South-South-east, or thereabout, the end of the said sand. I went over it in nine fathoms: and then were the two high hills, which are over Goga nearest North of us. Upon this sand was the Ascension cast away. The shoalding is something fast. Betweene the land and this sand is nine and ten fathoms. Wee

Sixe hundred and five and twentie great shot spent on the foure Gallions, and three thousand small shot.

continued steering South, with an ebbe. At low water we anchored in eight fathoms, the tide setting at East North-east, and West South-west, by the Compasse. At twelve at mid-night I weighed, wind at North North-west, and steered South South-east, depths twelve and fourteene fathoms. At foure steered East South-east. At sixe steered East still twelve fathoms, halfe a fathome more or lesse. At nine we met with a banke, seven fathomes, five or sixe casts, then presently ten, twelve, fourteene. Then the wind shortned on us: we lay South-east. And about twelve saw the land of Daman East South-east. The high land to the Southward of Daman South-east by East. And being over this sand, we had presently fourteene, fifteene, seventeene, twenty fathoms. At two, being high water, we anchored in seventeene fathoms, faire in sight of land, Daman East South-east. The highest land to the Southward, South-east by South. At eight at night, wee set saile halfe tide, calme, still fifteene and sixteene fathoms, anchored all the ebbe.

The sixe and twentieth, at nine of the clocke in the morning, we set saile, in the afternoone anchored off the Barre of Surat.

[I. iv. 461.] The seven and twentieth in the morning, we were three or foure miles short of Swally, and about twelve of the clocke we anchored in the Road of Swally. In the afternoon Thomas Kerridge and Edward Christian came aboord.

February 6. The sixt of February, the Firma came to Swally, as a private Letter: therefore I refused to receive it, being jealous it was a counterfeit; requiring the chiefe men of Surat to come downe and deliver it to me, with those rights that to it belonged.

I received the great Mogol his Firma for confirming of peace, and setling a Factory in Surat, &c.

The eleventh, the Sabandar, his father in law Medigoffer, and divers others came to Swally, and delivered it to me, with profession of their Kings love to our Nation.

The fourteenth, we landed all our cloath, three hun-

dred and ten Elephants teeth, and all our Quick-silver. The Gallions came within some three or foure miles of us.

Antony Starkie sent over-land for England, he was poysoned and his Indian by two Friers in the way.

The sixteenth, I landed Anthony Starkey, to traverse home over-land for England, with Letters and advertisement of our good successe.

The seventeenth, I received all my goods from Surat: at night I set saile, taking my leave of these coasts: it fell calme, and I anchored. Note that in the Land of Cambaya it floweth South-west and North-east.

He leaveth these Coasts, shaping his course for Sumatra and Java.

The eighteenth, I set saile againe, came faire by the Gallions. They all weighed and followed me some two or three houres, and then we departed without shooting a shot on either side.

Basaim.

The nineteenth, thwart of Basaim we tooke three Malabars, which had nothing in them: we tooke a Boat from one of them.

The twentieth, still we were faire aboord some five leagues off, and came along the shoare in fourteene, eighteene, twentie fathomes water. At night we were faire over-against Chaul, seeing both Towne and Castle.

Chaul.

Dabul.

The one and twentieth in the after-noone, wee were faire aboord Dabull, and heere were aboord three Junckes, all of Calicut, laden with Cokers.

Goa.

The two and twentieth, the Hosiander in the morning sent her Boat unto two Junckes. At twelve of the clocke we were at the rockes, which lye at the Northward of Goa, ten or eleven leagues, and lye from the Maine sixe or eight miles. Two or three of these rocks are higher then the hull of any ship. At sixe we were thwart of Goa, which is easily knowne by the Iland, which lyeth at the mouth of the River, and upon the Iland a Castle. From Daman till you come to Goa, the shoare is very faire, no danger, and faire shoalding, not without sixteene or seventeene, nor within ten fathoms: good anchoring all the Coast. And all this Coast from Daman to Goa, lyeth nearest South and North, we steered along the Land.

A Fleet of Frigats. The foure and twentieth, we saw a Fleete of Frigats, some sixtie or eightie saile, bound to the Southward: heere Norther latitude thirteene degrees, halfe a minute. The high land by the waters side left us; and the land began to be very low, and faire shoalding sixteene or seventeene fathomes, some three or foure leagues off. In the after-noone we came into a Bay, where all the Frigats, *A prize taken.* and three or foure Gallyes were, and fetched out a ship laden with Rice: all the Portugalls fled in their two Boates; and also there were two Frigats aboord of her, so that all good things they carryed away with them.

The five and twentieth, we romaged our prize, finding nothing but Rice and course Sugar, of which we stored our selves, and tooke out both high masts, and what firing we could, and at night suncke her, taking out of her all the people, twentie or five and twentie, all Moores.

The sixe and twentieth, wee met with a little Boate of Maldina, laden with Cokers, bound for Cananor, into which I put all the people of the prize; onely eight I kept for labour, one of them a Pilot for this Coast. At *Cananor.* twelve we were thwart of Cananor, latitude eleven degrees.

The seven and twentieth, we were shot a little past *Calicut.* Calicut, and were thwart of Pannaire, at noone latitude ten degrees, thirtie minutes.

The eight and twentieth in the morning, we saw *Cochin.* Cochin, which maketh it selfe by the Towers and Castle: and in latitude nine degrees, fortie minutes, or thereabout. Note that from Goa to Cochin, we never had above twentie fathomes, being sometime foure or five leagues from land: and being three, foure and sixe miles *Shoaldings.* off ten or twelve fathomes, from latitude eleven degrees, thirtie minutes to Cochin, very low land by the waters side; but up in the Countrie all along high land. Note *Marks of land.* that short of Cochin foure or five leagues, you shall see a high land in the Countrie, somewhat like a table, but rounding aloft. And to the Northward of this round

hill, high long hills or mountaines. All this day we ran within six or eight miles of the land, in nine, ten, twelve fathomes.

The nine and twentieth, calme, latitude eight degrees, some sixe leagues off, no ground in fortie or fiftie fathomes.

They anchored before Beringar, a place of great refreshing.

The thirtieth, we anchored in fifteene fathomes, some sixe and twentie leagues short of Cape Comori, against a little Village: and presently sixe or eight Canoes came aboord, and brought us all provisions, water, Hennes, Cocos, &c. The name of this place is * Beringar: the Kings name Travancar.

**Our Mariners usually call it Bring John.*

The one and thirtieth, all the day the people came to us with Hennes, and other victuals.

February 1. [I. iv. 462.]

The first of February, the people came with provisions, and the King sent a messenger to me, to know whether I would trade with him: which if I would, he offered to lade my shippe with Pepper and Cinamom.

The fourth, the people still came to us with provisions. At two of the clocke in the after-noone, we set saile from Beringar: all the night I anchored.

The fifth in the morning we set saile, being faire aboord Cape Comorin: and heere met with a fresh gale of wind at East by North, which split our fore-top-saile and maine bonnet, yet a Canoa with eight men came aboord me, three or foure leagues from land: in the after-noone came another Canoa. Heere we were troubled with calmes and great heate, many of our men taken sicke, my selfe one of them. The eight, we came againe into the Roade of Beringar.

The Thirteenth, we set saile from Beringar. Note that this place giveth good refreshing, with plentie of water, and the people harmelesse, and not friends with the Portugals. From this place to the Cape, all the people that dwell by the waters side are Christians, and have a Portugall Frier or Priest that dwelleth among them. All the night we anchored some foure or five miles from the two rockes, which lye off the Cape in eigh-

teene fathomes. The two rockes lye five or sixe miles from land.

The fourteenth in the morning, I set saile, wind at East, and plyed to windward: wee have a little current to the Southward. Note that the Coast of Malabar, even from Daman to Cape Comorin is free of danger, and faire shoalding on all the Coast from Cochin to the Cape: more neale sixteene, eighteene, twentie fathoms faire by the land: and five or six leagues off no ground after you come within five and twentie or thirtie leagues of the Cape. The variation at Daman is sixteene degrees, thirtie minutes. And halfe way to the Cape, it is fifteene or thereabout: and heere at the Cape it is fourteene. And the Cape hath latitude North seven degrees, thirtie minutes. In the after-noone, we ran off open of the Cape, and found much wind at East South-east, which gave no small hope of going to the Eastward, till the end of the Monson, which will bee the fifth of Aprill, or thereabout, as the Indians report. So I bore up and anchored foure or five leagues within the Cape, in twentie fathomes, faire by the two rockes. Right off from these two rockes, lyeth a suncken rocke, which is very dangerous, and is some two miles without the foresaid two Rockes. If you come within twentie fathomes, you shall be in danger of them: but safe and free of danger, is not to come within foure and twentie or five and twentie fathomes. Heere we stayed nine dayes.

Variation at CapeComorin, fourteen degr. latitude seven degrees, thirtie minutes. And longitude from the Cape of Good Hope fiftie sixe degrees, thirtie min.

A very dangerous suncken rocke.

The eight and twentieth in the morning, at sixe of the clocke, we saw the Isle of Ceylon, East South-east, off some eight or nine leagues: little wind at South, latitude observed seven degrees North. At foure of the clocke, we were faire aboord the land, depths thirteene, fifteene, sixteene fathomes. At eight stood off till day: little wind at South, being from the land five or six leagues, no ground in sixtie or seventie fathomes.

The Isle of Ceylon.

March 1. The first of March, all the morning becalmed: in the after-noone a Sea-turne at North-west and West. At sixe

of the clocke, we were faire aboord Columbo, the latitude whereof is six degrees, thirtie minutes, or neare thereabout, depths foure and twenty, five and twenty fathoms, three leagues off. *Columbo in sixe degrees, thirtie minutes.*

The twelfth, we stood in with the land, and anchored in foure and twentie fathomes, wind at South-east and South. I sent my Boat on land, foure leagues to the North of Punta de Galle: and after some stay, a woman came to talke with an Indian, that went out of our Boat: shee told him that we should have there no provisions: but said shee would go and tell the men; which we desired. Afterward two men came to my Indian, and told him, that we should not have any thing there, for that our Nation had sometimes taken a Boat of theirs: but it was the Hollanders, and not our Nation.

The fourteenth in the morning, at sixe of the clocke, the Southermost point of Ceylon, called Tenadare, whose latitude is five degrees, thirtie minutes, and lyeth from Punta de Galle, East South-east, some ten or twelve leagues, bare East North-east some five leagues off.

The seventeenth, we were neare to one of the sands that Linscot writeth of: it lieth from the land two leagues. We had five and twenty fathomes when we staid: upon the land right against this sand is a high Rocke like a great Tower. The land lieth here East North-east. *A sand lying some two leagues off the shoare.*

Captaine Best his entertainement at Achen.

THe twelfth of Aprill at noone, we came to an anchor in the Road of Achen, in twelve fathomes; but you may ride in tenne or eight fathomes. Your best road is, to the East-ward of the Castle, and Rivers mouth. The thirteenth, I landed the Merchants, the King not beeing in Towne. The fifteenth, the King came, and sent his Chap to me for my landing, brought by an Eunuch, and sixe or eight more, and also the Xabandar. To whom we gave an hundred and twenty Mam. With them the same day I landed: and two houres after my landing, the *Aprill 12. They anchor in the Road of Achen in twelve fathoms.*

The Kings Present.

King sent me a Present in victuals: I having presently upon my landing sent the King two peeces: for the custome is, at landing to present the King with some small thing, and he requiteth it by severall dishes of meate.

[I. iv. 463.]

The seventeenth, the King having sent an Elephant with a bason of Gold for our Kings letters, I rode to the Court accompanied with fortie of our men, all admitted into the Kings presence; and after many complements, the King returned the Letter unto me, for to read it: and so the substance of it was delivered unto him in his owne language. The contents pleased him very well. The day wel spent, the King told me, he would now shew me some of his pleasures; and caused his Elephants to fight before us: and after sixe of them had fought, then he caused foure Buffles to fight before him, which made a very excellent and fierce fight. Their fiercenesse was such, that hardly sixtie or eightie men could part them, fastening ropes to their hinder legges, to draw them asunder. And after them some tenne or twelve Rams, which likewise made a very great fight, and so continued till it was so darke that we could not see any longer. The King presented me with a banket of at least foure hundred dishes, with such plentie of hot drinkes, as might have sufficed a drunken army. Betweene nine and tenne at night, he gave me leave to depart, sending me two Elephants to carry me home; but I rode not on them, they having no coverings on them.

Our Kings letter read to the King of Achen.

The eighteenth, I went to the Court againe, the King so appointing; where we beganne to treat of the Articles formerly made by his Grand-father, and M. James Lancaster. And comming to the matter of having all goods both brought in, and carried out free of custome, wee ended, without concluding any thing.

The Embassadour of Siam came to visit me.

The nineteenth, the Embassadour of Siam came to visit me, telling me of the three Englishmen that came to the King of Siam, and of their great entertainment, and joy of their King to receive a Letter from the King of England: and that it was some thirty Moneths since.

Of this you may read in M. Floris his Journall.

They also told me how joyfull their King would be, if our shipping came to his coasts; telling me what great quantities of cloath of Portugall, which is English cloth, would sell in their Countreys. The colours most in request, stammel and reds, with some others, as yellowes, and other pleasing light colours, as at Surat. They also told me, that their King had made a Conquest over the whole Countrey of Pegu, and so is now the greatest King of this Oriental part, except the King of China, and hath under him twentie sixe petty Kings; and in the warres is able to make sixe thousand Elephants. Their coyne is all Silver. Their Gold is lesse esteemed then the valew thereof. In their Countrey is great store of Pepper, and rawe Silke. He saith, that the Hollanders have their Factories, whom they call English, at Patane, which is an excellent Port: the entrance twelve and foureteene fathomes. Likewise Siam is a good Port, and is neerer unto the Kings Court then Patane. Those that doe goe to the Citie of the King, alwaies come to this Port of Siam. And from this Port of Siam to the Kings Court, is some twenty dayes journey by land. I mooved the Embassadour for his Letter to the King, which he promised me, and also for his Letter to the Governours of Ports, in favour of our Nation, when we should come upon those coasts. And lastly, changed coynes with him, giving of our English coyne, and receiving the Kings coine of Siam. I had after this, often entercourse with these Embassadours.

English broad clothes well sold in Siam.

Gold of lesse esteeme then the value thereof in Siam.

Hollanders called or calling themselves English.

The twentieth, I went to the Court, but spake not with the King: whereupon I sent to the Kings Deputie, and complained of my dishonour, and of some abuse by the Xabandar offered unto me. He promised that I should have present redresse, and that he would enforme the King thereof: which accordingly he performed the same day. The twentie one, the King sent two Officers unto me, to signifie that at all times I might repaire unto his Court, with free accesse, and passe all the Gates without stoppe, or attending for his Crest, and likewise remooved the

Xabandar, and appointed me the Gentleman, whom the King sent Vice-Embassadour into Holland, to attend, and accompany me at all times to the Court, and elsewhere at my pleasure.

The foure and twentieth, I wrote unto the Court, and had accesse unto the King, who gave me all content, and promised the ratifying of all the Articles, formerly agreed upon by his Predecessour, and M. James Lancaster. So after divers complements, he tooke leave, and sent me home presently after my returne an Elephant to attend me, and to carrie me whither soever it pleased me to travell. And this is a signe of the honourablest esteeme that they hold of the parties to whom they sent their Elephants: for none may have an Elephant, nor ride on them, but those whom the King doth honour.

A signe of most honourable esteeme.

May 2. 1613. The second of May, the King invited me to his fountaine to swimme, and I was with him; it being some five or sixe miles from the Citie, and he sent me two Elephants to carrie me and my provision; and having washed and bathed our selves in the water, the King presented me with an exceeding great banquet, with too much Racke, all to be eaten and drunken as we sate in the water; all his Nobles and great Captaines being present. Our banquet continued from one of the clocke till towards five: at which time the King released me; and halfe an houre after all strangers, and presently after followed himselfe.

The foureteenth, certaine Portugalls came into Achen, which came from Malacca with an Embassage from the Governour to this King. The wind short, they landed three leagues to the Eastward of the Road of Achen. This day I sent the Hosiander to seeke the Barke which came from Malacca, making Edward Christian Captaine in her. The seventeenth in the morning, the Portugall Barke was brought unto me aboord the Dragon. But before she came aboord, the King sent two Messengers to me, to desire me to release both her, and that which might bee in her: which I refused to doe: answering,

Edward Christian Captaine of the Hosiander. [I. iv. 464.]

that I would not release her, untill I had seen both the Barke and that which was in her: but willed them to tell the King, that in honour of him, whatsoever he required, I would doe for him. Afterward the Barke came, and by Edward Christian I was informed, that there were some foure or five fardels in her, and that nothing was medled withall, that was in her. Wherein being certified, I came on land, and found my Merchants to be at the Court, who by and by after came in, informing me of the Kings great displeasure, for taking the Portugall Barke in his Port, protesting by his god, That he would make them all prisoners, if the Barke were not released. The King having intelligence of my comming on land, presently sent for me. And on the way to the Court, as I was going, I met a Gentleman that came from the King, to desire me to release the Barke. But I told him, I would first speake with the King. In fine, I came to the Court, and presently was brought before the King: where after much discourse, at the Kings request, I gave him the Barke, and all that was in her, with which hee was much pleased, and gave me an honourable title, to wit, Arancaja Puto: which signifieth, The honourable White man, requiring his Nobles to call me by the same name. And further, to acknowledge his thankefulnesse to me, he sold me his Benjamin at mine owne price; namely, at twenty Tayls the Bahar, it being worth thirty foure and thirty five, professing by generall tearmes his love, and much esteeme of mee, willing me to aske whatsoever I would of him. I required onely his Letters of favour unto Priaman, which he most willingly promised. Of his Mangoes, whereof himselfe did eate, he gave me to eate, and likewise to carry to my lodging, and so I tooke leave and departed.

Captaine Best honoured with a Noble title by the King.

The seven and twentieth, Malim Gavy came to Achen, by whom I received Letters from our Merchants at Surat, and also a Copie of the Kings Firma, sent them from Agra, bearing date the twenty fifth of January, and the seventh yeare of the Great Mogols raigne, confirming all

Letters from Surat, with the Copie of the Great Mogols Firma.

that was passed betweene the Governour of Amadavar and me.

June, 1613. The seventeenth of June, 1613. came there a Merchant of the Hollanders into Achen from Masulipatan, and had been eight moneths on his journey. He told us of the death of Captaine Anthonie Hippon, who died in Patane, and of M. Browne Master of the Globe, who died in Masulipatan, and that they had been evill dealt with at Masulipatan.

The foure and twentieth, I received of the King his Present for the King of England; namely, his Letter, a Cryse or Dagger, an Hasega, foure pieces of fine Callicut lawne, and eight Camphire dishes.

See this Letter transcribed as a raritie for the Reader, out of M. Copelands Journall, which was Minister in that Voyage, and followeth in the next Chapter.

July. 1613. The third of July, the Kings Armada arrived, and had been but twenty dayes from the coast of Jor to Achen.

The Factorie of the Hollanders destroyed in Jor. In Jor they tooke the Factorie of the Hollanders, and made a prey of all their goods, and brought hither prisoners of the Hollanders some twenty or twenty foure.

He departeth from Achen. The seventh, I received the Kings Letter for Priaman, and the Chap for my departure. The twelfth, I tooke my leave in Achen, and came aboord.

The thirteenth in the morning, I set saile, and comming neere the great Westermost Iland, open of the Northermost gut; in the same Ile we found faire shoalding twenty fathomes, cleane ground, sand, a good birth from the land. This depth with cleare ground continued almost to the end of the Iland: so that on the East side of this Iland, there is very good anchoring, and on the Iland great store of wood. But beeing neere the great Iland, to the East-ward of this, wee could get no ground: betweene these two great Ilands is the best and safest course, going on or out to the road of Achen. Likewise, to the Eastward of the Eastermost Iland, but that is out of the way. Note, that from the twelfth of Aprill to the middest of June, we had much raine, seldome two dayes

without raine, with gusts and much wind. From the fifteenth of June, to the twelfth of July, very much wind, very sore stresses, alwayes at South-West, and West South-West, and West.

§ III.

Trade at Tecoo and Passaman: their going to Bantam, and thence home.

THE third of August, we were in sight of Priaman, nine or tenne leagues off, it bearing from us North-east by East, it shewing with two great high hils, making a faire swamp or saddle betweene them both. We sawe also Tecoo the high land on it: it is not more then halfe so high as Priaman land, and riseth something flat. Then we saw also the high land of Passaman, which lieth some seven or eight leagues to the North-ward of Tecoo, even mid way betweene Passaman and Priaman, which Mountaine is very high, and riseth like Monte Gibello in Sicilie. *Priaman.* *Tecoo.* *Passaman.*

The seventh in the afternoone we came to Tecoo, and anchored on the East side of the three Ilands in seven fathomes. The Souther-most Ile bore West South-west. The middlemost West North-West. The Northermost North, and halfe East a mile from the Ilands. *They arrive at Tecoo.* [I. iv. 465.]

The ninth, I landed my Merchants; and in the afternoone I landed with the King of Achens Letter. The eleventh, I called a Counsell for sending the Hosiander for Priaman with the Kings Letter, which departed the next day, and returned the eighteenth, and was sent to Bantam.

The five and twentieth, there came in a Juncke of Bantam, the Owners Chineses. They confirmed unto me the death of Sir Henrie Middleton, with the losse of most of the men of the Trades Increase, and Maine Mast which brake with forcing her downe to carine her, and that now she was gone from Pulo Panian to Bantam: that three hundred Chineses dyed in working on her. *Death of Sir H. Middleton. The Trade perisheth.*

The eight and twentieth, my Boat and men returned from Passaman, having beene well intreated, and brought with them the Scrivane of the place to deale with me: with whom I dealt and went through.

The fourteenth, the Governour called me on Land, being set with all the chiefe: I came to him, and after much talke agreed for the price of Pepper: Money, eighteene Dollers the Barre. Lastage, eight pence the Barre. Canikins, thirtie the Barre. Seilars, thirtie five the Barre. They indented for Presents to sixteene great men.

The thirtieth, Henrie Long came from Passaman, and gave mee knowledge of the sicknesse of Master Oliver and divers others dead, whereupon I sent my Shalop to fetch both him and all other of my men away, and to surcease my Factorie there.

The one & twentieth of October, the Hosiander returned. The Merchants from Bantam wrote to me that they had readie seventeen thousand bags of Pepper: all which, if it pleased me to come thither, I should have, or as much thereof, as should seeme good unto me at thirteene Dollers the Timbane. Out of these and many other considerations, I presently called a Counsell: wherein we concluded that the Dragon should goe for Bantam; and the Hosiander should stay in the Road of Teco, upon the sale of Surat goods: all which being put aboord of her, I departed from the Roade of Teco the thirtieth of October.

In this Roade I had stayed eleven weekes, and bought one hundred and fifteene or one hundred and twentie tunnes of Pepper, and buried of our men five and twentie. All which either dyed, or contracted their deaths at Passaman, and not at Teco. And certainly, had wee not attempted trading at Passaman, they had beene either all, or the greatest part of them now living. Therefore I doe wish all our Nation never to attempt the sending of our men to Passaman. For the Ayre is so contagious there, and the water so evill, that it is impossible for our people to live there.

Passaman is a very contagious place.

The thirtieth, in the after-noone I set saile from Teco: at sixe at night wee were thwart of the offermost of the three Ilands; all night we steered South South-west. *He departeth from Teco.*

The eleventh of November, we arrived in the Roade of Bantam in foure fathomes one quarter lesse. The twelfth, I called the Merchants aboord, and concluded on the price of Pepper at thirteene Dollers the Bahar: which is sixe hundred pound of our weight. *They arrived in the Road of Bantam.*

The fourth of March at eight at night I set saile from Saldanha, having bought heere with a little Copper, which at ten pence the pound might be worth some three pound tenne shillings, foure hundred ninetie foure Sheepe, foure Beeves, nine Calves. On the day of our comming to Sea the people brought us more then we could buy, or knew what to doe withall. We brought to Sea eightie Sheepe, two Beeves, and one Calfe.

The foure & twentieth North North-west halfe West till nine, ten leagues & an halfe. Then West till sixe in the morning twelve leagues. Then we saw Sançta Helena from us West North-west some eight or nine leagues off. I find the latitude of it to be sixteene Southerly. Also we observed at noone: and it hath longitude from the Meridian of the Cape of Good Hope, twentie two degrees. At three of the clocke we anchored in the Roade right against the Chappell. *They saw Santa Helena.*

While I was at Saint Helena, I sent my Boates to the West-ward to find a shorter way to the Limon Trees, and to bring downe Goates and Hogges with more ease. For from the Chappell to the Limon Trees is a most wicked way: and even a dayes worke to goe and come. In fine, in seeking they found some three or foure miles to the South-west a faire Valley, which leadeth directly up to the Limon Trees. It is the greatest and fairest Valley from the Chappell; and either the next or the next save one from the South-west point from the Chappell: Heere in this Valley is better water, and more cleere, then at the Chappell, the Roade all one for ground and depth. Heere *Another Road at Santa Helena, better then the former.* *The best water.*

at this Valley it is much better being then at the Chappell, both for getting of all provisions, and for watering. It is from the Chappell some three or foure miles, and is from it the fourth Valley or Swampe: and from the Point to the West-ward of it, the second. So that you cannot misse of it. It is heere much better riding then at any other place on the Iland. From this place you may goe up to the Limon Trees, and downe againe in three houres. Heere we got some thirtie Hogges and Pigges, and some twelve or fourteene hundred Limons. In eight or ten dayes a man may heere get two hundred Hogges, and many Goates, lying on land of purpose to kill them. The variation is here seven degrees thirtie minutes.

[I. iv. 466.] *The Lizard.* The fourth of June 1614. we saw the Lizard North from us, some foure or five leagues off. And now our longitude from the Cape of Good Hope was twentie seven degrees twentie minutes, and two degrees carryed by the Current. So that the difference of longitude betweene the Cape of Good Hope and the Lizard is twentie nine degrees twentie minutes, or very neere thereabout.

Note, that this day three moneths at night I did set saile in the roade of Saldanha: yet notwithstanding our short passage, having beene from Santa Helena but two monethes and nine dayes, the one halfe or more of our Company are laid up of the Scurvie: and two dead of it. Yet had we plentie of victuals, as Beefe, Bread, Wine, Rice, Oyle, Vinegar, Sugar; and all these without allowance. Note, that all our men that are sicke, have taken their sicknesse since wee fell with Flores and Corvo. For since that time wee have had it very cold, especially in two great stormes, the one with the wind at North and North North-east: The other with the wind at South-west. From the Cape of Good Hope to the Ilands of Flores and Corvo, I had not one man sicke. The variation foure or five leagues off the Start is nine degrees thirtie minutes, little more or lesse.

Comming suddenly out of long heat into the cold, seemeth to bee a great cause of the Scurvie.

The fifteenth, wee came into the River of Thames, it being that day sixe moneths since wee came from Bantam in Java. *They arrive in the Thames.*

Blessed bee God.

Chap. VIII.

Certaine Observations written by others employed in the same Voyage, Master Copland Minister, Robert Boner, Master, Nicholas Withington Merchant.

§. I.

Remembrances taken out of a Tractate written by Master Patrike Copland Minister in the former Voyage.

IN the Tropickes are seldome or no stormes, but a smooth Sea with soft gales: flying fishes are frequent as bigge as a small Whiting: they flye twice the length of a ship. Turnados (gusts within two degrees of the Line) cause all things, specially cloaths, to smell. They had ninetie or a hundred sicke, the rest weake, before they came to Soldania.

The Bay of Soldania and all about the Cape is so healthfull and fruitfull, as might grow a Paradise of the World; it well agrees with English bodies, for all but one in twentie dayes recovered, as at the first day they set forth. They had then in June, Snow upon the hils, the weather warmish. The Countrey is mixed, Mountaines, Plaines, Medowes, Streames, the Woods as if they were artificially planted for order. There is free stone to build with, plentie of fish and fowle, wilde Geese, Partriches and Duckes, Antilopes, Deere, Rivers. They had thirtie nine Beeves, one hundred and fifteene sheepe for a little Brasse cut out of two or three old Kettles. For *Commendations of Soldania.*

the sheepe worth one penny, or one penny halfe penny the piece; the Beeves twelve pence. The people are loving, afraid at first by reason of the unkindnesse of Dutch (which came there to make traine Oyle, who killed and stole their Cattell) and at our returne more kind: of middle size, well limmed, very nimble and active. They dance in true measure all naked, only weare a short Cloke of sheepe or Seale skinnes to their middle, the hairie side inward, a Cap of the same, and a kind of Rats skinne about their privities; some had a Sole on their feet tyed about; their neckes were adorned with greasie Tripes, which sometimes they would pull off and eat raw. When we threw away their beasts entrailes, they would eate them halfe raw, the bloud lothsomely slavering: Bracelets about their armes they had of Copper or Ivorie, with many Ostrich feathers and shels.

Their persons and their apparell.

The Womens habit is as the Mens. They were shame-fac't at first; but at our returne homewards they would lift up their Rat-skinnes and shew their privities. Their Breasts hang to the middle, their haire curled. Copper with them is Gold; Iron, Silver; their Houses little Tents in the field, of Skins, moveable at pleasure, their Language with doubling the tongue in their throat. There is a high hill, called the Table, over-covering all the adjoyning Territories one hundred miles. Some went and discovered many Bayes and Rivers. The Negroes behaved themselves peaceably at Sinon, yet seeme of little or no Religion; they cut their skinnes like Baals Priests, one seemed (by making price) to be Commander.

The Table. Porcupins Quils.

[I. iv. 467.] The Guzerates tooke sea-coale to carry for a wonder to the Mogol. The Portugall Fleete was two hundred fortie sayle of Frigats, Merchants bound for Cambaya, which furnish the Carracks, foure Gallions, with twenty five or twenty sixe Frigats. The Admirall was Numo de Ancuna. When the Sabandar perswaded him to keep between us and shoare; he answered proudly, that he scorned to spend a weekes provision on his men in hinder-

Portugal pride.

ing us, being able to force us to yeeld in an houre. They had all red colours displayed. After three fights, they manned a Frigat, with sixe or seven score best men to fire us, which were all sunke. *The first fight.*

Medhaphrabads is now ruined by the Mogols warres, which sometime hath beene a faire Citie, and walled. Here was a Castle kept by the Ratspuches, in which at that time a strong Rebell to the Mogoll, was besieged by the Nabob, with fiftie or sixtie thousand people in his Campe. The Nabob had a stately and spacious Tent, covered above with Cloth of Gold, beneath spread with Turkie Carpets. The Generall would not stirre till he had taken the Castle. He sent a horse, and two Vests wrought with Silke and Gold to our Generall, and foure Vests for foure other. They have store of good Grapes, yet none but Rasin wine. *Medhaprabads.*

The three and twentieth and foure and twentieth of December, in view of the whole Army we had a second fight, and forced them first to cut their Cables, and then flee from us, being better of saile then we. *The second place of fight.*

I rode to Surat in a Coach drawne with Oxen (which is most ordinary, though they have store of goodly horses) here in the way was the goodliest Spring and Harvest together that ever I saw; the Fields joyning, one greene as a Meadow, the other yellow as Gold, ready to bee cut: their graine Wheat and Rice; they have excellent bread. All along were goodly Villages, full of Trees yeelding Taddy, like new sweet wine, much strengthening and fatting. Surat hath stone and bricke houses faire, square, flat-roofed, goodly Gardens, with Pomegranats, Pomecitrons, Limons, Melons, Figs, continuing all the yeere, with curious springs of fresh water: the people are grave, judicious, neat, tall, goodly cloathed in long white Callico or Silke robes. *M. Copelands journey hence over-land.* *Taddy or Palme-wine.*

The Sabandar assured us, that we had killed of the Portugals above three hundred and fiftie: we heard after that there were spoyled and killed above five hundred. The Generall sent Letters by land, and the Messenger

with his Indian were poysoned by two Friers homewards: but a second Letter was delivered to a Mariner, which came to their hands.

Anno 1613. The twelfth of Aprill, they anchored in the road of Achen, where the King welcomed our men. The Arancaja came riding in a Tent on an Elephants backe, with two or three of the Kings boyes (for he is attended with Boyes abroad, Women within) holding a Bason of Gold, to receive the Kings letter. Our Generall followed with fortie or fiftie men. After the Letter and Present delivered, the King told us we should see some of his Pastime, and called for his Cockes, which after they have fought about once or twice, they take them up, bath them, picke their feathers, and sow up their wounds. After an houre thus spent in Cock-fighting: his Rammes fought very fiercely; then his tame Elephants more cruelly: then his Buffles most stomackfully. Finally, our Antilopes wherewith our Generall had presented him, whose fight best pleased him. Hee all this while drinkes Tobacco in a Silver Pipe; given by his Women which are in a close roome behind him. After this, Supper was served in by young Boyes of foureteene or fifteene yeeres in Swasse (a mettall halfe Copper halfe Gold.) This Supper continued from seven till almost twelve, in which we had foure hundred dishes with hot drinkes. The next day the King sent the Generall an Elephant to ride on, and appointed one of his chiefe Arancajas to attend him alwayes. They had continuall free accesse granted, without the Kings Creese (which is used as a Scepter) and promise to ratifie the Articles agreed upon by his Predecessors, and Sir James Lancaster.

The second of May, all Strangers were invited to a banquet sixe miles off, for which purpose two Elephants were sent for our Generall. Here were all the dishes brought by water, the boyes holding the dish with one hand, and swimming with the other: so did they carrie the strong drinke also, whereof when they had tasted (which they must of all) they threw the rest into the

River. It continued from one till five. In it were five hundred dishes well dressed. Our General (weary with sitting by the King thus long in the water) was dismissed an houre before the rest. The Captaine of the Dutch house, taking there his bane, either with hot drinke, or cold sitting so long in the water, soone after died.

The second of June, they were entertained with a fight of foure Elephants, with a wild Tygre tied at a stake, which yet fastening on their Trunks and legges, made them to roare and bleed extreamely. This day we were told, that one eye of a Noble man was plucked out, for looking on one of the Kings women washing in a River. Another Gentleman wearing a Shash, had his head round cut so farre as that was too large. Some he is said to boyle in scalding oyle, some are sawne apeices, others their legges cut off, or spitted alive, or empaled on stakes.

The twentie fifth, was before the King a fight of wild Elephants, which would quickly kill each other, but that some tame are made fast to them, which draw them backe, sometime eighty or an hundred men helping. They set one wild betweene two tame to tame them. He sent the King a Letter, for painting and writing most stately, a Creese, &c. for a Present. *Elephants.*

The Letter is thus Englished. [I. iv. 468.]

PEducka Sirie Sultan King of Kings, renowmed for his Warres, and sole King of Sumatra, and a King more famous then his Predecessors, feared in his Kingdome, and honoured of all bordering Nations: in Whom there is the true Image of a King, in whome raignes the true methode of Government, formed as it were of the most pure Mettall, and adorned with the most finest colours; Whose seat is high, and most compleat, like to a Christall River, pure and cleare as the Christall Glasse: From whom floweth the pure streame of Bountie and Justice: whose Presence is as the finest Gold, King of Priaman, and of the Mountaine of Gold, viz. Solida, and Lord of nine sorts of Stones, King of two Sombrieroes of

beaten Gold, having for his Seats mats of Gold, his furniture for his Horses and Armour for himselfe, being likewise of pure Gold. His Elephant with teeth of Gold, and all Provisions thereunto belonging: his Lances halfe Gold, halfe Silver, his small shot of the same; a Saddle also for an other Elephant of the same Mettall: a Tent of Silver, and all his Seales halfe Gold halfe Silver. His Vessels for bathing of pure Gold, his Sepulchre of Gold (whereas his Predecessours had all these halfe Gold halfe Silver) his services compleat of Gold and Silver. A King under whom there are many Kings, having taken the King of Arrow: All the Countrey of Priaman, Tecoo, Barouse, beeing subdued by him, is now under his Command: Seventie Elephants, and much Provisions carried by sea, to make his Warres at Arrow, where God gave me more Victory, then any of my Predecessors.

This Great King sendeth this Letter of Salutation to James, King of Great Britaine, viz. England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, To signifie the great content he hath received by his Highnesse Letter, delivered by the hands of Arancaja Pulo, Thomas Best his Majesties Embassadour, at the receipt whereof, his eyes were surprised with a Celestiall brightnesse, and his spirits ravished with a Divine joy: the opening thereof rendred a savour more fragrant then the most odoriferous Flowers, or sweetest perfumes in the World. For which cause, I the great King of Sumatra, doe professe my Selfe to bee of one heart, of one mind, and of one flesh with the most Potent Prince James K. of England, and do earnestly desire that the League begun, may be continued to all Posterities. And herein I take my greatest Felicitie, there being nothing in the World more pleasant or joyfull to me. And for a Testimony of my desire, that the League and Amitie begun may be continued betwixt Us, I have returned this Letter unto your Majestie, making also my Prayers unto the Great God for the continuance of the same. And it shall be my greatest Honour, to receive Memoriall from so Great a Potentate, and so remote a Nation. And for

a pledge of my Love, and Honour, and continuance of Our League, I send your Majestie a Creese wrought with Gold, the Hilt thereof being beaten Gold, with a Ring of Stones, an Assagaya of Swasse, halfe Copper halfe Gold, eight Purslan Dishes small and great, of Camfire one piece of sowring stuffe, three pieces of Calico Lawne: Which your Majestie accepting as from a Brother, I shall rest satisfied, and much honoured. And so with my Prayers to the Great God, Creator of Heaven and Earth for your Majesties long life, with Victory over your enemies, and Prosperitie in your Land.

Given at our Pallace of Achen, the 1022. yeere of Mahomet, by the accompt of the Moores.

Description of the King and Court.

This King of Achen is a proper Gallant man of Warre, of thirty two yeares, of middle size, full of spirit, strong by sea and land, his Countrey populous; his Elephants many, whereof wee saw one hundred sixtie, or one hundred eightie at a time, his Gallies and Frigats carry in them very good Brasse Ordnance, Demicanon, Culverin, Sakar, Minion, &c. his building stately and spacious, though not strong; his Court at Achen pleasant, having a goodly branch of the Maine River about and through his Pallace, which branch he cut and brought sixe or eight miles off, in twenty dayes, while we continued at Achen. Sumatra is very Mountainous and Woodie: the people courteous: wept at our departure, leaving little without his chop. Strangers may neither come at him, nor depart from him. He desired the Generall to commend him to the King of England, and to entreat him to send him two white women. For (said hee) if I beget one of them with child, and it proove a Sonne, I will make him King of Priaman, Passaman, and of the Coast from whence you fetch your Pepper: so that yee shall not need to come any more to mee, but to your owne English King for these Commodities. July the twelfth we tooke leave of Achen.

The ninth of August they went on shoare at Tecoo:

here they stayed eleven weekes, bought one hundred twenty Tunne of Pepper, buried twenty five men, which got their death at Passaman, for Tecoo is healthfull. Pepper growes most at Passaman, and the Countrey about.

The aire and water at Passaman naught.

I have thought good also here to adde a word or two taken out of the Journall of Nathaniel Salmon, Master of the Salomon.

The Sabandar counselled the Admirall Nunha del Cunha, to cause his Frigats to ride betwixt the shoare and us, so to keepe us from watering, which he refused: yea, M. Canning (which had been taken by them) was delivered at our house in scorne, they professing this their only feare and care, least we should run away. The three that were driven a ground had there perished, but for their Frigats. Out of the fire-Frigat were taken up eightie foure men drowned. The Dragon in these fights hath spent sixe hundred thirtie nine great shot, and three hundred eightie seven.

Jan. 3.

[I. iv. 479.]

§. II.

Notes taken out of M. Robert Boners Journall, who was then Master in the Dragon.

Departed from Gravesend.

THe first of February, having received in all provisions for so long a Voyage, we set saile from Gravesend, and the same day at ten of the clocke we anchored in the Hope.

The generall wind blowed betwixt East South-east, & South-east.

Aprill the thirteenth, wee had the generall wind. Note that you shall seldome meete with the generall wind, till you come in two of three degrees to the South-ward of the Line, and then, when you come to meete with the Ternadoes, (as you shall be sure to meete them in two or three, and sometimes in foure degrees to the North-ward of the Line: you must be very diligent to ply to the South-ward) for therein lyeth the mayne of your good or bad passage, and likewise for the health of your men,

Ternadoes.

or they are very unhealthfull, and for passing the Line, order it so by your course from Maio, that you may passe the Line betwixt seven and ten degrees of longitude from the Lizard. But covet not to come within sixe degrees, for feare of the calmes upon the Coast of Guinea, and not without ten degrees of longitude from the Lizard, if it be possible, for feare of meeting with the West North-west streame, that sets alongst the Coast of Brasil, and so into the West-Indies. And so passing the Line in seven, eight, or nine degrees to the West-ward of the Meridian of the Lizard, you shall not feare the flats of Brasil. For the generall wind will blow at the East South-east, and at South-east; so that you shall make a South South-west way commonly, and so keepe the ship good full, that she may goe through, for there is losse of time, in hawking of the ship crosse by the wind, therefore giving her a fathome of the sheete.

This endangered and much hindered the Dragon and Hector in the third Voyage, as you may read in the Relations thereof.

Note, he that comes out of the Sea, bound in for the Bay of Soldania, let him keep himselfe betweene thirtie three degrees fiftie minutes, and thirtie foure degrees twentie minutes of latitude, so shall you be sure not to come much wide of the Bay. If seeing the land you find it high, then you are to the South-west-ward of the Bay; if low sand hils, then know that you are to the North-ward of the Bay of Soldania. But falling with the high land to the South-ward of the Bay, which is betwixt the Cape and the Bay, the land lyeth North North-west, and South South-east from the Cape seven leagues, and then it trents away North-east and South-west, towards the point of the Sugar-loafe, some foure leagues: and from this point of the Sugar-loafe lyeth Penguin Iland, but keepe faire by the point: for two miles from Penguin Iland lyes a shoales: it is from the point to the Iland some seven or eight miles North and South, and so borrowing on the said point, at eight or nine fathome, your course South-east, and East South-east, untill you bring the Table South South-west, and the Sugar-loafe hill South-west and by West, and so you may anchor in sixe

Soldania.

and an halfe or sixe fathome, as you will, and then will the point of the land by the Sugar-loafe beare from you West North-west, and Penguin Iland North North-west some three leagues off, and the point some two miles off. The latitude of the Bay of Soldania, I meane of the point going in, is thirtie foure degrees five minutes, the variation of the Needle is fortie minutes Easterly: when you come in with the land heereabouts (although it be thicke) feare not: for the land is bold within a Cables length.

Current neere Cape Das Aguilhas.

I am of opinion that the Current neere Cape Das Aguilhas sets Southerly not past fiftie or sixtie leagues off the land, and therefore being bound to the East-ward haule off the land sixtie leagues, after you are to the East-ward of Cape Das Aguilhas, so shall you find no Current. The land lyes from the Cape Das Aguilhas, ninetie or one hundred leagues East Northerly, and not as in the Cards East North-east.

Ino de Nova, is a low ragged Iland, about foure miles in length, lying South South-east, and North North-west.

Note.

This Iland hath latitude seventeene degrees thirtie minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope, nineteene degrees fortie minutes, &c. Wee had no ground at one hundred fathome: we can perceive no danger from it, only at the South South-east end of it lies a small breach about a mile off: therefore feare not to haule in sight of it, being bound this waies, for if you shall haule over for the Maine, you shall be mightily troubled with a strong Current setting to the South-ward, and there are likewise many dangerous bankes, whereon many Portugals have lost their ships, wherefore be sure you haule not much to the West-ward of this Ile Ino de Nova, for you may very boldly haule in sight of it without danger, and so shall you not meete with the Current.

Foure Gallions & 30. Frigats.

The eight & twentieth day of November, we received a Letter from M. Canning, & our Purser concerning foure Gallions of War, with thirty saile of Frigats, which were comming to fight with us. And this day we saw them some two leagues to the South-ward of the Barre of Surat.

This day the Sabandar of Surat came aboord to view us as wee judge being a friend to the Portugals, but the more he looked the worse he liked, we having all things readie, &c. *Sabander a Spye.*

The nine and twentieth day, at two in the after-noone wee set saile, and stood with the foure Gallions and Frigats which were come within some two leagues of us. The first which we met withall was the Vice-Admirall: wee gave her such a welcome, as that she was glad to haste unto the rest with all speed: night being neere and our long Boat sunke, at our sterne with an unluckey shot, we anchored. *This day wee began our fight.*

The thirtieth day, early in the moorning wee set saile, and stood with them, and after some houres fight put three of the Gallions ashoare on the offermost sand, and then wee stood into deeper water, and anchored: their Frigats were straight aboord the ships aground, and shoared them up with their yards, or els I thinke they had never come off. Assoone as the Floud came wee weighed, but they were afloate ere wee could get to them: wee fought with them till it was darke, and had one man kild, and another hurt. [I. iv. 480.] *Three of the ships aground.*

The first day of December, 1612. we roade within a league one of the other, alwayes we had thought they would have come to us, we having gone to them three severall times, but they are not so hastie. I thinke they have more minde to goe for Goa againe.

The nineteenth day, there came a second Messenger from a great Lord of the great Mogols from a place called the Castellet, which place this great man lyes in Campe against, sending our Generall word that if he will but come thwart that place with his ships to grace him, hee will be a sworne friend unto the English for ever. The Generall hearing that hee was a great man in favour with the King, resolved to goe spend a day or two with him, to see what his desire was.

The twentieth day, we anchored thwart of the Campe beeing close by the Sea-side, for the Castle besieged

butted upon the Sea, they in the Castle being a companie of Rebels and Rovers on the Sea.

The one and twentieth day, upon the receipt of good caution for his person, our Generall landed, and at three returned to ship.

The two and twentieth day, we saw the foure Gallions and Frigats againe in sight, having beene at Diu for more fresh Souldiers, to have a bout more with us. At night they anchored within a mile of us.

The three and twentieth day by day light, we were under-saile, and stood with the Admirall, and so fought till two of the clocke, at which time they cut their Cable, and began to runne, the Admirall having received a shot under water: but the helpe of the Frigats brought her upon the Carine presently, and stopped it, and so for this time fled, all the Campe standing by the Sea-side looking on us, within a league or two miles of us. For a great Commander did there just by us besiege a Castle holden by Rebels and Pirats, and were willing Spectators of this Sea-fight.

Portugals fain to flye.

The foure and twentieth day, we stood with them againe, and fought with them till two or three of the clocke in the after-noone. They fled, and being light ships and cleane, went from us: one man kild, and no more hurt, praysed be God for all his mercies. Note, that wee have spent sixe hundred eightie great shot, and three thousand small shot out of the Dragon, and some sixtie Barrels of Powder: their Admirall had thirtie eight Peeces, and the rest thirtie by ship, very good Ordnance. This night we steered for Surat South-east, to haule without the sands. South from Mea some sixe leagues off lyes the first spit, on which sand the Ascension was lost.

The number of shot spent in our five fights.

The fourth day of February 1612. wee set saile and stood to the South-ward, wind at North North-west.

The fifth day, being some eight leagues short of Cape Comorin, wee met with the wind at East very much wind, so that we plaine see there is no going to the East-wards, the Easterly Monson not being done. Heere we an-

chored at a point of the land, from which point the land trents away East South-east with the Cape of Comorin, and distant eight leagues: but beware how you come neere this point, for thwart of it foure miles off lyes two sunken Rockes close by the edge of the water, and lyes in the streame of twentie or twentie two fathomes: wherefore keepe off in twentie eight or thirtie fathome, and feare them not. But bee sure that you keepe within thirtie five or fortie fathome, for the Current sets off South with the Maldines, and being calme some Portugall ships have beene driven to the Maldines, and beene in great danger. You shall know this point from the which these two sunken Rockes lye, by this. Thwart of the point lye two bigge Rockes a good heighth above the water: a league right off from the Eastermost of the dry Rockes lye the two sunken Rockes, where we roade, the two dry rockes did beare from us South-east and by East foure miles of the Northermost: here the people will come aboord of your ship every day with provisions as Hens, and Hogges with linnesse in their little Canoes.

Sunken rocks.

The five and twentieth day at foure a clocke, the Cape of Comorin did beare North North-west some foure leagues off. Note, that the Cape it selfe is very low land with two craggie Rockes lying a little from it, but up in the Countrey, high ragged land; the Cape of Comorin hath latitude seven degrees fiftie minutes, and longitude from the Meridian of the Cape of Good Hope, fiftie seven degrees twentie minutes East. The variation is fourteene degrees thirtie minutes Westerly: we have very faire shoalding off from it twentie foure fathomes, foure leagues of sand, from the Cape the land trents away East North-east.

Note, for the Cape of Comorin, for longitude, latitude, and variation.

I doe thinke that the Gulfe of Cambaya is the worst place in all the Indies for Wormes, and therefore the ships which goe for Surat, must have good provision. The Barre of Surat hath latitude twentie one degrees ten minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope fiftie three degrees thirtie minutes Easterly. Variation sixteene

Many wormes at Surat.

degrees fiftie minutes Westerly. Latitude of Swally is twentie one degrees twentie minutes. Variation seventeene degrees no minutes.

[I. iv. 481.] *The latitude, longitude and variation of Achen.*

The Road of Achen hath latitude five degrees fortie minutes South, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope of seventie three deg. thirtie foure min. East and from the Cape of Comorin about sixeteene degrees twentie minutes East. The variation is sixe degrees thirtie minutes Westerly. As you ride in the Road one high great Iland will beare North of you, distant some sixe leagues, and the two other bigge Ilands will beare from the West South-west to the North-west and by West, anchor hold good: in the Westerly Monson, you shall have many times very much wind, with gusts of raine, but you shall ride very well: there goes a small Current to the East-ward, and West-ward in manner of a tyde; but not so certaine, and heights and fals some five or sixe foot water.

The King loveth our Generall exceeding well, in so much that hee maketh no sport, but hee commands some one of his Nobles to goe for the Arrankaja Putee, for so hath hee named him: so that all the Citie through is he called by that name, and all our men by the common people very kindly entertayned, more then ever any strangers heretofore have beene.

Notes for the Road of Tecu.

In steering North North-west from the little Iland, which lyes South-west and by West seven leagues from Priaman Iland, wee saw a shoald bearing from the said little Iland South-east and by South five miles off. We sent our Boat to it, who found it but three fathome Rockes. From this shoald the Homockes of Tecu beare North and by West: wherefore beeing bound for Tecu, keepe off, so that the Homockes may beare North, or North and by East, and feare not. The Homockes are two round hils standing upon the low-land close by the Sea-side. At two a clocke we saw the three little round Ilands of Tecu, which Ilands you must ride under, they beare of us, North and by East some foure leagues off,

wee steere North, keeping the Ilands open on our starboord bow.

Note, that by good looking out you shall perceive any danger by this: it will shew it selfe in white spots. For otherwise the Sea is of his perfect colour, as in the maine Ocean. At night wee anchored within two leagues of the two outermost Ilands of Tecu in thirtie fathomes, the Ilands bearing North and by East, and the Homocks North Easterly.

Variation of Tecu is 4. degr. 40. minutes Northeasterly.

Note, the Homockes doe stand some three leagues to the Northward of the Ilands of Tecu, there being in all three of them, but the Northermost of the three Homockes doth not shew it selfe so perfectly, as the other doe.

The seventh of August in the morning, weighed and plyed in, the wind at the North North-east of the land we see a shoale, bearing from the two offermost Ilands of Tecu South-west & by South foure or five miles off, right in the faire way. We sent our Boat to it and found it but two fathome & a halfe, being a Rocke of two Cables length long. This is the unluckey Rocke whereon the Princely Trade received her destruction, as we understand by those people. About eleven of the clocke we anchored on the Easter-side of the uttermost Iland in nine fathome, soft, Ozie, praysed be God. Riding under this outward Iland of the three we saw a breach, bearing South halfe Easterly, and another South and by East some three or foure leagues off, which breach as you come for this place, you must leave betwixt you and the shoare: wherefore keepe this outer Iland North and by East, or North North-east, and feare nothing. But beware when you come within two leagues of this Iland. For South-west and by South two leagues or five miles off lyes the Rocke whereon the unhappie Trade grounded. Wherefore keepe this Iland North and by East, and upon life feare not, your depth as you come neere the Iland will bee from thirtie to ten, nine and eight fathomes soft, Ozie, you shall have nine fathomes within your ships length of either side of the Iland.

A ledge of Rockes.

The Rocke whereon the Trades-Increase was bruised.

The ninth day, some people came aboord: we find them very base and subtle.

The eleventh day, the Hosiander departed for Priaman, to shew them likewise that wee have brought the Kings Letter of Achen, without the which you cannot trade. Note, that as wee ride here upon the Poope, we see the foure Ilands of Priaman bearing South-east and by South some seven leagues off.

This day at nine of the clocke wee sailed into the inner Roade, which is betwixt the Mayne and the innermost Iland, halfe a mile from the Mayne, and a Cables length from the Iland, your depth foure fathome soft, Ozie, our depth in was twentie two foot beeing halfe tyde, it highes and fals some five or sixe foot water, the tyde, as I perceive, runnes twelve houres North North-west, and twelve houres contrarie. To the North-ward of all the Ilands in comming in you shall have foure fathomes and an halfe: but keepe neere the inner Iland, for from the Mayne on that side lyes a shoald. The Ilands are all of one bignesse, being halfe a mile a piece in circuit, they will beare from the South-west and by South to the North-west: your best water is on the Iland: digge a Well, and presently water comes. Thus much out of Master Boner; the rest you have before in Captaine Best.

[I. iv. 482.]

§. III.

Extracts of a Tractate, written by Nicholas Withington, which was left in the Mogols Countrey by Captaine Best, a Factor, his Adventures and Travels therein.

THe eleventh of Aprill, 1612. we crossed the Equinoctiall: foule weather eight daies together, wind and raine. Soldania sheep are hairy: the Beeves large, and most leane; the people Negros, woolly pates, flat nosed, very straight of body: the men have but * one stone a peece; the other is cut out when they are yong: apparelled with a skin about their shoulders, which

*Captain Saris told me that some have two testicles, but those the baser, and (as the one stoned gallants affirmed to him) were slaves, the others marked with this note of Gentrie.

reacheth downe to the waste, the skin of a Ratte before their members, another on their bumme, else naked: some cappes of leather close to their pates, and shoo-soles to their feet, much broader and longer then their feet: their armes very small: Lances with heads artificially made: Bowes and Arrowes of little or no force: they are very expert in throwing their Darts, wherewith they kill many fish in the Sea: they weare about their neckes guts of sheepe and oxen, smelling, which being hungry they eate; and would scramble for our garbage like dogges, and eate it raw and foule.

The six and twentieth of July, they had sight of Saint Laurence. The thirteenth of August, crossed the Equinoctiall, temperate weather: on the thirtieth, they saw Snakes in the Sea in eighteene degrees and a halfe, one and thirtie min. white water at nineteene fathoms. The first of September, they saw land. The second, anchor against Daman Towne, inhabited and conquered by Portugalls. The Fluxe infested them all that remained on land at Surat. Master Aldworth was sicke forty dayes. Strangers heere present any Inhabitants of fashion whom he visits; and they returne presents. Notwithstanding Sir Henry Middleton taking their ships in the Red-sea, yet they promised us good dealing, considering else they must burne their ships (said Mill Jeffed, one of the chiefe Merchants of Surat) and give over their trade by Sea. Impossible it was to have any trade at Surat, by reason of Portugall Frigats in the Rivers mouth. Therefore the Generall repaired with his ships to Swally, whence he might by land go and come without danger.

The third of October, Sheke Shuffe, Governour of Amadavar, chiefe Citie of Guzerat, came to Surat, and so to Swally, and agreed upon Articles. Master Canning had been taken by the Portugals, but the Vice-Roy commanded to set him ashoare at Surat, saying, Let him goe helpe his Country-men to fight, and then we will take their ship, and the rest of them altogether. But the Purser made an escape, and so came to us on land:

Pride goeth before the fall.

Master Canning was set on shoare at Surat, according to promise, and so went aboord. And the same day, being the twentie ninth of October, the foure Portugall Gallions, with a whole Fleet of Frigats, came in sight. The Generall, after words of encouragement, met them, and never shot one shot, till hee came betweene their Admirall and Vice-Admirall, gave each a broad side, and a volly of small shot, which made them come no more neare for that day. The other two ships were not as yet come up; and the Hosiander could not get cleare of her anchors, and shot not one shot that day. In the evening all came to an anchor in sight of other; and the next morning renued their fight: the Hosiander bravely redeemed the former dayes doing nothing: the Dragon drove three of them on ground, and the Hosiander daunced the Hay about them, so that they durst not shew a man upon the Hatches. In the afternoone they got aflote with the flood, and fought till night; then anchored, and lay still the next day.

Fleet of Portugals.
The first fight.
The second.
The third.

The next day after, the Dragon drawing much water, and the Bay shallow, remooved to the other side of the Bay, rode at Mendafrobay, where all that time Sarder Cham, a great Noble-man of the Mogolls, with two thousand Horse, was besieging a Castle of the Razbooches (which were before the Mogolls Conquest, the Nobles of that countrey now living by robbery). He presented our Generall with a horse and furniture, which he againe gave to the Governour of Goga, a Port Towne to the West of Surat. After ten dayes stay heere, the Portugalls having refreshed, came thither to our ships. Sarder Cham councelled to flee: but the Generall chased the Portugals in foure houres, driving them out of sight, before thousands of the countrey people. Sarder Cham relating this to the King (after the Castle razed) to his admiration, which thought none like the Portugalls at sea. The seven and twentieth of December, they returned to Swally, having lost three Saylers, and one mans arme shot off: Portugals

The last fight.

confesse of theirs an hundred and sixtie, some report three hundred and odde.

The thirteenth of January, I was entertained Factor, and bound to the Company in foure hundred pound. The ship departed the eighteenth of January, the Gallions never offering one shot. Anthony Starkey was sent for England. Master Canning was seventie dayes on the way betweene Surat and Agra, with many troubles, set on by the enemie, who shot him into the belly with an Arrow, and another English man thorow the arme, and killed and hurt many of his Pions. He was cured before his arrivall at Agra. Two of his English fell out with him and returned, leaving two Musicians onely to attend him. The ninth of Aprill he arrived: the tenth presented the King with our Kings Letter, and a Present of little value. He asked if our King sent that present: who answered, it was sent by the Merchants. The King graced him with a cup of wine from his owne hands, and referred him to Moracke Chan. One of the Musicians dyed, and was buried in the Portugalls Church-yard, whom they tooke up, and buried in the high-way: but upon complaint, were compelled by the King to bury him there againe, threatning to turne them all out of his Countrey, and their buryed bodies out of their Church-yard.

Nicholas Whithington Factor.

Master Canning sent to Agra.

[I. iv. 483.]

After this Master Canning wrote of the feare hee was in to be poysoned by the Jesuits, and therefore desired that I might come up to assist him; which amongst us at Surat was concluded. The nine and twentieth of May, 1613. he dyed: and so Master Keridge went the two and twentieth of June. I should have been sent by the way of Mocha to England, but the Master of the ship which went, said it was impossible, except I were circumcised, to come neare Mecca.

Master Canning poysoned by the Jesuits.

The thirteenth of October, 1613. the ship returned, and our Messenger taken, notwithstanding their late passe at the Barre of Surat, by the Portugalls Armada of Frigats, worth an hundred thousand pound, with seven

hundred persons going to Goa. This is like to be their over-throw heere, for no Portugall might passe without a suretie, nor in, nor out. Merchants of Surat are by this meanes impoverished, and our goods left in our hands: with which we went to Amadabar. John Alkin which had runne from Sir Henry Middleton to the Portugalls, came now to us, told us of divers their Townes besieged by the Decans, and other neighbouring Moores: in so much that they were faine to send away many hundreths of Banians, and many others that dwelt amongst them, for want of victuals: three Barkes of which came to Surat, and divers others to Cambaya. Their weaknesse in fight with us caused all this. Robert Claxon of the Dragon, fled to Portugall for feare of punishment, and came to us with an Almayne, which had been slave in Turkie. Robert Johnson came to the Portugals, and thence intending to us, passing thorow the Decanes Countrey, was perswaded by another English man, which was turned Moore, and lived there: and was circumcised, and received seven shillings six pence a day of the King and his diet at the Kings table: But eight dayes after his Circumcision he died. Robert Trully, the Musician in Agra, not agreeing with Master Kerridge, went to the King of Decan, and carrying with him a German for interpreter, offered both to turne Moores. Trully had in his Circumcision a new name given, with great allowance from the King, with whom he continues. But the German formerly cut in Persia, now thought to deceive the Decan, but was not entertained: he returned to Agra, and serveth a French man, and goeth to Masse againe. Robert Claxon also turned Moore, at the Decan Court had good allowance: but not content, came to Surat, and provoked pitie with seeming penitence, but getting some fortie and odde pounds, under pretence of buying commons, gave them the slip, and returned whence he came. So there are foure English with the Decan, and divers Portugal Moores.

Portugal perils.

Fugitives and Renegado's.

The seven and twentieth of October, 1613. we received

letters from Mesulopatan of Master Gurney, written by Captaine Marlo of the James, of their arrivall and trade. From Surat I went to Periano three Course: to Cosumbay a little Village 10c. Barocho 10c. a prettie Citie on a high hill, compassed with a wall, a great River running by, as broad as Thames; divers shippes of two hundred tunnes and odde there riding: best Calicoes in the Kingdome, store of Cotton: to Saringa 10c. to Carron 10c. to Boldia a lesse Citie then Barocho, but faire built, a strong wall, and three thousand horse under Mussuff Chan: to Wassach a River 10c. where Mussuff was ready to fight with the Razbooches or Radgepoots, that lay on the other side the River: the chiefe of these of the race of the old Kings of Surat: to Niriand 14c. a great Towne where they make Indico. To Amadabar 10c. chiefe City of Guzerat, neare as great as London, walled with a strong wall, situate in the Plain by the River side, store of Merchants Moores, Christians, Heathens: Commodities are Indicoes, Cloath of gold, silver Tissue, Velvets (not comparable to ours) Taffataes, Gumbuck, coloured Baffataes, Drugges, &c. Abdalachon Governour, a man of five thousand horse pay. I went from thence to Cambaya, seven course to Barengeo, where every Tuesday the Cafily of Cambaya meete, and so keepe company for feare of theeves. Hence sixteene course to Soquatera, a fine Towne well manned with souldiers. Departed at midnight, and about eight of the clocke next morning came 10c. to Cambaya.

A description of his journey by land thorow the Mogulls Countrey, hired shot for guard against theeves.

A Course is a mile and halfe English.

In November, we rode to Serkeffe, three course from Amadabar, where are the Sepulchres of the Kings of Guzerat, a very delicate Church and faire Tombes, which are kept very comely, much resort to visite them from all parts of the Kingdome: a course off is a pleasant House, with a Garden a mile about, by the Rivers side, which Chon Chin Naw, the greatest of the Mogoll Nobilitie, built in memoriall of the great victory which he got of the last King of Guzerat, whom he tooke prisoner, and subjected his Kingdome, the battell being fought in this

place. No man dwells in this house, but a few poore men keepe the Orchyard. We lodged one night in it, and sent for six Fisher-men, who in halfe an houre tooke us more fish then all our company could eat.

Tutta. The eight and twentieth of November, we had newes at Amadabar of three English shippes arrived at Lowribander, the Port Towne of Gutu Negar Tutta, chiefe Citie of Sinda. A French Jesuit at Amadabar made poore, by the Portugals imbarkement, begged of our Agent, who gave him ten Rupias. I was sent thither, and the thirteenth of December came to Cassumparo, where I overtooke a Caphilo, travelling to Radenpare, six dayes journey on my way, fourteene to Callitalowny, a faire Castle: thirteene 7^c^. to Callwalla, a pretty Village, which Ecbar gave to a company of women, and their posterity for ever, to bring up their children in dancing, &c. they did this in our Caravan, every man giving them somewhat; and then they openly asked if any wanted a bed-fellow. The sixteenth 8^c^. to Carrya, where is a well manned Fortresse: and the eighteenth (till which, for feare of theeves, wee stayed for another Caravan) to Deccanavra, our Camell stolne, and a man slaine. The nineteenth 10^c^. to Bollodo, a Fort kept by Newlock Abram Cabrate, for the Mogoll, who that day came with an hundred sixtie nine heads of the Coolies (a robbing people.) The twentieth 13^c^. to Sariandgo, a Fort. The one and twentieth 10^c^. to Radempoore, a bigge Towne with a Fort. Heere we stayed to provide us of water and necessaries for our desert journey: and the three and twentieth travelled 7^c^. and lay in the fields, met a Caravan robbed of all from Tutta. The foure and twentieth 12^c^. dispeeded one of my Pions to Lowribander with a Letter, which promised to doe it in ten dayes; but I thinke was slaine. The five and twentieth 14^c^. lodged by a well of water so salt, that our cattell could not drinke it. The six and twentieth 10^c^. to such another well, there gave our Camells water, not having drunke in three dayes.

Master Aleworth was Agent. [I. iv. 484.]

A Towne of common women.

Salt water.

The seven and twentieth, 14^c^. lodged in fields. The

eight and twentieth, 10c. to a Village called Negar Parkar. In this desart we saw great store of wild Asses, red Deere, Foxes, and other wild beasts. The nine and twentieth, we staid and met with an other Caravan, robbed within two dayes journey of Tutta. The thirtieth, we departed from Parkar, which payes a yearely tribute to the Mogol: all hence till Inno, halfe a dayes journey from Tutta, acknowledge no King, but rob and spare at pleasure. When any army of the Mogols comes against them, they fire their houses, and flee into the Mountaines: their houses are made of straw and morter like Bee-hives, soone rebuilded. They take for custome what they please, and guard Passengers, being loath any but themselves should have the robbing of them. We travelled 6c. and lay by a Tanke or Pond of fresh water. The thirty one 8c. and lay in the fields by a brackish Well.

Anarchy worst Tiranny.

The first of January, we went 10c. to Burdiano, many were sicke of this water, we provided us yet of it for foure dayes, and travelled more the second 18c. all night. The third in the afternoone till midnight 10c. the fourth 12c. Here I fell sicke, and vomited by reason of the water. The fifth 7c. and came to three Wells, two salt, one sweetish. The sixth, to Nuraquimire a pretie Towne 10c. Here our Raddingpoore company left us. We remained, two Merchants, my selfe, five of their servants, foure of mine, with tenne Camels, five Camel-men. This Towne is within three dayes of Tutta, and seemed to us after our Desart a Paradise. We agreed with one of the Ragies or Governours kinred for twenty Laries (twenty shillings) to conduct us, who departed with us the eighth, and we travelled 10c. to Gundaiaw, where we had beene robbed but for our guard. The ninth, we were twice set on, and forced to give each time five Laries: wee came to Sarruna, a great Towne of the Razbootches, with a Castle, whence it is 14c. to Tutta. We visited the Governour Ragee Bouma, eldest sonne to Sultan Bulbul (who lately captived by the Mogol, had his eyes pulled out, and two Moneths before this had escaped) now living in

Sarruna within 14c. of Tutta. Of these things see M. Peysons Voyage.

the Mountains, and causeth all his kinred to revenge. This Ragee was kind to me as a stranger, asking many questions of our Countrey, made me sup with him, gave me Wine till he was stared. A Banian here told me, how *Abuse of Sir Rob. Sherley.* Sir Robert Sherly had been much abused by the Portugals, and Governour at Lowribander, his house fired, men hurt in the night: and arriving at Tutta thirteene daies journy thence, Mersa Rusto used him unkindly. He advised to get this Ragee to guide us, told of the great trade of Tutta, the chiefe that he had seene, and that a shippe of three hundred Tunne might come to Lowribander.

We hired the Ragee for fortie Laries with fifty horsemen to the gates of Tutta: and on the eleventh departed from Sarruna 5^{c}. and lay by a Rivers side. At two in the morning we departed, and he lead us a contrary way, and *Treacherous robbery.* came about breake of day into a Thicket, where he made us unlode, then caused us to be bound, and tooke our weapons from us, sudainly hanged the Merchants and their five men, with their Camels ropes fastened about their neckes with a Truncheon; stripped and threw them into *Nich. Withington robbed and sent a by-way.* a hole they made in the earth. He tooke from me my horse, and eightie Rupias, sent me and my men 20^{c}. up the Mountaines to his brothers, January the foureteenth, where I continued two and twentie dayes shut up. February the seventh, order came to send me to Parkar to the Governour of their kinred, to send me to Radingpoore. *Robbed again.* But I was robbed by them in the way of all my clothes, and all I had. February the twenty eighth, we begged for our victualls, finding the inhabitants charitable: for my horse (which not beeing worth the taking, they left me) I could get but foure Mamoodies, or foure shillings: but chancing on a Bannian of Amadabar whom I had knowne, I was releeved with my men. Wee were five dayes between Parkar and Radingpoore, whither I 1614. came March nineteenth. I came to Amadabar, April the second, being absent one hundred and eleven dayes. Thence I went to Brodia, Barengeo thence 16^{c}. to Soquitera, 10. to Cambaya: then the large River 7. course *Large River.*

broad, yeerly swallowing many hundreds to Saurau. On the other side the River is a Towne and Castle of the Razbootches. The sixteenth of Aprill, I travelled 25°. to Borocho: the seventeenth, passed that River, and 10°. to Cassimba: the eighteenth, 13°. to Surat.

Concerning Sinda, no Citie is by generall report of greater trade in the Indies then Tutta, the chiefe Port Lowribander, three dayes journey from it; a faire roade without the Rivers mouth, cleare of Wormes, which about Surat especially, and in other places of the Indies, after three or foure moneths riding (if it were not for sheathing) would hinder returne. The Ports and Roads of Sinda are free. In two Moneths from hence by water they goe to Lahor, and returne in one downe. There are these Commodities, Baffitas, Stuffes, Lawnes, Indico course, not so good as Biana. Goods may be conveied from Agra on Camels to Bucker twenty dayes, which is on Sinda River, thence in fifteene or sixteene dayes aboord the ships. One may goe as soone from Agra to Sinde as Surat, but there is more theeving, which the Mogoll seeks to prevent. [I. iv. 485.]

Razbooteh. Inhabitants of Sinda are most Razbootches, Banians, and Boloches: in Cities and great Townes, the Governours are Mogols. The Countrey people are rude, naked from the wast upwards, with Turbants contrary to the Mogoll fashion. Their Armes, Sword, Buckler, and Launce; their Buckler great, in fashion of a Bee-hive, in which they will give their Camels drinke, and Horses provender, their horses good, swift, strong, which they ride unshod, most desperately. They back them at twelve Moneths old. The Mogoll sayes, the Razbootch knowes as well to die as any in the world. They eate no Beefe nor Buffoll, but pray to them.

Banian. The Banians kill nothing: there are thirtie and odde severall Casts of these that differ something in Religion, and may not eat with each other; but all burne their dead. *Funerals.* When the husband dies, the wife shaves her head, and weares her jewels no more, so continuing till death.

Burning of the Rasbut wives. When the Rasbut dies, his wife accompanies his bodie going to be burned, in her best array, accompanied with her friends and kinred, and Musique, and the fire beeing made at the place appointed, compasseth the same twice or thrice, bewailing first her husbands death, and then rejoycing that she shall now live with him againe, after which, embracing her friends, shee lastly sits downe on the top of the pile, and dry sticks, taking her husbands head in her lap, and bids them put fire, which done, her friends throw oile and other sweete perfumes on her, she enduring the fire with admirable patience, loose and not bound. I have seene many, the first in Surat, the woman but tenne yeeres old, and a Virgin, he a Souldiour slaine in warre, from whence his cloathes and Turbant were brought home. She would needs burne with his cloathes; the Governour forbade her, which she tooke grievously, bidding them put to fire presently, her husband was a great way before: which they durst not, till her kinred intreated, with a Present given, the Governours licence, to her exceeding joy. The husbands kinred never force this, but the womans holding it a disgrace else to their family. They may choose, (but few doe) but then must shave their haire, and breake their jewels, and henceforth are not suffered to eat, drinke, sleepe, or company with any body, and so continue till death. If after purpose to burne they leape out of the fire, her father and mother will bind her, and throw her in, and burne her perforce. But this weakenesse is seldome.

Boloches. The Boloches are of Mahomets Religion. They deale much in Camels; most of them robbers by land, and on the River, murthering such as they rob. When I was in Sinda, they tooke a boat with seven Italians, one Portugall Friar, the rest slaine in fight, this was ripped by them for Gold. There are very honest of them in Guzerate, and about Agra.

Banian marriages. Banian marriages are made at the age of three yeares, and under; sometimes they make mutuall promise if two pregnant women proove to have one a male, the other a

female. But alwayes one of their owne cast and religion, and of the same trade, as a Barbar, &c. When they be three or foure yeere old, they make a great Feast, set the two thus espoused on horsebacke (a man behind each to hold them) in their best clothes, accompanied with the Bramens or Priests, and many others according to their state, and so lead them up and downe the Citie where they dwell, and then to the Pagod or Church: and after Ceremonies there done, come home, continue certein dayes feasting, as they are able. Being tenne yeeres old they lie together, of which they give this reason, not to leave them wivelesse, if their Parents die and leave them Parentlesse. Their Bramens keepe their Pagods, and have Almes or Tithes, esteemed marvellous holy, married and follow occupations, good workemen, apt to learne any patterne. They eate but once a day, and wash before and after meat all their bodies, so also after urine or stoole.

John Mildnall * an Englishman had beene employed with three English young men, which hee poisoned in Persia, to make himselfe Master of the goods, but he was likewise poysoned, yet by preservatives lived many Moneths after, but swelled exceedingly, and so came to Agra, with the value of twenty thousand dollers: thither therefore I went, May the fourth, 1614. from Surat: came to Bramport, where Sultan Perves lies, situate in a plaine, the River of Surat running by in a great breadth, having a large Castle. Hence to Agra twenty sixe dayes, betweene Surat and Agra are seven hundred courses, 1010. English miles, which I travelled in seven and thirty daies in Winter, wherein it almost continually raineth. From Surat to Bramport is a pleasant and champion Countrey, full of Rivers, Brookes, and Springs. Betweene Bramport and Agra, very Mountainous, not passable for a Coach, hardly for Camels: by Mando is the nearest way: there are high hils and strong Castles in the way many, Townes and Cities every dayes journey, well inhabited, the Countrey peaceable, and cleare of theeves.

**See before his Letters.*

[I. iv. 486.] Mildnall had given all to a Frenchman, to marry his bastard-daughter in Persia, and bring up an other.

Jesuites. The Jesuites have a very faire Church built by the King, and a house: the King allowes the chiefe seven Rupias a day, and the rest three, with licence to convert as many as they can: which they doe, but alas, it is for moneys sake. For when by the fact of the Portugalls, they were debarred of their pay, their new converts brought them their beads againe, saying, they had beene long without their pay, and therefore would be Christians no longer. The Portugals not delivering the goods taken in Surat, the King caused the Church-doores to bee locked up, as they have continued ever since: so the Padres make a Church of one of their Chambers, where they say Masse twice a day, and preach every Sunday in Persian, first to the Armenians and Moores, after in Portuguise, for themselves, the Italians and Greeks. These told me the particulars of Mildnals goods, who gave all to a French Protestant, himselfe a Papist, which he denying, was put in prison. After foure Moneths all were delivered.

The second of March, 1614, tenne Gallions, two Gallies, sixtie Frigats fight.

Betweene Agminere and Agra every tenne course (which is an ordinarie dayes journey) a Seralia, or place of lodging for man and horse, and Hostesses to dress your victuall, if you please, paying a matter of three pence for both horse and meat-dressing. Betweene these places (120^c.) at every course end is a great pillar erected, and at every tenne course a faire house built by Ecbar, when *Pilgrimage.* he went on Pilgrimage from Agra to Aggimere on foot, saying his prayers at every course end. These houses serve the King and his women, none else. This King lies in Agimere, upon occasion of warres with Rabna a Razboch, who hath now done homage, and peace is betweene them.

Ganges. I rode to the River Ganges, two dayes from Agra. The Banians carry the water of Ganges many hundred miles

thence, and as they affirme, it will never stinke, though kept never so long. By Agra runnes a large river Geminie. *Agra.* Agra is a huge Towne, the wall two course in compasse, fairest and highest that ever I saw, well replenished with Ordnance: the rest (except Noble-mens houses, faire seated by the river) ruinous. The auncient royall seat was Fatipoore (twelve course from Agra) now decayed. Betweene these two, the Sepulchre of the Kings Father, to which is none that ever I saw to be compared. And yet the Church of Fatipoore comes neere it, builded by Geometry as is the other.

The foure and twentieth of May, 1616. we in our returne entred the Bay of Soldania, where were divers English ships outward bound, the Charles, Unicorne, James, Globe, Swan, the Generall was Benjamin Joseph.

The fifteenth of September, we arrived at Dover.

Chap. IX.

The eleventh Voyage to the East-India in the Salomon, begunne in the yeere of our Lord 1611. after the account of the Church of England, and ended in the yeere 1613. Written by Ralph Wilson, one of the Mates in the said ship.

THe first of February 1611. we set saile from Gravesend, being foure ships, the Dragon, the James, the Salomon, and the Hosiander; being counted as three severall Voyages: the James the ninth; the Dragon and Hosiander the tenth; and wee in the Salomon the eleventh. The reason was, because we were directed to severall parts of the East-India. *February* 1. 1611.

In our course betweene the Iles of the Canaries, and the Iles of Capo Verde, we must steere a more Westerly course, then that which the Plats lay downe, without they

be Portugall Plats, which lay it a quarter of a point more then the truth is.

A new Iland discovered in 19. degrees 34. minutes Southerly. Santa Maria d'agosta. The Isle of Martin Vaz.

The seven and twentieth of Aprill, we in Salomon descried an Iland in the South latitude of nineteene degrees, foure and thirty minutes, and it bare from us, South-east one third part Southerly, fifteene leagues off. This Ile is a place, which in my opinion yeeldeth water, and fish in great abundance: the Sea-fowle were so many, that our people in the galleries of our ship might strike them downe, they were so tame. To the Eastward of this Ile lye two Ilands more, the one about the bignesse of the first, the other a great Ile. By these Iles we found a Current, which setteth to the Northward.

The eight and twentieth of June, we departed from Soldanha. I would advise them which go forth of Soldanha Bay, with the wind at East, or South-east, to get off some pretie distance from the land, before they hale up to the Southward: for if they doe otherwise, the high land will take their wind from them. And if a man should be becalmed, he should very much be troubled: for most commonly thereabout you shall meete a mightie [I. iv. 487.] Westerne Sea. Secondly, the streame setteth to the shoare-ward, if the wind have been at the North North-west, West or South-west. And thirdly, the shoare is neald to; so that a man cannot anchor.

October 6. The sixt of October, wee met a great Current setting to the Northwards, when wee were within one degree of the Equinoctiall.

The twelfth, wee met with a great deale of rubbish, as Canes, Sties, and many other things, which usually are on the shoare about Sumatra.

The sixteenth, drave by our ship rubbish, as Rock-weeds, Canes, branches of trees, the huskes of Coco Nuts, and such like.

The seventeenth at noone, drave by us a bed of rubbish, which was at least two miles long: it lay North North-west, and South South-east, and drave off West South-West.

The eighteenth in the morning, we discried land, which lyeth by Celeber in the Ile of Sumatra, which Towne of Celeber standeth about three degrees of Southerly latitude. *They discrie Sumatra, Illabar or Celeber.*

The seven and twentieth, wee had a Current setting to the Southward. The nine and twentieth, the salt hill, or Ile bare East North-east sixteene or eighteene leagues from us.

The first of November, at six of the clocke at night, we were shot within the salt Ile. *November* 1.

The second at noone, comming betweene the Land of Java and a ragged Ile, which lyeth to the Westward of the point of Palymbam, we met a great tide running out so fast, that we could scarce stemme it with a stiffe gale of wind. And afterward the wind slacked, so we chopped to an anchor, and then I found that tide to runne three leagues and an halfe in a watch. Heere I have noted, that the tide or streame keepeth no course, but in the day time setteth out, and in the night time in. This day at noone, the point of Palymbam bare North-east by East three leagues off us. From thence to the Road of Bantam is five leagues; South South-east one third part Easterly. So the longitude of Bantam is an hundred fortie five degrees, two minutes. The latitude six degrees, ten minutes. The variation three degrees. This longitude of an hundred fortie five degrees, and two minutes, is somewhat to Easterly for the Road of Bantam. But for the first falling with the land, for an hundred fortie foure degrees is the truest longitude for Bantam from the Island of Flores.

The eighteenth, nine sailes of Hollanders came into the Road, and the other two, which went out the day before, came with them to Pulo Panjan: they had refreshed themselves at the Iles Mascarenhas, which stand in one and twentie degrees and an halfe of South latitude. Of which place they gave singular commendations for great plentie of refreshing which they found there. *Excellent refreshing at the Ile do Mascarenhas.*

The seventh of March, at five of the clocke in the *March* 7.

An Ile discovered in twentie degrees, foure and thirtie minutes.

afternoone, in the latitude of twentie degrees, foure and thirtie minutes, we descried land, which bare North-east, halfe a point Northerly, nine leagues off: the South-east part is somewhat high, but falleth downe with a low point; the Wester part is not very high, but flat and smoth towards the end of it, and falleth right downe. This Ile is very full of shoalds and broken ground, the Souther and Wester parts: for we discovered neither of the other sides. By all likelihood it seemeth to have good refreshing on it: the longitude of this Ile is an hundred and foure degrees from Flores, but by my computation an hundred and seven degrees; but in these courses we rely not altogether on our reckonings, using as much diligence for the finding out the true longitude, as possibly wee may, it being a maine point to give us light to other helpes.

The Iland of Diego Roiz.

The tenth, we had sight of the Iland of Diego Roiz.

The Ile of Cyrne, or Mauritius.

The fourteenth in the morning, wee discried land, which was part of the Ile Do Cirne, which the Hollanders call the Ile of Mauritius. There is an Iland that lyeth from the maine Ile foure leagues off; and two other small Iles ten leagues off. We sounded a league and a halfe off, but found no ground at fortie fathomes. When you are thwart of the Road, the hill with three pikes will beare South-east.

The Ile Mascarenhas.

The sixteenth, at six of the clocke in the morning, we discried the Ile Do Mascarenhas. There is a breach which lyeth foure miles off, and lyeth three leagues long; and heere is very good refreshing. The Ile Mauritius hath longitude ninetie nine degrees, latitude twentie degr. fifteene minutes. The Ile Do Mascarenhas hath longitude ninetie seven degrees, and latitude one and twentie degrees, no minutes.

Aprill 2. 1613.

The second of Aprill, 1613. about seven of the clocke it began to lighten, continuing with such mightie great flashes, as I never saw the like, untill eleven, and then it began to raine, or powre downe mightily, and on a sudden became flat and calme: and in lesse then a quarter of an

houre, a hard gale at South-west, blowing for the time, which was not long, as much as it did before, at North-east. By these two contrary winds the sea grew so exceeding loftie, that our ship strucke into the sea abaft, as if the galleries would have flowne off. About twelve of the clock the wind veered to the South, and on a sudden up at the North-east againe. Our sailes were split, so as we huld till morning.

June 10. *The Ile of Ascension.*

The tenth of June, we discried the Ile of Ascension. This Ile hath shoalds lying on the Wester part, at least two miles off.

The one and twentieth, we had a great ripling of the sea, in the seven and twentieth degrees of North latitude, which came out of the Easter-boord like a fresh out of a River, like many spouts or whirlewinds.

[I. iv. 488.] *August* 6.

The sixth of August wee had great riplings or overfals of the Sea.

The fourteenth day, being in thirtie eight degrees fiftie nine minutes North latitude, wee had great riplings of the Sea; which made a noyse, as if water had runne out of a sluice: they came out of the North-east.

Chap. X.

A Journall of all principall matters passed in the twelfth Voyage to the East-India, observed by me Walter Payton, in the good ship the Expedition: the Captaine whereof was M. Christopher Newport, being set out, Anno 1612. Written by Walter Payton.

§. I.

Their comming to Saint Augustine, Mohelia, and divers parts of Arabia.

THe seventh of Januarie we set saile from Gravesend for the East-India, in the good ship, the Expedition of London, being dour and his followers, who are in number about the burthen of two hundred and sixtie tunnes: which carryeth in her fiftie sixe persons, besides a Persian Ambassa- fifteene, which we had order to receive into our ship, to be transported into the Kingdome of Persia, at the costs and charges of the Worshipfull Company aforesaid. The names of the Ambassadour, and his people, are these. Sir Robert Sherley, the Ambassadour. Teresha, his Ladie, a Circasian. Sir Thomas Powell. Tomasin his Ladie. Leylye, a Persian Woman. Morgan Powell, Gentleman. Captaine John Ward. Francis Bubb, Secretarie. John Barbar, Apothecarie. John Herriot, Musitioner. John Georgson, Goldsmith and Hollander. Gabriel, an olde Armenian. Nazerbege, Scanderbege, Molhter, all Persians.

The sixe and twentieth of Aprill, 1613. in the morning, wee fell with a part of the land of Æthiopia, whereunto, close adjoyning, is an Iland of small compasse, called *Connie Iland.* Connie Iland, beeing a very low land, and invironed about with many dangerous Rockes, to Sea-ward: and

standeth in the latitude of thirtie three degrees, and thirtie minutes. The wind taking us short, we were inforced to come to an anchor betwixt this Iland and the Maine: where wee had very good ground in nineteen or twentie fathom water. Here we sent our Schiffe ashore to the Iland, where we found Penguins, wild Geese, and other Fowles, & Seale-fishes in great abundance, whereof we tooke for our refreshing, as much as we would. By a carved boord, wee perceived the Hollanders had beene there, who made great store of the traine Oyle of the Seales, as it should seeme, for their necessary spending, outward bound. They left their Implements wherewith they wrought, and a great Copper Caldron, standing upon a Furnace, full of traine: all which wee left as wee found. Thus having spent two dayes at an anchor, and the wind favouring us to proceed, we set saile from hence for Caput Bonæ Spei.

The Bay of Saldanha.

The thirtieth day, by Gods grace, we arrived at Saldanha, where wee found riding at an anchor sixe ships, whereof two English, namely, the Hector and the Thomas, the other foure were Hollanders: all bound homeward. Here we watered and refreshed our selves very well, with reasonable store of that Countrey sheepe, and Bullockes, which we bought; and fresh fish which we caught with our Sayne.

The tenth of May, 1613. the Pepper-corne arrived heere at Saldanha, also bound homewards. Shee having beene long out, was not very well fitted with necessaries, which wee supplyed out of our small store, so much as we could spare: who also dispatched and was readie to set saile with the first faire wind, which was, on the fifteenth of May, from whence we set saile all together, out of the Bay, taking our leave each of other, according to the common fashion of the Sea, directing our course for Saint Augustine. And in our way we had sight of Cape do Arecife, being part of the mayne land of Æthiopia; and standeth in the latitude of thirtie three degrees twentie five minutes, the Compasse varying there

Cape do Arecife.

Variation sixe deg. nine min. sixe degrees and nine minutes, which was on the foure and twentieth of this present.

The fifteenth of June, we had sight of Saint Laurence [I. iv. 489.] Iland, and on the seventeenth day, we came to an anchor, *Port de S. Augustino.* by Port Augustine of purpose, to search the sounding and way into the Bay, before we entred; because there was none in our ship well acquainted therewith. Which being done, wee entred and came to an anchor, on the eighteenth day in ten fathome water: but our ship roade in fortie fathomes. Heere we had wood and water, and great abundance of fresh fish, which we tooke with our Sayne, sufficient to have satisfied halfe a doozen ships men, if they had beene there. But for flesh, we could get none of the Countrey people, they being as it seemed, fearefull of us, who came to us once, and promised to bring us Cattell, the next day in the morning: which, I thinke, was rather in policie to carrie away their Cattell, wherein they imployed themselves in the meane time, for they never returned to us againe. We marched up into the Woods, with about fortie shot, to see if we would have met with any of them, to buy some of their Cattell: *Houses made of Canes.* but wee found none but emptie houses made of Canes, where wee perceived that people had beene not long before, by the fires which were yet burning, and scales of fish which had beene broyled thereon. Also we perceived the footing, and tracing of many Cattell, which had beene there not long before: so wee returned emptie as wee came. This Port Augustine, standeth in the latitude of *Fifteen degr. 40. minutes variation.* twentie three degrees and thirtie minutes. The variation of the Compasse is fifteene degrees fortie minutes.

The entrance into this Port resembleth Dartmouth, and to goe in there, you must bring that which is called Westminster-Hall, being not unlike, North-east by East off you, and so steere in due East, borrowing a little to the South-side of the Bay, where you shall have sounding thirteene, nine, eight, and seven fathomes water, good ground, till you bee shut within the shoale: and then you have deepe water, untill you come to the Road, and then

you have seven, eight, and ten fathomes water. But if you goe in too farre behind the hill on your larboord side (which resembleth an old Barne) then you shall have thirtie five or fortie fathomes. From hence wee set saile, on the three and twentieth of this present, directing our course for the Iland of Mohelia.

The third of July 1613. we had sight of an Iland called Juan, being to the East-ward of Mohelia some nine or ten leagues, and beareth from it East and by South. Also this day we came to an anchor at Mohelia, betwixt broken land (which lyeth on the Souther side) and the Iland. Here we had great store of refreshing and very cheape, for we bought five Bullockes in trucke of one Levant Sword: also we bought Goates, Hennes, Pines, Cocker Nuts, Plantanes, Oranges, Limons, and Limes, for Trifles or little Money. One Riall of Plate we paid for a Bullocke, or else ten pieces of foure pence halfe-penie, and so we bought about fortie one head of Cattle, besides other refreshing aforesaid.

Mohelia Iland neere unto Comoro.

Great store of refreshing.

The fifth, the Inhabitants of this Iland, are chiefly Moores: but there are Arabians, Turkes and other Nations amongst them, and are in Warre with the people of Juan, and Comora Ilands neere adjoyning. They told us that the King of Mohelia dyed the same day, that we came into the Roade: and Phanehomale his sonne succeeded in his place, being as yet but of tender yeeres, was to raigne under protection of his Mother Queene. His Brother-in-law came downe (as chiefe man accompanyed with divers other men of sort) to speake with us, who bad us very kindly welcome. Both he and many other of the same Iland do speake reasonable good Portuguse Language, by reason whereof I had great conference with them, and was resolved in any thing I demanded.

The largenesse of the Portugal Tongue.

They build Barkes upon this Iland, and trade with them, alongst the Coast of Melinde, and Arabia, with slaves and fruits, whereby they furnish themselves with Royals of Plate, and other necessaries. Also I thinke, they have some Trade with the Portugals, but they will

not bee a knowne thereof, because we should not suspect any treacherous dealings amongst them. They told us, that we were very welcome, and that the whole Iland was at our command: but if we had beene Portugals, they told mee, that they would have put us all every man to the Sword. But howsoever, I hold it not good to repose too much confidence in them. The Kings Brother shewed me a Letter of commendations of the place, left there by an Hollander, which was written in Dutch: and withall desired us to leave another to the same effect, thereby to specifie their honest and kind dealings towards us, and to shew it unto others of our Nation, which should come thither after us: to which we consented, and I made them a Writing accordingly, which was sealed by the Captaine of our ship, expressing therein our good entertainment, and the prices of victuals. But neverthelesse, with such a Proviso, that our Nation should not trust them any further then in their discretions they should thinke requisite for their owne safeties. They speake a kind of Morisco Language, which is somewhat difficult to learne, and our continuance there short: so that I only tooke notice of these few words following, which are sufficient to call for victuals and fruits, when Portuguse Language is wanting; and to speake to any of the Countrey people, who understand not the Portuguse. viz.

Gumbey, a Bullocke. Buze, a Goat. Coquo, an Henne. Tudah, Oranges. Demon, Limons. Mage, Water. Surra, a kind of Drinke. Quename, a Pine. Sejavoye, Cocker Nuts. Figo, Plantans. Cartassa, Paper. Sinzano, a Needle. Arembo, Bracelets. Soutan, the King.

Moheliain 22. deg. 10. min. [I. iv. 490.] This Iland standeth in the latitude of twelve degrees ten minutes, and in the Road is good ground in forty fathomes water. From hence we set saile on the tenth day (having watered, and refreshed our selves very sufficiently, God be thanked) directing our course for the Iland of Socatora.

The nineteenth, we passed under the Equinoctiall line:

and on the twentie fifth day, wee had sight of land, which we supposed to have been Cape Guardafuy, which lieth at the entrance of the Red Sea: and so thinking to steere for Socotora, found it not. Whereupon we were inforced to bethinke our selves, where to goe that wee might shelter our selves from the cruelty of the Winter in those parts, and also to refresh us againe. So we determined to saile for the Ilands of Curia Muria, the bodies whereof lie in the latitude of about eighteene degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, over against the wast of Arabia Fœlix. In our way, we never had other weather then fogges, which were so thicke, that we could not discry halfe an English mile before us (being a thing usuall every yeare in July, August, and part of September.) In all this time, both the Sunne and the Starres were so obscured, that we could not helpe our selves any way by observation: but God being our guide, at length we groaped out the land by our lead, well perceiving the colour of the water to be changed white, and many yellow grassy weeds swimming thereon; we sounding still as we sailed, and our first ground was fortie three fathomes. So as we neered the land, our sounding lessened to twenty two fathomes, where we anchored in very good ground, but could see no land (although we heard the rut of the shoare not to be farre off) untill the next day, which was somewhat cleare weather. And then we sent our Skiffe ashoare, to see if they could discover a place of more securitie for our ship to ride in: but by reason of the great Seas which came rowling into the Bay, there went so great a seidge that they could not come neere the shoare, and therefore returned as they went: onely they had descried a situation of faire houses, built of stone, hard by the Sea side, which prooved to be the Citie of Doffar in Arabia Fœlix. When God had sent us a little cleare weather, we perceived an high Cape land, on the Wester side of the Bay, the which we discovered with our Skiffe (at the second time of her going) to be a very good road for all winds, except from East to the

The Ilands of Curia Muria.

Doffar a Citie on the Coast of Arabia.

South by East (God make us thankfull) for thither we warped in our ship, although with much toyle of our men, beeing distant sixe or seven leagues from the place where we were.

August. 3. Resoit a small Village.

The third of August, we came to an anchor in the said roade, and went ashoare with our Skiffe at a little Village, called Resoit, standing close by the Sea side. The Inhabitants thereof are Arabians, and for the most part fishermen, who gave us very kind intertainment, and told us all concerning the Countrey, that we desired. Also the chiefe Governour of Doffar came downe to us (whose name is Meir hahamud Madoffar) and bade us very kindly welcome, and presented us with three Bullocks, Sheepe, Goates, Sugarcanes, Hennes, Plantans, and Coco-nuts, and such like. For requitall whereof, we presented him againe, with a fine piece of Damaske double lockt, which was greatly by him esteemed: he desiring our friendship as much, as we desired his, and gave us licence forthwith to come ashoare when we would. Also he gave order to have a Market kept at this little Village of Resoit, purposely for us to buy any kind of victualls which the Countrey did affoard. Their cattell are both deare and leane, and their fresh water is very scarce and bad, and very hard to come by: so that we were inforced to hire people to bring it downe to the sea side in skinnes, paying therefore twenty foure shillings sterling, for every five pipes filling. Before our departure from hence, Meir hahamud Madoffar desired us to leave a writing of commendations in his behalfe, specifying the good and kind entertainment we had received there; which was graunted: and I made it in parchment, begun with great letters, the effect whereof beeing correspondent to the other writing, before left at Mohelia, also signed by the Captaine. And the Governour sent us three notes, by him signed, to the end we might send them in severall ships, if they should happen to come upon that coast (as we did perforce) whereby he might know our ships from others, and to give them intertainment accordingly. This

Cape Resoit standeth in the latitude of sixteene degrees, and thirty eight minutes, to the Northward of the Equinoctial line, and is good anchorage, in five and an halfe or sixe fathomes water. *Sixteene degrees, thirtie eight min.*

The eight and twentieth, we set saile from hence, directing our course for the coast of Persia, still coasting alongst the Arabian shoare: for there were our cheifest hopes fixed, in setting the Lord Embassadour ashoare. By reason of the * newes, and advises wee heard and received at the Cape Bona Esperanza, our expectations were frustrated, both of Surat, Dabull, and all other parts thereabouts.

The second of September, we sailed close by an Iland, lying alongst the Arabian shoare, called Macyra, the body of which standeth in twentie degrees thirtie minutes, North latitude, the variation of the Needle being twenty degrees tenne minutes. *The Ile de Macyra, in 20. degr. 10. min. variation.*

The fourth day, we passed the Eastermost part of the Arabian land, called Cape Rasalgat, standing in the latitude of twenty two degrees, and thirty foure minutes, and nineteene degrees twenty minutes variation. *Cape Rasalgat.*

§. II. [I. iv. 491.]

Their comming on the Persian Coast: the treacherie of the Baluches.

THe tenth of September, crossing the Gulfe, wee had sight of the Coast of Persia, our ship being in the latitude of twentie five degrees and tenne minutes: the variation of the Compasse eighteene degrees thirty minutes: and being some seven leagues off from the shoare, we sent our Skiffe with Sir Thomas Powell, *Septemb.* 10.

*For Captain Hawkins comming away in distast, and denied trade, the English wronged by the Mogol in often breaking promise (as before is shewed) forced trade at the Red Sea on his Subjects: which after (least the Sea and Merchandizing should be shut up to them) procured the Priviledges obtained by Captaine Best, especially seeing the English able to withstand the Portugals, whose sea-forces held the Guzerats in Marine subjection, and made them afraid of trading with Englishmen.

accompanied with two of the Embassadors Persians, together with Albertus our Linguist, of purpose to discover the Countrey, and to seeke some convenient place to land his Lordship. Where when they came to a little Village, called Tesseque, they spake with Camell men, and others of the Countrey people, by whom they understood, that that Countrey was called Getche Macquerona, and the inhabitants Baluches: all living under the government of one King, named Melicke Meirza, whose chiefe residence was some five or sixe dayes journey from hence, at a Port called Guader. And they further told them, that all that Countrey of Macquerona, paid yeerely Tribute unto the King of Persia. Also they understanding our intents to land the Embassadour, told us, that by Melick Meirza his conveiance, his Lordship should have safe conduct from Guader in nine dayes to Chirman, and from thence to Spahaun in Persia, in eleven dayes. So we sayled alongst the Coast, and sent our Skiffe againe ashoare on the eleventh of this present, with Sir Thomas Powell and others, accompanyed as before, both to enquire further of the Countrey, and to see if they could hire a Pilot to direct us for Guader, because we knew not how the Coast did lie. And they lighted on a place called Pesseque, about one dayes journey from the other place before; where we found the like newes and reports of these people to agree directly with the former; all commending the Port of Guader to be our best place of landing. Whereof we being very glad to heare, presently set downe our determinations, with Gods leave, to saile thither with all the speed we might, although we had no Pilot. And in our way, on the thirteenth of this present in the morning, wee espied comming from the East-ward, two great Boates called Teradas, sayling alongst the shoare towards Ormus: whereupon, to the end we might have a Pilot out of them, we manned our Skiffe sufficiently, of purpose to bring them to our ship (if intreaty did faile) perforce; yet without any intent to have offered them the least discourtesie, or to have sent them away ungratified. But when our

Tesseque a small Village.

Baluches.

Pesseque.

Two great Boats called Teradas.

Skiffe came up to them, in stead of answering our mens hailes, they weaved our Skiffe to Leeward with a naked Sword. Wherefore our men thinking to feare them, and to make them amaine their sailes, shot off a piece at randome towards them; for answer whereof, they discharged another peece at our Skiffe, with halfe an hundred of arrowes to boote: which our men perceiving, plyed all their Muskets at them againe: but our Skiffe not able to hold way with them sayling, was constrained to leave them, and returne to our ship againe, with one man very dangerously hurt with an arrow in his breast, although after recovered. Now wee aboord perceiving our Skiffe to be too weake, and returning againe without them, presently hoysed out our long boat, and sent her after them; we following with our ship so neare to the shoare as conveniently wee might with safetie. For it imported us much now to speake with them, whereby wee might avoid the spreading of their scandalous reports of us, in that Countrey; which might have frustrated our chiefe hopes in landing the Embassadour there, beeing the place whereon wee most depended, especially considering how destitute we were of any other place, if this should fayle, by reason aforesaid. So our long boat fetching the Teradas up, drave them into a Bay, from whence they could not escape; which strooke such a feare into them, that they desperately sayled so farre into the Bay, that one of them was cast away upon the shoare; and the other neere upon following, had not our men saved her from the breach thereof. All the Baluches for the most part leaped over boord, whereof some of them narrowly escaped drowning: and other taken in againe by our men, were brought with the Terada aboord our ship, beeing onely nine Baluches left of about twenty sixe. Who when they came aboord, perceiving them to be of Guader, wee told them, that we were sory for the losse of their other Terada, and that we meant them no harme; but only to speake with them, whereof they were glad to heare (for they thought we had been as mercilesse as themselves) imputing their losses

One of the Teradas cast away.

Onely nine Baluches saved.

unto their owne follies. Then we told them, that we were bound to Guader, to land a Persian Embassadour there, and that we would intreate the Master of the Boat, whose name was Noradim, to pilot our ship thither, and we would content him for his paines. To which (knowing himselfe not to be freed by deniall) he yeelded, conditionally that we would let the Terada and his men proceede in their Voyage for Muscat, which wee thought not fit, for feare of clamours and newes to be spread about the Gulfe, of our beeing there amongst the Portugals: but rather to carry the Terada with us to Guader, thereby to make manifest our good dealings towards them. The Pilot perceiving himselfe to be urged between feare and friendship, in the end agreed; of whom we made very much, and in our way to Guader had much conference with him and his men, both concerning the state of the Countrey and King, and touching the passage of the Embassadour into Persia, through the same. Their answers, [I. iv. 492.] reports, and speeches all concurring with the former, in a manner confirmed our hopefull intents, without any dislike.

This Terrada was about the burden of fifteene Tunnes, her lading, for the most part, was victualls of those parts; as Rice, Dates, and Wheat, and such like. They had a Portugall passe, which they shewed us, thinking at the *September* 15. first we had beene Portugals. The Originall whereof I translated out of the Portuguise language, because it might be knowne in what subjection the Portugals doe keepe all these Countrey people: without which Passe, they are not suffered to saile to nor fro, upon paine both *The Castle of Mascat.* of losse of life, ship, and goods: the Copie whereof followeth, viz.

A Portugal Passport by sea, shewing how all those parts are awed at sea by them, Moores, Guzarats, and others.

Antonio Pereira de Laserda, Captaine of the Castle of Mascat, and the Jurisdiction of the same, for his Majestie, &c.

ALl those, to whom these Presents shall bee shewed: Know that I have thought good, to give secure licence unto this Terrada, of the burden of fiftie Candies,

the Master whereof is Norradim a Moore, and Baluche, and a dweller in Guader, of the age of fiftie yeeres, and carrieth for his defence foure Swords, three Bucklers, five Bowes with their Arrowes, three Calivers, two Launces, and twelve Oares: That in this manner following declared, she may passe and sayle from this said Fort, to Soar, Dobar, Mustmacoraon, Sinde, Cache, Naguna, Diu, Chaul, and Cor. In going, she carrieth goods of Conga, as Raisons, Dates, and such like: but not without dispatch first out of the Custome house of this said Fort, which shall appeare by a Certificate, written on the Backside hereof. And to performe well the said Voyage, she shall neither carry nor bring any prohibited goods, viz. Steele, Iron, Lead, Tobacco, Ginger, Cinamon of Seilon, and all other things whatsoever prohibited, and not tollerated by the Regiment of his Majestie. And in this manner shall the said Terrada make her Voyage, without let or hinderance of any Generalls, Captaines, or other of the said Signories Fleete, or Ships whatsoever, which she shall happen to meet withall. And this shall be of force and sufficiency for one whole yeere, in going and comming. If it be expired, then to serve other so long time, as the making hereof. *A Baluche.*

Given from the said Castle of Mascat, this sixteenth of November, Ann. Dom. 1611.

I Anthonio de Peitas, Notarie of this said Factorie, have written this, &c.

Sealed and Signed,
ANTHONIO PEREIRA.

The Certificate written on the backe side hereof is this: viz.

Registred in the booke of Certificates, in Folio xxxij. and so forwards.

Signed, ANTH. PEITAS.

The seventeenth of September, we sayled by high ragged Cliffes, whereto close adjoyning, is a good watering place, at a Village called Juane, (as Norradim told us) *September* 17. *Juane a Village.*

beeing about fifteene leagues distant from the Port of Guader, to the Westerside thereof, which beareth North of you.

Guader. Also, upon this day in the evening, wee arrived at Guader, and anchored at the Ports mouth untill the next day in the morning; where, about thirty Boates came out of Guader to fish. Some of them came to speake with the Baluches, which wee had aboord; but what they said was spoken in Baluche language, and therefore not by us understood. So betimes this morning, we cleared our Balucha Pilot, with his Boat and men; and told him, that when he would come aboord againe, hee should be satisfied for his paines: and so hee departed, being very well contented therewith.

And presently after, the Ambassadour sent one of his Persians, named Nazerbeg, ashoare in our Skiffe, with a message to the chiefe Governour concerning his landing, and passing thorow that Countrey into Persia: who by the way was met with the Governours Boat, comming aboord our ship, into which Nazerbeg was taken out of our Skiffe, and went with them ashoare to performe his message, according to direction, being accompanied with many people unto the Governours Tent. Where, he having delivered his message to the said Governour in the Persian language (which is as well understood there, as their owne) was very much made of, and kindly entertained. The answere of which message by the Governour, was, that although that Countrey of Macquerona was not the King of Persias; yet they did acknowledge a kind of dutifull love unto his Majesty, and that they had been Tributaries unto him and his Predecessors for many yeeres past, as they were now at present. Also, he further said, that the King of Macquerona was the King of Persias Slave, with such like fained and trapping complements; and the Ambassadour should be as welcome, as if he were in the Persian Land; only tending by treachery to allure his Lordship ashoare, as by the event it appeared.

The Countrey of Macquerona, is not the King of Persias.

This answere being returned by Nazerbeg, hee had to

accompany him aboord (and to confirme the same with addition) about a dozen of the ancientest men there of Baluches: who, when they came aboord our ship, saluted the Ambassadour with great submission, both in their Governours behalfe, and in their owne: some of them offering to kisse his feete, telling his Lordship, that he was the happiest man alive in comming thither to that place. For ,but one day passt, the Vice-roy was come downe with a troope of men, to visite a Saint; and therefore his Lordship should bee conducted with more safetie [I. iv. 493.] thorow his Countrey (from the danger of Rebels and Theeves, which were betweene Guader and Persia) either to Chirman or Sistan, and so to Spahaun. Also that the Vice-roy would furnish his Lordship with Camels and Horses, and other necessaries requisite: and that he would accommodate him with all the meanes he had in his power. And moreover said, that they much rejoyced to have such fit opportunitie, to shew their unfained love towards the King of Persia: and withall, he should be dispatched from Guader (if hee would) in two dayes at the furthest: and *September* 18. told us, for our ship, we should have both water, and other necessaries whatsoever we needed: they bringing then with them three bagges of bruised Dates, being about three hundred pound weight, with two Goats, and sent aboord the said fish-boats, that every one of them should send two fishes (upon the Governours account) aboord our ship, who did accordingly. So that, what with their exterior shew of unfained love and kindnesse towards us, together with all mens speeches (of whom enquiry was made, as aforesaid) agreeing so jumpe one with another, wee were throughly perswaded, without any kinde of distrust, that they meant us as well as they said: Especially, the Lord Ambassadour was exceedingly well conceited of them, being joyfull to arrive in Persia in twentie dayes; and wee not sory, in bringing to perfection our long desired hopes. But God, from whose Divine knowledge the secrets of no hearts can bee hidden, knew their contrary meanings towards us: for had not his Mercy

exceeded his Justice, we had been consumed, and it never could have been knowne what had become of us, ship nor goods.

For, hereupon the Ambassadour resolved, and fitted all things in a readinesse, and on the nineteenth of this present, which was the morning following, sent both his money, treasure, and all his carriage ashoare, with the Baluches Boates, that came aboord for that purpose. Very early also they brought a message from the Vice-Roy and Governour, that they had provided a Tent for his Lordship, and all his followers, neere adjoyning unto their Tent: and therefore he might come ashoare so soone as he pleased. All things were ready; into which Tent all the Ambassadours goods were carryed, and by his order, some of his followers were appointed to remaine with them, untill his Lordship should come ashoare himselfe. Intending to have followed the same day in the afternoone, at foure of the clocke, he sent the Vice-Roy word, that hee would then come. And in the meane time our Skiffe went ashoare with emptie caske, to bring fresh water aboord: wherein went the Ambassadours Persians, and three or foure others of his followers, to see the landing of the goods, and carefull carrying of them into the Tents. And at the landing thereof, the countrey people demanded if the Ambassadour had no more goods then those to bring ashoare? To which answere was made, that there was all, except Jewels, and such like things, which should be brought when himselfe did come. Other Baluches standing by, replyed to each other amongst themselves, that it was no matter; for there was enough for the souldiers: which Nazerbeg over-heard, and understood, yet concealed it for that time, although it possessed him with a jealous conceit; and hee said afterward, that neverthelesse he had no power to continue in the same, by reason of such equal correspondencie of all matters passed before; but was somewhat more attentive unto what should be said afterwards amongst them, and could heare nothing contrary unto honest dealing: untill at

Baluches perfidie.

length meeting with one Hoge Comal (whom God had made an instrument to disclose their devillish project unto us) hee understood the particulars of their bloody intents, by him revealed. At which Nazerbeg was somewhat amazed, and angry with the man, that he did not tell him of it before the goods were brought ashoare. Also, the houre appointed of the Ambassadours comming ashoare drew neare, which made him feare, lest he should have come ashoare before he should get to our shippe, to forewarne him: but as God would have it, our Skiffe was yet a filling of water by the sea side; where, when he came, he told our men, that there was treachery plotted against us ashoare: and withall wished them to row him aboord our ship with all the speed they could; and so was brought aboord immediatly, although not one eighth part of an houre too soone: for both the Ambassadour, and all his followers, together with the Captaine of our shippe, and all the chiefest of us (who were willing to grace his Lordship all we might, for the honour of our Countrey) stood in the ships waste, ready to go ashoare. But Nazerbeg bringing these newes, wee were not halfe so hasty in our proceedings, he telling us what had passed; the chiefe effect whereof was this, That the Vice-Roy, and Governour, did entice so many of us as they could ashoare, of purpose to cut our throats: Which being done, they meant to have set upon our ship, and to have made spoile of all. And further, that they were all Rebels to the King of Persia, being present death for any once to name the King of Persia in that place. Also, that they had made enquiry of every particular man in our ship, both of our places, profession and estates: for they had consulted and concluded upon the Massacre of us all (except the Chirurgions, Musitians, Women and Boyes) with determination to have put all the rest to death without mercy. Now, God be thanked, although we understood of their intended plots so sufficiently, whereby we were forewarned to prevention thereof, by arming our selves, (we knew, under Gods protection, wee were able

Hoge Comal.

September 19.

The great treason of the people of Guader revealed.

to defend us from receiving any injury aboord, notwithstanding their great store of Boats and men, they having at that instant about fifteene hundred shot, besides others) yet we were to seeke how we might procure againe his Lordships goods, and his three men, which were ashoare in their custodies. For performance whereof, God, that had thus miraculously delivered us from their tyranny, likewise opened our understandings, in so much that wee obtained all, according to our owne desires, in this manner following, viz. Whereas they expected the comming ashoare of the Ambassadour, his followers, and our Captaine, and us, accompanyed together: we presently sent Nazerbeg ashoare againe, with directions what he was to doe, and to tell the Vice-Roy, that the Ambassadour was not very well, and therefore deferred his comming till the next morning, which was Munday, the twentieth day of September. Also, to request the Vice-Roy and Governour, that they would send two or three of their Boats very early for him, the women, and the rest of his company, because the ship-boats were too small. And withall, that the Ambassadour did expect to bee received by some men of sort from the Vice-Roy, to come in the said Boats, in regard of the King of Persias Honor, whose person he did represent. This message being well delivered tooke effect, and willing grant was made for performance thereof. Which businesse Nazerbeg having finished, he was to go to the Tent, where the goods were, and to bring out of one of the Trunckes two bagges of money, containing two hundred pound sterling, with some other things of worth, if conveniently hee could without being spied; because they should not suspect that we had discovered any of their villanies. Also, wee gave him order to returne instantly, and to wish the three men to stay still in the Tent, till the next morning, and they should be freed. All which was done accordingly; and not only the said money brought away, but also a Trunck, wherein was the Lady Sherleyes apparell (notwithstanding the Baluches demanded why that Truncke

[I. iv. 494.] *Fifteene hundred shot of the enemie.*

September 20. Sic ars deluditur arte.

was brought aboord againe) answere being made, that therein was the Ladyes night-cloathing, and that it should bee brought againe the next day: and so passed on for currant. Now the Ambassadour made account, that if he could but get one great Trunck more (wherein were things of moment and charge, with his said three men) to lose the rest without care. And for the better bringing to passe hereof without suspition, we fitted over-night a great Chest, and a close-stoole, bound and maled up together with cords, very fast and handsomely: which were filled with billets, rubbish and stones, to make them heavie, to bee left in the place of that Truncke which should be brought aboord: and the three men should come forth of the Tent, with each of them their instruments of musicke in their hands. And for excuse, if the Baluches should demand why they brought that Truncke aboord againe, answere should bee made it was one of the Merchants, and it was mistaken. Likewise, if they demanded why the men came aboord againe, answere should be made, that his Lordship did send for them, to accompany him ashoare with their musicke. So all being ready, the next morning very early, wee perceiving the three Boats comming aboord to fetch his Lordship, according to promise, presently manned our Skiffe, and sent her ashoare, to put our plot in execution: whereby wee hoped to catch them in the same snare that they had laid for us. And in the meane time we received the three Boats of men into our shippe, with entertainment requisite: wherein came about fortie or fiftie persons; but not above seven or eight of any reckoning, whereof our friend Hoge Comal was one, the rest Slaves and Fisher-men. We kept them in talke, and much conference of by-matters, to passe away the time, because our Skiffe might returne before we did meddle with them. Amongst which talke, one of them earnestly requested us, as from the Vice-Roy, that we would carry our Slurbow ashoare with us, he being very desirous to see it. So we smoothed them in their desires. And not long after, we espied our Skiffe

returning, with her successe; which, God be thanked, fell out prosperously: For they did not only bring the three men, and the Truncke, but also one chiefe man of the Baluches, whom Nazerbeg inticed aboord. And so soone as hee was entred into the ship, hee, with the rest, desired to see our Gun-roome, wherein, hee knew (by intelligence) we had all our fire-workes, they standing in much feare thereof, especially of our Slurbow, with the fiery Arrowes; which fell out fit for our purpose. For wee had meant to have sent them downe thither, to take away their knives which they wore by their sides. So all the chiefest of them being gone downe into the Gun-roome, and our ship fitted, with every one of us our weapons in our hands, we divided our selves, some above the Deckes, some betwixt, and others, as was needful, in the Gun-roome, to lay hold of the Traytors (so soone as the word should be given) to take away from them their long knives: all which was done in an instant, without any disquietnesse or resistance. Then we began to parle with them upon plaine termes, laying open to them their bloodie intents: also telling them, that their lives lay in our hands, and they were now themselves caught in the same snare, which they had plotted for us: and that if wee served them rightly, wee should cut them in pieces, as they had determined to serve us. All which, they, like stony-faced Mahumetans denyed. So we kept sixe of them, which were the chiefest, with two of their Boats, the rest of the crew we sent ashoare, being all, for the most part, naked Rascalls, except one, to whom we delivered a message in particular, to tell the Vice-Roy and Governour, That unlesse he would send us aboord all our goods, and things wee had ashoare, without one penyworth diminished, wee would carry away those men we had aboord for satisfaction. This message being delivered to the Vice-Roy and Governour, they presently sent answere backe againe, by the same messenger we sent: that if wee would release the Baluches, then they would send us all our goods againe; and with many lame excuses,

Long knives worne by their sides.

September 20.

These Baluches are Mahumetans.

[I. iv. 495.]

would make us beleeve they meant us no hurt. Whereupon, presently in the sight of the messengers, we clapped them all in Irons, and writ one letter to the Vice-Roy, and the Prisoners wrote another (both tending to one effect) in the Persian Language: threatning the lives of those Prisoners, if they did not send us all our goods, as aforesaid, and that without delay, within the space of two houres at the most: to which purpose we set up the running glasse, before the messenger departed out of the shippe, because he should make the more speed backe againe. By these sharpe meanes, we urged them forthwith to returne all our goods againe, in very ample manner, as we desired. Which being received into the ship, wee freed both the men and Boats, and sent them away according to promise: only one named Malin-Simsadin, who, by Hodge Comal, was discovered to be a good Pilot for Sinde and Cambaya; we kept with us for the same purpose, conditionally to reward him according to his deserts.

They stay a Pilot for Sinde.

Thus with Gods assistance (to whom bee alwayes endlesse praise for our happie deliverance) we had dispatched all this intricate businesse, by six of the clocke in the evening, being the twentieth day of September: and set saile from hence the same night, with our new Pilot and Hodge Comal (who came aboord from amongst the cursed crew, to save his life) for Sinde: because wee would be sure to avoyd all insuing inconveniences there, which they might attempt by their future circumventions. And in our way to Sinde, we had much conference with Hodge Comal, our good friend, of whose company we did much esteeme. He was borne at Dabul, but his Father was a Persian by his profession, he was a Churchman of that Sect, and had some skill in Chirurgerie and Physicke, for which use he was resident in the Governours Tent: and by this meanes he over-heard all that passed. And excusing his comming aboord for certaine Oyntments, which our Surgeons had promised him, hee told us that when hee heard of their intents, his heart was full of bemoning compassion, to thinke that we should come like

innocent sheepe, to the slaughter of such butcherly Bloudsuckers: and therefore he perceived well, that God would have him reveale it. And he further told us, that to his knowledge, they had betrayed three ships before in the like manner; and that they were all rebels to the King of Persia, denying to pay the Tribute, which both they and their Ancestors had formerly done. Wherefore, the King of Persia had levyed a great Armie of Souldiers, not farre from Guader of purpose, to come upon that Countrey the next Winter.

Macquerona. This Countrey Macquerona, is bordering close upon the Persian Land, beeing part of the Maine Continent of Asia: and Guader Port standeth in about twentie five degrees of North latitude, and the variation seventeene degrees fifteene minutes; good anchorage betweene foure and five fathomes.

Guader port in 25. degrees.

The one and twentieth of September at night, our Baluche Pilot brought our ship in danger of a shoale: where we were inforced to chop to an anchor, till the next morning.

The foure and twentieth at night, as we lay a hull (because we were not farre from Cape Camelo) there passed close by us a Portugall Frigat bound for Sinde: which at the first wee supposed to have beene a Galley, and therefore armed our selves for defence.

§. III.

Their comming to Divulginde landing the Embassadour, seeking Trade, and crossed by the slanderous Portugals, going to Sumatra and Bantam; and returne.

The mouth of the River Sinde is 24. degrees 38. minutes in the Mogols Dominions:

THe six and twentieth, we came to an anchor right before the mouth of the River Sinde, with directions of a Pilot, which we had out of one of the Fisher-boats which were fishing there. We road in a foot lesse then five fathome water (the Rivers mouth bearing East & by North) in very good ground: and is in

the latitude of twentie foure degrees and thirtie eight minutes, to the Northward of the Equinoctiall Line, the variation is sixteene degrees fortie five minutes. *Variation 16. degrees 45. minutes.*

Hereupon the same day the Ambassadour sent two of his people ashoare, to speake with the Governour concerning his Lordships comming ashoare: and to tell him his intent, to have passage through that Countrey into Persia. Which Governour, named Arah Manewardus beeing of Diul, was very willing to welcome the Ambassadour, and to shew him all the kindnesse hee could (for the love he professed to the King of Persia) both in his Royall entertainment, and passage through his Countrey, or Jurisdiction: and sent a principall man aboord us, accompanyed with five or sixe more to welcome his Lordship, with many Complements, assuring him of kind entertainment.

So presently, there were Boates sent for from Diul, to carrie him, his people, and his goods ashoare, which came on the nine and twentieth of this instant: upon which day, we were cleered both of him and his (both in number and health) as when they first entred into our ship: and for his farewell, eleven Peeces of Ordnance were shot off from our ship. Also, Simsadin, our treacherous Baluche Pilot, wee set ashoare at the same time (beeing intreated of the Guserats) notwithstanding his desert to have beene set in the Sea, in that hee would have cast us away twice: whereof, once by himselfe, and another time by his Devillish counsell given to another Pilot, which we had of the Fisher-boates here. At the Ambassadours departing out of the ship the Captaine delivered him a fine piece double locked, to present the Governour of Tata, a great Citie one dayes journey from Diul, both Cities standing in the Great Mogols Dominions. Also we intreated his Lordship, that hee would send us word how he found the Countrey, and whether we might have trade there or not: and withall delivered his Lordship a note in writing, what we chiefly desired. The Copie whereof doth follow. *Diul.* [I. iv. 496.] *Tatta a great citie one dayes journey from Diul.*

Inprimis, that our comming hither to this Port, as it

is purposely to land your Lordship, so withall we have brought certaine Commodities and Money, to the end if we obtaine safe protection for quiet and peaceable Trade, we may make sale of such and so much of our Commodities as shalbe fitting: otherwise we desire but leave to refresh, and so depart. Likewise, if the Governour please that we may settle a Factorie heere, we also desire it: and although now wee are but slenderly provided, yet, hereafter we will bring such store, and sorts of Commodities, as shalbe most required and conveniently vented in this Port.

The Commodities we now have brought are these, viz.

ELephants Teeth. Fine Peeces. Lead in Barres. Morses Teeth. Tinne in Barres. Some Rials of Plate.

The thirtieth of September, the Ambassadour had audience with the Governour of Diul concerning all his businesse, unto whom he shewed the King of Persians Firma, as also the King of Spaines Passe, thinking thereby to satisfie and resolve the jealous doubts of the Portugals Liedger there, (who reported, upon intelligence from Ormus, that Don Roberto Sherley was come forth of England with three shippes into the Indies of purpose to steale) but they peremptorily denyed credence to any Writing hee shewed them, saying, it was neither their Kings hand, nor Seale. For if it were, they could not be ignorant thereof, considering they knew it so well: and further said, it was counterfeit. Whereat the Ambassadour was much moved to impatience, and replyed againe unto them, saying, that it was meere folly to shew them any Kings hand or Seale: for they had no King, and therefore could not know it. And that they were a waste Nation only subdued, and brought under subjection perforce by the King of Spaine, and were servile both to him and his subjects. Notwithstanding the Portugals were not danted, but stood stiffely in their former opinions:

A Portugall Liedger in Diul.

His slander of the English.

and said, that he had two ships more in the Indies. Then Arah Manewardus spake in the Ambassadours behalfe, rebuking them sharply for such unseemely contradictions of the Persian Ambassadour: and so concluded, absenting the Portugals out of the roome. Afterward the Ambassadour made a speech unto the said Governour and assembly, concerning the admittance of us into his Port, to trade (according to directions, given his Lordship from us, as aforesaid) which was very kindly imbraced of the Governour: with willingnesse to do therein what he might, all inconveniences understood. For which purpose he willed the Ambassador to send for one or two Merchants from aboord, to conferre with him upon the same. Whereupon the Ambassadour wrote a Letter unto us, by two of his people, who came aboord our ship on the second of October 1613. in the morning: by which Letter we perceived his Lordships proceedings in our desired businesse with the Governour, with assurance for our safe going and returne: being in such good sort and fashion, that our hopes were great in establishing a trade there, if not a Factorie: especially to make sale of the small quantitie of goods which wee now brought. Wherefore Master Joseph Salbancke, and my selfe, fitted our selves with the advice of the Captaine and others in our ship, and went ashoare in one of the Countrey Boates the same morning about eight of the clocke, our ship riding about foure or five miles from the rivers mouth, from whence we had fifteene miles to the Citie Diul, where the Ambassadour was, so that it was late in the evening the same day before we landed.

Joseph Salbancke and Walter Payton.

And in our way we met with a Portugall Frigat bound for Ormus, which I saw went to carrie newes of our ships being there: because none of their ships (which were daily expected) should come till we were gone. This Frigat came close by our shippe, and tooke view of her, and so departed. Now when we were landed, there came three or foure Portugals unto us, demanding if we had brought any goods ashoare, and such

like questions: to whom wee made no reply, making shew that we understood them not, because we might understand them for our advantage, if occasion served. *Portugals slanderous policies.* Then there came another Portugall (who spake the Dutch Tongue very perfectly) telling me many things concerning the people and Countrey, all tending to disgrace, in an idle and frivolous manner: thinking thereby to disswade us from desiring Trade there. Not long after, the Officers of the Custome-house came and conducted us up to the Castle, where the Governour dwelt, who we thought would have spoken with us that night, but did not, [I. iv. 497.] because it was so late: yet the Officers (being for the most part Banians, and spake good Portuguse) searched every part about us for money, not leaving so much as our shoes unsearched. Which being done, and perceiving us to take it strangely, they prayed us to be contented, for it was the order of that place. To which I answered, that although the Portugals might give them cause to ordaine so bad a fashion, yet English Merchants did not, Meazle like, hide money in their shooes: but notwithstanding, we were therewith contented. Then the Governours Servants came to us, excusing it likewise, saying, that he was displeased thereat. And so they brought a great light, and directed us from the Castle, unto the house where Sir Robert Sherley, the Persian Ambassadour did lodge: to whom wee found our selves very welcome, and lodged there all the time of our abode in Diul, expence free. *The malice of the Portugals.* The Portugals seeing us landed, and hearing that wee were to treate with the Governour about the setling of Trade there, did nothing all this time but (like envious and lying Malignants) spread clamorous and scandalous speeches, in disgrace of our King, Nation, and Countrey: reporting that we were theeves, and not Merchandizers, but lived chiefly by robbing of other Nations on the Seas.

October 3. The third of October in the morning, the Governour sent the Ambassador word, that in the afternoone he would have speach with us. In the meane while, wee had intelligence that the Portugalls were labouring all they

could with him, and others, to prevent our intertainement: both by offering him gratifications if he would refuse us, and by threatning to be gone, if he did receive us, alledging as before, that they would not trade where theeves did trade. Neverthelesse, according to our expectations, the Governour sent for us; and withall commanded foure great horses gallantly trapped, to be brought unto the Embassadours house, for his Lordship, Sir Thomas Powell, Master Salbancke, and my selfe; also a certaine company of his servants, to conduct us to the Castle: also all the Embassadours followers went with him, each of them carrying an Halbert on their shoulders.

They goe to the Castle in honourable fashion.

Thus we rode through some part of the Citie, wherein the people in every street came flocking to see us, they having of long time heard talke of Englishmen, but never had seene any before now: for we were the first that ever came into that part of the Countrey. When we came to the Castle, we were received very orderly, and directed through some spacious roomes, (where souldiours were standing on each side as we went in rankes, cloathed all in white linnen from head to foot) up to an high Turret, wherein the Governour, and some other were set: who at our entrance arose, and saluted us, bidding us kindly welcome. Then we all sate downe together round upon the Carpets, which were spread upon the floare according to their fashion. Then the Governour againe said, we were very welcome, and that he was glad to see Englishmen in those parts; and proceeded to further talke concerning our businesse, and told us (whereas wee desired trade) the Portugals would not consent that we should drive any trade, or have to doe where they were, threatning to be gone if he did entertaine us. Notwithstanding, if he could be assured of a greater benefit to arise by our trade then by theirs, he would not care if they did forsake him: for hee did well affect our Nation. But in the meane time, he having farmed the customes of that Port from the King, unto whom he stood bound for the payment of certaine summes of money yeerly for the same, whether

Their entertainement at the Castle.

This King is the Great Mogol.

it came in or not: it behooved him carefully, to be circumspect in ordering those businesses, whereby to avoid the Kings Highnesse displeasure; which unhappily might fall out to his utter overthrow and undoing.

And then he began to tell us further, that the custome of the Portugalls trade, together with their meanes in letting out their ships to Guzerates and Banians, amounted unto a Leck of Rupias yeerely, which is tenne thousand pound sterling. Then he demaunded of us, what sorts of Commodities we had now brought, and the quantities of each; also what store of money? All which we answered him, a little more or lesse, and withall told him, that although now we brought but small quantities, yet wee could furnish that Port at our next returne, with any Commodities whatsoever the Portugalls did bring; and such a quantitie of each, as we should perceive requisite and fitting to be vented there. Of this he liked well, and asked in what time we could returne from our Countrey thither againe? We answered him, in about twenty two moneths. So hee concluded, saying, That in regard of our small stocke, the Portugals would both laugh at him, and us, if we should be entertained now. Wherefore, he wished us to deferre it untill our next comming, and in the meane time he would give us a writing under his hand and seale, thereby to assure us of entertainement at our next comming, conditionally, that we come provided as aforesaid, and we to leave him another writing, to assure him that our ship should not molest any of the King of Mogors ships, goods, nor subjects; which we agreed unto: withall requesting him, that although hee would not receive us whereby to establish a trade now; yet that he would permit us to make sale of those goods we now had: which in no wise he would grant, for feare of offending the Portugalls, alleadging as before. Then we desired him that wee might have water, and other refreshing for our money, and we would depart so soone as we could. For this he said, that so soone as we did send him our writing aforesaid, he would both send us another, and give

A Rupia is two shillings, or somewhat more, and a Leck is 100000.

order to his Officers for the same: but he would not have the Portugalls to know thereof. So we seeing no remedie, demanded of him what sorts of commodities he would have us bring thither; also what Commodities that countrey did affoord: who answered these, viz. [I. iv. 498.]

Broad cloath of divers prices, and light colours, as Stammels, Reds, Greenes, and Sky-colours, and Aniles, Blewes, and Azures, &c. Elephants teeth, Iron, Tinne, Lead, Steele, Spices, Mony. These Commodities are to be carried for Sinde.

Commodities to be had there.

INdigo of Lahor. Indigo of Cherques. Callicoes all sorts. Pintadoes of all sorts. Guserat and Cambaya. Commodities of all sorts, with many sorts of Drugges.

Then wee tooke our leaves of him and parted, returning to the Embassadours house againe, where I framed a Letter, and sent him according to our promise, signed by M. Salbancke, and my selfe; and received another from him likewise, which was in the Persian language, much like the Hebrewe Letter backward: the English whereof was interpreted to us by the Ambassadour; as followeth, viz.

WHereas here arrived at this Port of Diul, in the Kingdome of Mugore, one English ship called the Expedition, whereof is Captaine Christopher Newport, and Merchants, Joseph Salbancke and Walter Peyton, to land Don Robert Sherley, the King of Persians Embassadour, who desired grant of trade in this Port (being under my government) which willingly I would have graunted, but onely for prejudiciall inconveniences insuing: for they brought not merchandize, fitting in quantitie to begin such trade: neither the Portugals by whose trade at present I reape benefit, would consent thereto, threatning to bee gone if I did receive the English Nation. So that thereby, I should have beene left destitute of all trade, whereof those Summes of Money doe arise yeerly,

which I am bound to pay unto the Kings Majestie: and in default therein, I should put in hazard his Highnesse displeasure, to my utter over-throw and undoing. Yet notwithstanding, for the love I owe unto the King of Persia, by whose Embassadour I am requested, and the affection I beare unto the English Nation, together with the faithfull performance of their writings, left with me under their hands and seales, of the two Merchants aforesaid, (which is not to molest or meddle with any of the said Kings shippes, goods nor subjects, in the time of this their Voyage, in the shippe aforesaid) I have given them this writing under mine owne hand and seale: hereby promising the English Nation (that if they will come like themselves, so fitted that I may advantage my selfe more by them, then by the Portugals) infallible assurance of intertainement to trade, with such reasonable grant of Priviledges as we shall agree upon. Dated in Diul the third day of October, Anno 1613.

Signed, Arah Manewardus.
Sealed with Incke.

The fourth of October, we received the writing from the Governour, together with order to his Officers for our watering and refreshing: and then wee hastened to returne aboord our ship againe. And a little before our departure, the Ambassadour fell into discourse with us, about the procuring of a Firma from the King of Magore: and withall, wished Master Salbanck to go along with him for Agra (which is the chiefe place where the great Mogoll keepeth his Court) and he would warrant us, that he would procure the same in very short time: especially now, at this so fit an opportunitie offered, both in regard of his businesse with the Mogoll, as also the willingnesse of Arah Manewardus, to entertaine us at this Port: which opportunitie being let slip, we should never obtaine the like; his Lordship protesting and vowing to doe his best endeavour therein, and shew himselfe a true hearted English man towards his Countrey, howsoever the Com-

pany of Merchants (he said) did conceit him. And further, that Master Salbanck should be an eye-witnesse of his constant and faithfull proceeding therein, to doe the Merchants good, in obtaining the said Firma: not only for Diul, but also for any other part in the Mogolls Dominions: and also should bring it for England overland himselfe. All which being grounded upon some reason, and Master Salbanck having been in those parts before, hee was willing to undertake: Provided, he might have the consent of the Captaine, my selfe, and others in the ship. To which purposes, the Ambassadour writ a letter to the Captaine, perswading his consent thereto, and sent it aboord by us.

So we parted from Diul this day in the after-noone, and when we came to the Rivers side to take Boat, there flocked about us many of the Countrey people: also there came downe to us about a dozen of the envious Portugals, who began to talke with us in Dutch, as before, demanding of us many frivolous questions: which, when I had answered, I spake in their owne language, (because the Banians which were there present, might understand) and told them that they were a shamelesse and lying people, in spreading of so many devised scandals, and slanderous reports of our Nation; unto whom they knew themselves much inferiour in many respects; and that they did it only in malitious policie, because they would not have us to trade in the Indies, as well as they. Also I told them, that if they did not containe themselves within the compasse of better peace, reforming themselves hereafter, both in their sayings and doings, they should be all rooted out of the Indies, and a more honest and Royall Nation placed in their roomes. Then one of the chiefest of them singled out himselfe, and answered thus: That they had enemies too many already, and therefore they desired no more. And as for scandalous speeches they did not deny, being urged thereunto: for not long past, off from Surat, they had a ship taken by English men, as they supposed: to which I answered them, that it might bee rather the Hol- [I. iv. 499.]

landers. So they concluded, in the end very plyant and sociable, wishing that we might trade in all parts of the Indies with them, and they with us, like neighbours and friends; and that there were some agreement made betwixt our King and theirs, for the bringing to passe thereof. Thus they taking their leaves of us in very kind manner, we parted.

The sixt, we arrived aboord our ship againe, where it was agreed upon, that Master Salbanck should goe, as aforesaid, with the Ambassadour for Agra. Wherefore he fitted himselfe, thinking to have gone ashoare the next day; and in the meane time, the Captaine sent the Purser and his man to buy fresh victualls, and provision for the Sea: who, when they came to the Citie, were by the Governour presently turned backe againe as they went; and expresse command by Proclamation, upon paine of death, the Country people should bring no more English men ashoare. These sudden and strange alterations made us much to marvell; for wee could never know the certaintie whereupon it grew, or what should be the cause.

All the time of our being heere at Sinde, we could never understand of any trade setled at Surat: for if we had, we might have taken other courses. The Ambassador had above seven moneths journey, (from Sinde to Spahaun in Persia) by Caravan; or if he procured to travell otherwise, then it is one moneth lesse.

They depart from Sinde. The ninth, we set saile from hence, directing our course, with Gods leave, for Sumatra.

November 20. Priaman. The twentieth of November, we came to an anchor in the Roade of Priaman, where we went in betwixt the two Northermost little Ilands, and anchored close by the Northermost of them both in five fathome water. And in the meane time wee beat the price of Pepper at Priaman, and brought it from two and twentie Rialls, to seventeene Rialls a Bahar, first peny: at which price we bought two Bahars, which were brought aboord our ship. But the Governour, although we had presented him with a piece, would not suffer us to take an house, nor to buy any

Pepper ashoare, unlesse wee would bestow some twentie Presents upon the Officers and Merchants there.

The two and twentieth, we received a letter from Captaine Christen, out of the Hosiander at Tecoo, earnestly wishing us to come to Tecoo with our ship, so soone as we could, and wee should not faile to lade so much Pepper as we determined, and that in short time. And because we were not well acquainted with this place; Captaine Christen sent one of his Masters Mates, named Richard Hall, to Pilot us into the Roade, by reason of many dangerous shoalds that lye about Tecoo.

The eight and twentieth, we came to an anchor in Tecoo Road, in foure fathom water, where Richard Hall returned aboord the Hosiander, and being troubled with the Fluxe, dyed the same night. Now we being come to Tecoo, found all things contrary to our expectation. For, whereas before our comming hither, the Countrey people offered their Pepper to Captaine Christen after twelve and thirteene Rialls a Bahar, in trucke of Surat commodities; they now demanded two and twentie Rials ready money, refusing to trucke with him at all for commodities. Also, heere they demanded as many presents, as they of Priaman; besides seventie two Rials of plate for anchorage. So that we were now worse to passe then before and time not permitting us to make delay, we grew into short termes with them: and told them, that although wee did not buy a Cattee of Pepper there, wee would not agree, nor yeeld unto their unreasonable demands. And withall, I framed a letter, as from the Captaine, by him firmed and consigned to the chiefe Governour, shewing him that they did not use our Nation so well, as we did expect at their hands, both in regard of their unjust demanding of presents; (which we did not usually give by compulsion, but either for affection or deserving) and also their unreasonable delaying the performance of their promises, falling out to be so uncertaine, that wee could not account them to bee Merchant-like dealings. For our ships have stayed there divers times, three, foure or five

Tecoo.

moneths, only depending upon their posting promises, to have their full lading; which might have beene as well dispatched in one moneth, with that small quantitie of Pepper which they had. This letter was Englished by the Hosianders Linguist (named John, an Indian, who spake the language very well) unto the chiefe Governour: who hereupon gave present order, that wee might buy Pepper of any man that would sell. And withall sent a messenger aboord our ship, to wish one of us to come ashoare, and it should be weighed there. But we doubting their delays, accepted not thereof; and therefore sent him word againe, that wee could not stay so long, as to weigh it ashoare: if they would bring it aboord and weight it, we would give them eighteene Rialls a Bahar for their Pepper, and two Rials upon each Bahar, for the custome and Governour, being just twentie Rials, conditionally they would bring it aboord; otherwise we would not stay. So they lingring somewhat long before they came, we set saile, making shew to depart: which the Governour perceiving, forthwith sent another messenger (who spake the Portuguise language indifferently well) to entreate us to come to an anchor againe, and wee should have as much Pepper brought aboord immediately as we would lade: which we did, and they came as fast with Prawes lading of Pepper, as conveniently we could weigh it: and so continued for the space of three or foure dayes, till they had brought about some two hundred Bahars, and then began to slack their bringing. Which we perceiving, and fearing to spend over-much time heere (lest we should lose the seasons of the Monsons) we departed for Bantam.

December 2. 1613.

[I. iv. 500.]

December 8. The eight of December, we set saile from Tecoo, where we left three of our men in the Hosiander, their necessitie so requiring. In our course to Bantam, for the most part, we sailed within sight of Sumatra.

The sixteenth, at our entrance into the Straights of Sunda, being the sixteenth of this present, we met with the Dragon bound homeward, by whom we writ home.

The seventeenth, wee brought our ship to an anchor in Bantam Road: where wee presently went ashoare, to provide her lading. On the nine and twentieth, we made an end of lading our whole complement. *They arrive in Bantam Road.*

The second of January, we set saile from Bantam for England, not having lost one man by sicknesse in all our voyage hitherto; for which, God make us thankfull. This day, as we were going out by Pulo Pan Ian, wee met with Generall Saris in the Cloave, come from Japan: for whose letters, and the delivery of foure chests, the Captaine cast anchor againe. Also we spared him two of our men, namely, Mortimer Prittie Yonker, and Thomas Valens, one of our Carpenters Mates whereof they stood much in need; for they had not one Carpenter left alive. Thus having also dispatched these businesses with the Cloave, we set saile once againe for England, on the fourth of this present. *January 2.* *Generall Saris in the Cloave, come from Japan.*

The one and twentieth, we came to an anchor in Saldanha Bay: where wee had sheepe and Bullocks reasonable store, besides great abundance of fresh fish, which we caught with our Sayne in the River. *March 21. The Bay of Saldanha.*

On the ninth of Aprill, we departed, and then we had prosperous winds, which continued untill we came in the latitude of about three degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall Line, which we passed under on the eleventh of May, finding our ship then to be in two and twentie minutes North latitude. Hereabouts many of our men began to fall sicke, some of the Scurvie and swelling in their legges. The tenth of July, we came to an anchor in the Downes in safetie, God be ever praised. *Aprill 9.* *May 11.*

After this twelfth Voyage, the order of that reckoning is altered, because the Voyages ensuing were set forth by a joynt stocke, and not by particular and proper ships, stockes, Factories, (as before) but promiscuous and generally accountable to the whole societie. Of which, all are not come to our hands: such as I have (that which thence is meete for the publike view) give I thee.

[Chap. XI.

Chap. XI.

Extracts of the Journall of Captaine Nicholas Downton, who was employed chiefe Commander in the second Voyage set forth by the joyned Stockes in the East-Indies, by the Governour, Deputie, and Committees of the Societie. Wherein is related their happie successe against the Vice-Roy, and all the Indian sea forces of the Portugalls, by force and cunning attempting their destruction.

§. I.

Their comming to Soldania, Socatora, Swally: Disagreements betweene the Mogoll and Portugalls, and the Nabob and us.

THe Shippes employed were the New-yeeres-gift, Admirall, of burthen sixe hundred and fiftie tunnes: The Hector, Vice-Admirall, of five hundred tunnes: The Merchants Hope, of three hundred tunnes. Master William Edwards was tunnes, and the Salomon, of two hundred Lieutenant and Cape Merchant, and Commander of the Hector: Master Nicholas Ensworth Cape Merchant and Commander of the Merchants Hope: Master Thomas Elkington Cape Merchant, and Commander of the Salomon: Master Peter Rogers Minister, Martin Pring, Arthur Spaight, Matthew Molineux and Hugh Bennet, Masters of the foure Shippes, assisted with divers Mates.

[I. iv. 501.] The first of March 1613. we set saile. On Wednesday the fifteenth of June 1614. we anchored in the Road of Saldania, and were welcommed with a great storm. John Barter by a long Fever bereaved of his understanding, was suddenly missing, and by former speeches of his it

seemed that he made himselfe away, whiles every one was busie in mooring the ship, and none looking after him.

The sixteenth, wee got all in readinesse for erecting our Tents, which was that day effected, and a Guard placed for their reliefe.

In the seventeenth, we landed halfe our Caske to be Vo[illegible]ed and seasoned. Choree the Saldanian presented Also th[illegible] a young Steere.

[illegible] eighteenth, we landed more of our Beere Caske to be washed, trimmed and seasoned, and supplyed the wants of our men labouring about our Boates: also this day (Choree) the Saldanian departed from us, carrying with him his Copper Armour and Javelin, with all things belonging to him, promising to come againe to us the third day after, but he never came againe.

Choree and his Copper Armour.

The nine and twentieth, I sent George Downeton on land to observe both the latitude and variation of this place, in regard of the great difference in our variations wee had found betweene my former Voyage in the Pepper-Corne, and this present Voyage: the latitude he found was thirtie foure degrees, and no odde minutes, and the variation one degree and fortie five minutes by an Azimuth, being Westerly variation, whereas for the most part all formerly have made Easterly variation. This night wee dissolved our Tents and brought all our things aboord, and made readie our ship against the next day to depart, which we did accordingly.

Note for the variation at the Bay.

The sixt of August, we came to an anchor in the Bay of Saint Augustine, in Saint Laurence Iland. But on sight of our comming the Inhabitants abandoned the place, that wee could have no speech with them: we cut straight Timber for divers uses. And afterwards wee got some refreshing of them. On the twelfth, we set saile.

The ninth of September, wee anchored in the Bay of Delisa in Socotora. The next day wee went on shore to salute the King, who was readie with his troupe to give me entertainment, and told me of the Warres at present in India, the Mogoll and Kings of Decanie joyning to roote

the Portugals out of the Countrey. The reason whereof
This ship was the Hassanie. was, their taking of a shippe which came from Jedda in the Red Sea, wherein was three millions of Treasure. Hee also informed mee of Captaine Bests two great fights with the Portugals, with other newes of those parts. Heere I procured what refreshing wee could get, and bought of the King Alloes, two thousand seven hundred twentie two pounds, and on the fourteenth departed.

The second of October, we had sight of land being on the Coast of Decany neere Dabul. Wee found great hinderance, till by observation we were taught to stay the ebbes and ply the flouds.

The twelfth, we againe weighed and plyed the flouds, and anchored the ebbes till the fourteenth day in the evening, and then anchored two miles and an halfe short of
Portugall Frigats. the Barre, where presently came a fleet of Frigats being fourteene saile and anchored neere us, discovering themselves by their lights being darke: but seeing our readinesse by the lights out of our Ports, durst come no neerer unto us, so we rid quietly all night.

The fifteenth, early in the morning we weighed with the land-turne, and approching somewhat neere them, they also weighed and stood to the South-wards, and wee
South Swally. held on our course by the Barre towards South Swally, where soone after we arrived after much striving against contrary winds. Assoone as I anchored I sent Master Molineux in his Pinnasse, and Master Spooner, and Samuell Squire in my Gellywatte to sound the depths within the sands. Master Molineux tooke a Channel in which in our former Voyage we had but five foot at low water, but now found three fathomes water, and Master Spooner found that where our Boats could not passe formerly by reason of shoalds, he had now seven and eight foot water. In the after-noone, I seeing people ashoare sent my Pinnasse to them, supposing some of our Merchants had beene come from Surat: but found otherwise
Cagenozan. to be some people of Cogenozan sent downe to discover what Nation we were; two of which came aboord to me,

by whom I understood further of their Warres with the Portugals; they besieged Damon and Diu, and that Mocrib Can was Generall of the Mogols forces against Damon, and also to my griefe, I understood that he was Governour, and as Vice-roy not onely over Surat, but also over all the Countrey neere about it; I esteeming him to bee the greatest Adversary to our Nation, and one that most favoured the Portugals. This was my setled conceit by former experience. I understood of the health of Master Aldworth and the rest, to whom I writ to hasten his presence, and sent it away by Baly Ball, together with the other Servants of Cogenozan.

The sixteenth, in the morning early I sent my Purser and Pinnasse on land to buy such Commodities as I supposed might be brought, who about ten a clocke without buying any thing for our turne, returned with Master Aldworth our chiefe Merchant at Surat, and in his company one Richard Steele who came by land from Aleppo to Surat. Master Aldworth strived to perswade me that Mocrib Can the Nabob was our friend, and that now was the best time by reason of their Warres (with the Portugals) for us to obtaine good trade and all Priviledges that in reason wee could demand; and for that both he and all the Countrey people did so much rejoyce at our comming, therefore of necessitie could not but give us Royall entertainment, I liking all their hopefull words, yet ever wishing some other in his place, and that Mocrib Can had beene further away, of whom I rested still in doubt, that we should have no free trade but according to his accustomed manner; and to see and to be privie to all that ever past, and restraine all others, which then I tooke to bee an injurie forced by him to crosse us, and not by the direction of the King, which in time, though too late, we were better advised. And notwithstanding the remembrance of his name given him by the King, Mocrib, which is as much as his owne bowels, and Chan which is as much as great Lord: Yet I was too much deluded by being perswaded that his state in favour of the King stood

M. Aldworth and Steele.

[I. iv. 502.]

The signification of Mocrib Chan.

tottering, and might easily be made subject to any disgrace, by any complaint of things done contrary to the will or humour of the King, which made us somewhat too bold and thereby prejudice to our businesse when we found him opposite to our wils, and as wee thought contrary to reason. I inquiring of the state of our businesse, and the health of our people, Master Aldworth informed that Paul Canning and divers others were long since dead, and that Thomas Kerridge had long since resided at Court in his roome, and that there was no more Factors but onely himselfe and William Bedulph at Surat.

Paul Canning & Thomas Kerridge Agents at the Mogols Court.

The seventeenth, in the morning I called a Councell to advise of all things heere to bee effected, and who fittest to send to Agra to remaine as Liedger there, and then entring into the sixe Interrogatory Articles included in the second Article of our Commission, requiring Master Aldworths direct answere to every question should be demanded.

The first, in what favour Paul Canning was with the Emperour and his Councell, and how he carried himselfe in the businesse at Court that was committed unto him. Hee answered, that at his first comming to Court, hee was well respected by the Emperour, untill such time as the Jesuites made knowne he was a Merchant, and not sent immediately from the King: but afterwards he was neglected as himselfe complained, and for his carriage there, Master Aldworth saith that for any thing he knoweth, it was sufficient and well.

Jesuits courtesie.

The third, then demanding whether needfull to maintaine one as Liedger at Court, his answere was, not onely necessarie, but also by the King required, that one of our Nation doe reside there, and therefore fitting to be a man of good respect for preventing and righting any wrongs that may be offered by the Jesuites our Adversaries, as also by his direction may stand in great stead for the buying or selling of Commodities.

The sixth, concerning the charge of him that should reside at Court, hee saith to bee about three hundred

pounds per annum, by Paul Cannings estimate, but somewhile after when his Writings came to be searched, his estimate is found to be five, sixe or seven hundred pounds per annum.

Question being made whether it were fit Master Edwards should proceed under the title of a Merchant, according to the strictnesse of the Companies Commission, his opinion was by Master Cannings experience, that then he would not be respected by the King.

The Mogol little respects Merchants.

The foure and twentieth in the morning, Cogenozan came downe to the water-side with a great traine as their manner is, resting himselfe in my Tent till my landing: unto whom I repaired ashoare accompanyed with all the Merchants and a good guard of Halberts, Shot, and Pike; I having a Coach to carrie me up from the Boat to a place neere the Tent; and at the instant when I alighted from the Coach, he came forth of the T[illegible]ressing himselfe to meete mee, and after salut[illegible]d into the Tent and sate downe. And bef[illegible]nference began was let to know, that ther[illegible]o be delivered him for the Nabob, which w[illegible]ght in, Viz. One Case with sixe Knive[illegible] of Knives, sixe Sword Blades, sixe Spanish[illegible]ne Combe-case, one Looking Glasse, o[illegible]e Pictu[illegible] Mars and Venus, one Picture of Paris in judgement, two Muscovie Hides, and one great gilded Case of Bottles full of rich and strong Waters. Then for himselfe I caused a Present to bee delivered him, which was six Knives in single sheathes, foure Sword Blades, two Pikes, one Combe-case, one Looking-glasse, one Picture of Moses, one Case of Bottles, in regard of the promise of the Nabob to our people that what Cogenozan should do, he would performe. I therefore moved for the inlarging of our Priviledges; for the lessening of our Custome, especially at Baroch to have a Bazar or Market by the waterside, that we might buy Beef for the peoples eating (in regard that other flesh was not good for them) according to the Kings Firma given. His answere was, that if

Present for the Nabob, or Governour.

I would assist them against the Portugals, the Nabob would do us all the favour that in his power lyeth; but for the Custome of Baroch it was out of his power, for the King had let it to another by rent, and could not be holpen. A Bazar we should have, but for Bullocks and Kine, the King had granted his Firma to the Banians for a mightie summe yeerely to save their lives. In summe, wee found nothing that he had power to grant us: yet willing to leave mee in content, wishing that I would send some of my Merchants along with him to the Nabob, that our businesse on both sides might bee considered on, and receive answeres accordingly from each other. I sent, along with him Master Aldworth, Master Ensworth (who desired to goe up because he was not well) Master Dodsworth, Master Mitford and others; which when they had accesse to the Nabob, two or three dayes after he would know ag[illegible] demand, which was as aforesaid. Then he desire[illegible] we would goe with our ships to fight again[illegible]m, and then he would do us any favou[illegible] answered, that we could no wise avou[illegible]reof, for that there was pea[illegible] betweene o[illegible]e King of Spaine. Then he demanded i[illegible] go to the Barre and ride there and fight with [illegible] that should come to prejudice them. That we could neither covenant to doe, for it was a breach of the peace betweene our two Kings as aforesaid. Then he answered, that if we would doe nothing for him, he would doe nothing for us. Divers of the principall Merchants of the Towne came to move our Merchants that I might give way to the Nabob his reasonable request, and though I did grant for satisfying his minde, yet I might doe what I list: and that they all knew the Frigats might for all my riding at the Barre come in and out on each side me. Answere was returned it was unfit for me to halt, but whatsoever I promised, I must maintaine, though it were to the losse of my life, and all under my command: and that I would not be hired to fight with the Portugals, which is contrary to my Kings Commission (unlesse they

Banian Superstition.

[I. iv. 503.]

gave me first cause) not for the World; neither would I bee withheld from fighting with them if they provoked me, not for his wealth, which difference it seemes he tooke small notice of; but that we refused to fulfill his desire, he was much moved, and in all things crost our proceedings all that he might: insomuch that he had almost queld all former conceived hopes of happie Commerce in this place. Continually devising what to doe, or what course to take, this meanes failing us, as I see no likelihood to the contrary, I made inquision of Gengomar and Castelletta, also of Gogo, but could heare small incouragement for transportation to seeke better dealing; so with doubts wee rested perplexed a long while, yet returning to our businesse at the shippes.

The seven and twentieth, in the morning Nicholas Ufflet going ashoare found all the people of Swally departed thence in the night: he demanding the reason, they told him that the Nabob had expresly commanded them so to doe, as also the people from the Tents. hereupon hee inquiring further thereof, was certified that our Merchants were stayed [illegible]. and that attempting to passe over the bridge paire were perforce with-held, and received some store Pikes, by the guard thereto appointed by the Nabob, with [illegible] in company to attend upon them, the Gunners Boy and his companion formerly supposed to have beene runne away, were also well beaten and withheld as the rest.

The one and thirtieth, we began to take in fresh water, because our stay heere was so uncertaine, not knowing how suddenly our departure might bee. This day Thomas Smith the Masters Boy being swimming about the ship, had most of the out-side of his thigh bitten away by a great Fish which pulled him under the water, yet he comming up againe swamme to the shippe side, and got up to the bend, where as soone as he was come up, he presently sounded. Then the Chirurgion brought him into the Gunners Roome to see what might be done for his recoverie: but the issue of bloud had beene so great *Ravenous fish.*

that they could not revive him, but presently dyed, and towards night was buried ashoare.

The second of November towards night Master Aldworth and Master Elkinton came downe from Surat, where they had left Master Ensworth very sicke: they declared unto me their proceedings with the Nabob as formerly, and of their reconciliation, with large promises of future good respect, with free Trade throughout all their Countries. This hard measure hitherto offered us by the Nabob, I cannot attribute unto any hatred or ill will borne to our Nation, but his owne doubt and feare of us, least I should joyne with the Portugals against him: which feare was the more increased in him, in that I would not agree to fight against Damon. And this suspition and doubt was the more increased by a Knavish device in *Jesuites tricks.* the subtile and lying Jesuites, who tooke occasion by my denyall, voluntarily without cause to fight against the Portugals at Damon, or otherwise. They pretended a Letter from the Vice-Roy, to give notice to the Nabob, that unlesse he made peace with them, that both he and the English his friends should joyne together and come against Surat; which Devilish device did us much hinderance in our businesse, by the Nabobs continuall doubt, which he made of our friendship towards them. And besides unfortunately by their extreame unkind usage Master Aldworth in the middest of his haste, and thinking to qualifie their rigorous courses, and yet altogether ignorant of the practice of the Jesuites, in threatning-wise wisht them to take heed, that by their ill usage of us, they doe not force us to joyne with the Portugals against them; which proved a kind of confirming the Jesuits former report from the Vice-Roy, as altogether making against us. Likewise, hee forbade all Trade with our people aboord, which at first wee likewise thought had proceeded out of his troublesome humour to crosse us; but afterwards we were advised the contrary by Thomas Kerridge his Letter, who declared that he and all Sea-port Governours, had expresse Commandement from the Mogoll, not

to suffer any Trade with us, till they had made choise of all strange things that we bring, and they to buy them for the Kings use, and to send it unto him.

The third, I called a Councell concerning our businesse, viz. how farre wee might proceed in their aide against the Portugals, and examined our Commission in that point; also we appointed the Merchants for the severall places of imployment, aswell those that were to stay heere, as those also that were to proceed on the Voyage. The goods that were at Surat of the twelfth Voyage came aboord, which was of Indico sixtie Bales, and Cotton Yarne eleven Packes.

The sixteenth, whereas my desire was to have beene ashoare amongst our Merchants, to have borne some [I. iv. 504.] stroke in the ordering of our businesse at Surat, and the rather considering the turbulent head-strong and haughtie spirit of ( ) ever striving to sway all things according to his owne will, and distastfull to others which without private respect aymed at the common good, whose better discretion hath beene inured to more humilitie. But the estate of our businesse so uncertaine, partly by the uncertainty of the Nabob and people here, and partly in regard of the Portugals (which we daily doe heare are arming us) besides I understand the Nabob makes question of restitution of the goods taken by Sir Henrie Middleton in the Red Sea, at under rates as they say, though I know they had goods for goods to a halfe pennie: yet not knowing what might come of it, I thought best to keepe my selfe neerest my charge, and referred all things ashoare to the care of such Merchants in generall as were of my Councell, and in whom for most part I had constant affiance.

The two and twentieth, I finished my Letters for Persia, viz. one for the Company, one for Sir Robert Sherley, and another for advice to Richard Steele.

The three and twentieth, Lacandas the Banian came downe with newes of some discontent or hard speeches that had past betweene the Nabob and the Merchants, *Rude dealing.*

but now that they were reconciled and friends; the cause was, for that Master Edwards would not let him see the Presents, which at last he was driven to yeeld to. All the chiefe Merchants wrote unto me severally that there was a certaine report that the Vice-Roy was arming against us. It pleased God to call to his mercie Master Ensworth and Timothy Wood, both in an houre. John Orwicke, Robert Young, and Esay But set forwards to provide such Clothes and Cotton Yarne, as wee formerly agreed on.

Nabobs gifts. The five and twentieth, Master Edwards wrote me of the comming of three great men with seven Firmanes from the Mogore, in whose presence the Nabob bestowed on him eight hundred & fifty Mamudies: ten fine Bastas, thirtie Topseeles, and thirtie Allizaes: he further gave to Master Elkington and Master Dodsworth ten Topseeles, and a Cloke to Master Aldworth, & another to Master Elkington, Master Dodsworth having had one before: he promised free Trade in all places under his command, and good refreshing for our people aboord.

Crowther and Steele goe to Persia. The seven and twentieth, John Crowther came from Surat, who advised mee that the chiefe Merchants had chosen him to accompany Richard Steele into Persia, and therefore came to take his leave of me, and to fetch his things from aboord. This day Master Edwards wrote to mee by Edmond Aspinol for fiftie Elephants teeth, and indifferently chosen in their size and bignesse, for there was a Banian Merchant in price for them all, if they could agree, which Teeth the same day were sent up to him.

Presents to the Generall. The sixth of December, the Nabob Mocrib Chan seemed now to be ashamed, for that he had not since my arrivall heere shewed me the least taste of courtesie; and therefore beeing desirous to excuse himselfe, intreated Master Elkington to accompany aboord the great Banian that brought our Teeth, and Lacandas the Banian Merchant of the Juncke of the King of Cushan, whom he made choice of, and entertayned (by reason of his former familiaritie with our people) to buy among them such Com-

modities as they had to sell, viz. Sword Blades, Knives, Looking-glasses. By them he sent me a Present of two Corge of course Bastas, ten fine Bastas, tenne Topseeles, ten Cuttonies and three Quilts, certifying mee that the Nabob was minded to come downe to see me within two or three dayes at the most. At their going ashoare I gave them five great shot. They told me that the Nabob heard from Goa, that for certaine, the Vice-Roy was preparing to come against us, with all the force hee could make to fight with us: likewise that the Nabob requested me that I would waft a ship or two of his off the Coast for two or three dayes, being bound for the Red Sea. But I answered, that having once put off from the Coast, the wind being adverse, I could not recover it againe: but if he would further our dispatch that we might be readie in convenient time, then would I doe any thing reasonable.

Newes of the Vice-Royes preparation against the English.

The ninth, the Nabobs sonne came to the water-side, but would not come aboord; whereupon I went ashoare to him, who against my landing sent a Horse to fetch mee, hee willed mee to sit downe upon the Mount with him, which I did. Then hee commanded part of his Horsemen to shew me some pleasure upon the sands, by warlike chasing each other, after the manner of Decanie, from whence they were: then he desired to heare some Ordnance goe off, and I gave him eleven shot. Hee at present would drinke no wine, but being departed, hee sent for it, and for a Fowling Peece which he found in the hands of one of our people, both which I sent him with a Bowle to drinke his wine.

Military sports on horseback.

§. II.

[I. iv. 505.]

The Portugals Forces, Acts, Attempts, Fight with the English, and disgracefull Repulse.

THe sixteenth, Master Elkington wrote me that the Nabob told him that the Portugall Frigats had burnt Gogo with many Gonges or Villages thereabouts, and tenne great ships, one whereof was the

Gogo burnt, & divers ships.

Rehemee, and one hundred and twentie small Vessels: and that he was displeased at me for not shooting at them when they past by us; which did renue his suspition of our friendship with the Portugals: to all which Master Elkington answered him, yet he could not rest satisfied.

Twentie two Portugall Frigats.

The three and twentieth came two Boates more for Lead. This day wee saw twentie two Frigats, who in the night came to anchor betweene us and the Rivers mouth, where they roade most part of the next day.

The foure and twentieth, in the morning we saw foure Boates comming downe the River towards us, who seeing the Frigats returned, two Frigats chasing them up the River: but seeing they could not fetch them up, went ashoare and fired two or three poore houses, and tooke away two or three head of Cattell, and so returned backe to their Company, who in the after-noone went up into the River together.

The five and twentieth, in the morning early we saw five or sixe Frigats under saile an houre or two: after, we perceived a small Boat under saile standing towards us, but was presently chased by two Frigats, the men in the small Boat runne her aground, and forsooke her, so that the Frigats could not float where she lay, the tyde ebbing so fast, therefore they departed without doing any further harme unto her.

The sixe and twentieth, in the morning I sent the Hope to the Northwards a good way from the rest of the Fleet, to see if the Portugals would charge upon her.

Portugall bravado.

The seven and twentieth, early in the morning, the Frigats came and made a bravado before our ship, and then before the Salomon, which was next unto us, and from her to the Hope which roade a great way from us, who drove directly upon her with all their men stowed, not a man to be seene. The Master twice hailed them, but they would not speake, whereupon they let flye at them with their Bow-pieces, having no other to ply upon them, which made them with some losse to depart: the Master doubting, that if hee had not shot, they would

Their repulse.

have boorded him, or mischieved him by fire, they comming upon the advantage both of winde and tyde, that none of the rest of the ships could come to the rescue; and in such sort right a head, that hardly can he traverse any piece of Ordnance at them. In the after-noone I sent the Salomon to accompany the Hope, who went to the North-wards of her, and made five or sixe shot at the Frigats, who roade at anchor hard by the Hope. But we did not perceive any hurt she did them: wherefore I commanded my Gunner to shoot a Peece to warne them to give over, whereupon the Salomon stood in againe and came to anchor.

The eight and twentieth, in the morning I went in the Pinnasse aboord the Hope and Salomon, to understand the occasions of their shooting: and the Portugals seeing our Boates passe to and againe, removed in the afternoone, and roade a little without us to cut off all intercourse. In the meane time, came the former Boat which was chased ashoare aboord the Gift, and brought some Letters from Master Elkington. The Master sent the Bearer with the Letters to mee in the Hope, where having answered Master Elkingtons Letter, I sent him backe againe to the Gift, to goe thence in the night to Surat: but as the Gelliwat returned, the Frigats chased her, which I perceiving, caused to weave to the Gelliwat to returne, which they not seeing held on her way. But the Frigats held her so close that they were within shot of her, and made one faire shot at her, and had not the Gift let slip one Cable, and veered another, and plyed upon them with her Ordnance, it would have gone hard with them: which made them give over the chase not without some damage: and late in the night upon the tyde of ebbe, I commanded the Hope and Salomon to set saile and fall neerer to the other ships, and then I went aboord the Gift. *Other attempts.*

The nine and twentieth, I perceiving that my riding was of no availe to keepe the Frigats out of the River, because they could passe to and fro over the sands, where wanted water for my ships to swimme; and that no

Boates durst come to us to fetch our goods for feare of the Frigats; neither could I heare from our friends ashoare how all things past; therefore I set saile for Swally: but being but little wind and calme, it was the next day before we arrived there.

A Fleet of Frigats. The fourteenth of Januarie, we heard of the approach of many Frigats, which roade at the Barre till next day within night, and then in the darke came from thence, and roade within shot of us all night till the morning, when they weighed and went to the South-wards; whom I thought were the Mallabars, that the Nabob promised formerly to send mee: and therefore put forth a Flagge of Truce, and sent Master Spooner one of the Masters Mates towards them with the Gelliwat, and appointed him to have an eye backe to our signes that wee would make, if [I. iv. 506.] we mistrusted any thing. I seeing the Gelliwat so neere, and no shew of friendship from them in answer of ours, put forth my flag which before was taken in, and shot a peece of Ordnance for a signe to my Boat to come aboord, which presently upon sight thereof shee did, who was not scarce aboord, when our Centinell from top-mast head, *Another fleet of Portugall Frigats.* discryed another Fleete of Frigats, who afterwards met together at the Barre, and went altogether into the River: whereby I perceived they were Portugals, and was glad that our men and Boat so well escaped their hands. I thinking these Frigats were forerunners of greater forces, caused all the decks to be cleered, and the Ordnance freed, and all things else fitting both for the Ordnance, Shot, and Barracadoes to bee in a readinesse.

The seventeenth in the night, the Frigats came all forth of the River, they beeing in the morning at the point of the Barre.

The eighteenth, there came to the water side Maugie, the Banian Captaine formerly named, with an other great man, the sonne of Clych Caun, to whom I went ashoare: whither not long after word was brought me from aboord, *A fleet of ships.* that they discryed a farre off a Fleete of ships looming very bigge, which ashoare we could not see by reason of

the lownesse of the place. And after leave taken on both sides, he departed, and I returned aboord, causing all things to be set in a readinesse, which was speedily performed. Towards night, we made them to be sixe Gallions and three lesser shippes, besides the sixtie former Frigats, the two Gallies beeing not yet come: the tide being spent, they anchored till the next day.

The Portugall forces consisted of sixe Gallions, and three ships, and sixty Frigats, besides two Gallies.

The nineteenth, they plyed up to the entrance of our new Channell, where they came to an anchor, and the two Gallies came up to them, where one of the great ships beeing too forward, came too neare the sands, and touched, but soone got off againe. The Nabob sent the Sabandar, and divers other principall men of the Towne to the Vice-roy, with a Present of great provisions, they making some treaty of peace, but brake off, effecting nothing, great policie on both sides being used. On the Nabobs side, to the increase of my griefe: for he and all the Countrey in generall despaired of my being able to withstand so great forces, and began to make preparative before-hand to claw the Vice-roy with Presents: for I once overthrowne, his turne had come next, to endure a great assault, or to make such peace as the enemy desired. For, peace with them was it that stood with the Vice-roys policie most to desire, for the setting-trade a foote between them. On the other side, the Vice-roy seeing the tractablenesse of the Nabob, and his seeming desire to make peace, for the Present set light of it; supposing to have made it with great royalty and profit for his owne part, after he had over-throwne us, which he made no doubt easily to accomplish; which once performed, he expected greater Presents; and great submission on their parts to him being the conquerour. But it pleased God, who beheld the unjustnesse of his attempt, to turne it contrary to both their expectations; for the Vice-roy failing of his purposes in attempt against me, seeing he could not recover so much as a Boats thoule from me in all the time he spent, with losses and disgrace about it; afterward was forced to revive the former neglected motion of peace with the Nabob; which

Nabobs Present to the Vice-roy.

His feare and policie.

Vice-royes subtiltie. Presumption before.

Disgrace attending.

Nabob beeing strengthened with a Moneths experience, notwithstanding all their bragging threats, seeing he was not able to remoove our small forces one foot out of their place, gave answer: Since with so great an army he could not prevaile against foure Merchant ships, I wil make no peace with you: and so was the Vice-roy frustrated of both his hopes. Yet now after some digression, returning againe to my daily businesse.

Care and prevention of the Generall.

Formerly hearing of the Vice-royes forces to come, we imagined it would not bee so great as now by view it seemes, therefore high time to enter into best considerations, how by Gods help to resist the same. The odds and advantages he had over me, put me to my shifts in casting up all things that made against me, being overtopt by his forces, whom I esteemed furnished with the principall ships and meanes of India, and people of greatest ranke and valour in these parts, in likelihood too hard for us when we should put into the deepe water; nay, I know not how to put into deepe water, but they alwayes ready to intercept, over-charge, or force me a ground irrecoverable on one side or other: my disadvantages so great in putting out, and their smaller Vessels I knew might much with fire-workes, or otherwise hazard us within at anchor where we rode, where I had hope their great ships through the shoaldnesse of water, could not or durst not put in. The things with me to give me hope was, my people (though much with death and sickenes shortned) all from the highest to the lowest, seeme very couragious and comfortable; though (for the most) ignorant, either of the danger, or how to prevent it, yet pleasing to me to see their willingnesse. My care is not small, how to doe my best in maintaining the Honour of my Country, nor negligent in the memory of the estates and charge of my friends, and employers in this Journey; not onely for the hazard of this at present committed to my charge, but also all hope of future times, if I should now be overthrowne: by reason the enemie in getting the upper hand of me, would make his peace with these people upon what

conditions he lust, to the expelling of our Nation this Countrey for ever. And what my care was for the safetie of my people, I referre to the consideration of such fathers, as are tender over the safetie of their obedient children. All this while my whole powers so kept in action, that I found little time to converse, or almost shew myselfe sensible of the dangers approaching; yea, ever as I could be solitary or free from others; very earnestly craving aide and assistance from the Lord of hosts, and from that mightie and mercifull God, who hath manifold wayes formerly delivered me; often I say desiring his Majestie so to guide and direct me, that I might omit nothing which might tend to the safety of my owne charge, nor the danger of the enemy: and that God would grant my request, I had a strong confidence; and the same againe often queld by the assembly of my manifold and grievous offences, and but for Gods mercie sufficient to drowne the world; whereby forced afresh by prayer to pierce the heavens, and flie unto God for aide against both inward and outward assaults. I so resolved by Gods assistance what to doe, if my assistants the Masters of the Ships would yeeld thereunto; knowing if we should receive a foile riding at our anchor, our disgrace will be greater, and our enemies little abashed: but in mooving, I might moove the Vice-roy in greedinesse and pride, to doe himselfe wrong against the sands; hoping that that might bee an occasion whereby God might draw him to shorten his owne forces, and so might open the way for our getting out amongst the rest: which would rather have been for a necessitie, then any way hopefull: for at present our goods on the way, and daily by some and some expected to come hither, and if once gotten out, unlesse it had pleased God to make us conquerours, and drive the Vice-roy cleane away, I could not returne into my place, where onely (and no where else) I could take in my lading: I esteeming the Vice-roy to hold his honour in so high regard, that he must have been dead before he would have given way. I also, though helplesse, remembered two great advantages

[I. iv. 507.] *The best help in trouble.*

the enemie had of me in this warre. Ever before my people came to fight, they are first tired, or halfe spent with the labour of the ship, as heaving at Capstaine, and getting up our anchors, setting of sailes, and other labours, which greatly quells their courages, making them in hot Countreys both weary and faint; and then of necessitie must become souldiours: whereas the Vice-roy his souldiours come fresh to fight, beeing troubled with no labour, which is done by slaves and inferiour sea-people, which are never accompted companions of Souldiours. Secondly, if the Vice-roy loose many men in his ships, he may be supplyed againe out of his fresh supplyes, to be fetcht from their neerest townes by their Frigats, whereas we could not have one man supplyed, how many soever we should have slaine or disabled.

This present Thursday at night, I having no Merchants at all aboord, but all employed in the Countrey (besides those with Master Elkington at the house at Surat) I sent for all my Masters to supper, with some mates, where (as *Consultation.* the time served) I began speech of our present businesse, desiring every man to speake freely, how he thought best for us to worke, considering to the present straight we seemed to be in; alleadging my confidence to be (for all the bragging of these Portugals abounding in force) that God would not suffer their injurious attempts upon us, that have been tender not to wrong them in the East. I have had also a jealous conceit carried over mee by the Nabob, and principals of the Countrey, as though I had been confederate with the Portugals, for that I did not shoot at the saucy-governed bragging Frigats. I found all the Masters to my hearts desire, willing and tractable to whatsoever I should wish; and had some fewe speeches about our provident mooring, as also of the remooving somewhat lower downe. But ere long, I let them know my conceit, desiring their free opinion therein: which was, that now our ships were as fit for fight as we could make them, and our danger by night if we rode still (worke never so providently) to prevent is not small; therefore

I thought fittest in the morning at low water, to send downe one ship to ride, as we might have water enough at low water for all our ships: for then none can come to annoy her, which may prepare the Vice-royes mind to some attempt at high water, and as the Flood comes, the other three should beare downe against the streame (the spring now neere the highest) to proove what attempt the Vice-roy would give, to attend it, and worke accordingly as we shall see reason, in hope that God will put designes into the mind of the Vice-roy, that he may commit some error, to the weakening of his owne forces; which if he doe, then will be fittest time in the darke of the night following, to put out when it shall be unfit for them to come to saile to hinder us. Or if we see reason, we may with the wind worke every day to and againe with our sailes on the Flood, to be alwaies ready in action, when the tide is aloft, which may somewhat the courage of the people quell and dismay, though the Gallants seeme to thinke otherwise. This no sooner propounded, but liked for the best way, and so we agreed to proceed, and for that I found M. Molineux willing at low water in the morning to fall downe with the Hope, which was accordingly performed.

The twentieth in the morning, at low water I sent downe M. Molineux with the Hope, to prepare the Enemie to some attempt, when the tide shall be up; which beeing done, upon the flood we also with the other three ships stood after her. The Vice-roy and all the worthy Knights about him, supposed I had been flying, hastened also as the streame would permit them, towards the entrance to stop my comming forth; but contrariwise we all anchored short of the Hope, not altogether of purpose to leave her destitute of our helpe, but rather doubting of depth for our ships (so farre downe) to ride at low water. I was no sooner at anchor, and gone downe to my Cabbin, and set downe to write, to give my friends and Merchants ashoare notice of my purposes and resolution, howsoever it might please God to dispose of me; and

that they might know it to be no rashnesse, but in good discretion to tend upon my best advantages to prejudice
[I. iv. 508.] my enemies; but presently I had notice, that three ships with most of the Frigats were before the wind, running
The fight with the Hope. stem-long aboord the Hope, and the Gallions after them, so farre as the sands gave leave. We assayed to weigh our anchor, but time not permitting, wee cut Cable, and set for the Hopes rescue, but the Enemies ships were aboord her, and entred their men before we came sufficiently neere them; their men being entred with great shew of resolution, but had no quiet abode there, neither could rest in their owne ships, nor make them loose from the
Portugals losse by slaughter, sea, and fire. Hope, for our great and small shot; so that when the principall were kild, the rest in great number, for quietnesse sake, leapt into the Sea, where their Frigats tooke many of them up. But first of purpose to have burnt the Hope with them, they made preparation to fire their owne ships, which was well performed without harme to the Hope, (praised be the Lord of heaven) for so soone as the fire was wel kinled, the ships of fire were let loose, and drove a ground on the sands, where they burnt till the flowing water came and quencht them; whiles day light lasted, we continued changing of shot in all our ships with the Gallions, they being on the out-side of a bit of sand, and we on the in-side; by which they did little harme to our Hulles, but to our ropes and sailes and head. In this conflict besides them which were wounded, we lost five men, by great mischance the Hopes main top, top-saile, top-mast, and shrouds came a fire, and burnt away, with a great part of the maine mast, by the fire-works that were in the said top, the man being slaine that had the charge thereof. This mishap kept us from going forth into deepe water to try our fortunes with the Vice-roy, but were put to our shifts, not knowing how, or by what meanes to get the said Mast cured.

The one and twentieth, I sent to weigh the anchor we had cut the day before. The two and twentieth, I understood that many great men, with five or sixe hundred

horse, and a Portugall Father came downe to Swalley, to send on the morrow the Father with three or foure principall Moores, to conclude a peace betwixt them: and the Nabob sent me word that he sought no such thing, and was resolved to make none, but wherein we should be included. He also granted me what Timber we should want, which we made use of. Likewise we were promised provisions. The Portugals continued quiet. ording

Jesuites venime.

The five and twentieth, the Muccadam of Swally came to me, and told me that the former Father had sent to intice him to poison the former Well, where hence we had our water, which he would not yeeld unto, and therefore had put into the Well some live Tortoises, who would by their death demonstrate the poysoning thereof, if it should by them be performed. At night came part of the hundred and seventie bales of Indico to the water side, which was presently fetcht aboord. Isaac Beg sent me a Present of the fruits of his owne garden. This day came downe the rest of the Timber for the Hopes Mast.

The seven and twentieth, I sent all our Boats to sound the Swach at low water; chiefly to keep the Enemie alwayes ignorant of what I intended: whither was sent by the Enemy to prevent them, one Gally and five Frigats, thinking to cut off our Boats, whereof they failed, as of all other things they attempted.

The eight and twentieth, the Nabob sent to the Vproy great store of provision, Goats, Bread, Plantans, with a banquet of sweet meates. Cogenozan sent the Present of five Bullocks. Divers of our men died of Fluxe and diseases.

The one and thirtieth in the morning, we received aboord from Cambaya fiftie bales Indico. In the afternoone came Cogearson Allee aboord, who presented me with divers things, viz. Goats, great store of Bread, Rostmeat, Plantans, and Sugar, &c. With him came an old acquaintance of mine, a Persian, he reported unto me that there is newes come from Damon, that the Portugals carried thither three hundred and fiftie men to be buried,

Newes of Portugals slaine.

and that this newes is most certain: and by our estimate, there cannot be lesse then an hundred more kild and burnt in their ships, besides those drowned, which the tide did cast up ashoare. They also related to me, that not onely here in India they found opposition, but also the Persians against Ormus, and the Malays at Malacca, are in armes against the Portugals: and whereas there had been speech of a peace to bee concluded betweene the Viceroy and Mocrib Can, he wisht me to assure my selfe it was broken off, and would none be. I found his love, and tooke great content in his long staying with mee, whose presence I thirsted to see, and till now he could never get leave of the Nabob to come to see mee (which without no man dare, or will be so bold) who proceeds by the great charge he hath from the King, that all things of worth, should be procured by the Nabob for the Kings use; which holds him in such doubt and jealousie, least any thing should passe by any other meanes to his disgrace, whereby he is inforced to use strange and severe courses to restraine the same. The day being farre spent, I returned him with a Present, gave money to all his people, let him see the cast of the Bullets of some of our Great Ordnance; they tooke their leave and departed.

[I. iv. 509.]

§. III.

Portugall supplyes, Fire-boates frustrated, seeke peace and refused, their departure: Enterview of the Nabob and Generall: departure of the English.

February 3. THe third of Februarie, there came to the water side twentie foure Bales Indico, seven packs white Bastas, seven packs blacke Bastas, sixe packs Cotton-yarne, foure packs blue Bastas, three packs Caudikens, one pack Crecany, al which were presently fetcht aboord: this day also the Vice-royes supplyes came in sight, which were two ships of burthen, two Junkes, and eight or tenne of the Countrey Boates. The Nabob sent

Supplyes sent the Vice-Roy.

Lacandas to informe me, that these supplyes were not for warre, but fild full of combustible matter to fire, and so to be let drive with the tyde upon our ships in the night; which advise I was glad to understand, and addressed my selfe also to prevent that, and all other their attempts with smaller ships. The Spring now neere the highest, and fittest for their assaults, which every tide I expected: and to shew that I was in a readinesse to intertaine them, as also how little I cared for them (having all the time formerly ridden without the like) I purposed and performed the setting and cleering our watch, Morning and Evening, with a Volley of shot from every ship, and the best Peece in my shippe directed to the Prow of the Vice-roy, which I did to daunt the courage of them hee must employ, and to try his temper, whether it would make him angry or no: and I still thinke it prooved to good end. It pleased God this day at night, when I had least leasure to mourne, to call to his mercie my onely Son George Downton, who early the next morning was buried ashoare, and the Volleyes aforesaid, appointed to try the temper of the Vice-roy, served also to honour his buriall.

The bravers braved.

Death of the Generals son.

This morning also came to me on Mousa Attale a Malabar Captaine (with his troope attending) to visit me, expecting some businesse this day by the Portugals to be attempted; whom I intertained with all kind respect, and by conference made the best use of his company that I might; by drawing from him the description of the principall Ports and Harbours in his Countrey, and manifesting the desire I had to be acquainted with him, and to intertaine love, league, and familiaritie between the English and them, with a mutuall trade and traffique one with another: the which with great desire he seemed to imbrace, willing me to give him some Letters of my hand, for their ships to carry to shew to my Country-men, wheresoever they should meet them: which I delivered, as also a Letter for him to moove their King for the kind usage of our Nation, whensoever any of our ships should arrive in any of his Harbours, and so after leave taken, he

departed, I presenting him with a Sword blade, and three or foure knives. The Master of the Hope complained, that besides those presently kild, he had many hurt, bruised, and disabled for service: whereupon I sent him for supply, three men from the Gift, foure from the Hector, and foure from the Solomon.

Reisbutes assault.

The fifth, I received letters from M. Aldworth from Baroch, who writes of their arrivall there, and that the day before, nine Courses from Baroch, they were set upon by two hundred theeves, Rashpooses, with Pikes, small shot, and Bowes and Arrowes: and skirmishing a little while with them, they fled, three of them being killed, and more wounded, they having shot Humfrey Elkington thorow the thigh, and killed one of the horses that Surder Canne sent to guard our men; and Master Aldworthes horse likewise received a shot. The Nabob sent me word that the Vice-Roy would assault this day, and therefore sent Gogenozan to guard the Land; who came to the water-side and sent his sonne Mamod Jehad aboord to see mee, with a Caveleer, called Kemagee, the sonne of Leckdarsee, Raspooso of Guigomar, or Castelletto (who maintained warre with the Mogore and Portugall together a long time) they entreated leave to see and partake in the fight: who seeing no attempt that day given, stayed aboord all night; and the Raspoose seeing the backwardnesse of the enemy, went the next day ashoare: but the other desirous to see the issue thereof, stayed two or three dayes longer aboord; and then seeing nothing would bee done by the enemie, he departed.

Policie of the Portugalls.

The eight in the fore-noone, we received more Indico aboord. In the after-noone all the Frigats, with the two Junckes and two Gallyes, came driving up with the flood, making shew of some attempt at the instant, either by fire, (which I most doubted) or otherwise: whereupon we all weighed to goe nearer to them, who no sooner perceived it, but they altogether made away as fast as they might, and we came to an anchor not farre from our former place. This device was nothing but to make us think

that those Fire-boats should come from the Northwards, that we might not mistrust their comming from the Northwards: and therefore the next day against night, they assembled both Junckes, Frigats, and Gallyes all together, a little without the sands, to take away all suspition of the North from us: which I well perceived, and did alwayes resolve, that that way was the place of most danger for us: And therefore gave a speciall charge of good looking out both wayes, but chiefely that way: which accordingly fell out; for that a little within night we did discerne [I. iv. 510.] them (betweene us and a great light to the Westward, upon the Iland of Gogo) creeping to the Northwards upon the flood, and then upon the last quarter ebbe, about ten of the clocke in the dark of the night, before the rising of the Moone, there came driving downe two Fire-boats, being towed by Frigats, whom we discovered before they came neare us, and plyed at them both with our Ordnance and small shot, whereby wee beat off the Frigats that towed them, who durst adventure no further with them, but turned them off, who came driving with the tide a prettie distance from the other. The first drove cleere of the Gift, Hector and Salomon, and came thwart the Hopes Hause, and presently blew up, and with the blow much of their ungratious stuffe: but (blessed be God) to no harme to the Hope, for that by cutting her Cable, shee cleared her selfe. The latter came likewise upon the quarter of the Hope, and then flamed up, but did no harme, driving downe the ebbe, and came foule of us againe on the flood, the abundance of fewell continually burning, which our people in our Boats towed ashoare, and the former suncke downe neare us by day-light. This day I received a letter from Master Aldworth, who writes of the receit of a letter from Thomas Kerridge, specifying that Nicholas Whittington is distracted, and out of his right sences, and that he writeth somewhat doubtfully of Richard Steele.

Firy stratagem prevented.

The tenth at night, neare about the same time as before, there came two Fire-boats together, towed by foure or five

Two Fire-boats more.

Frigats, which bore directly upon the Hector: but as soone as we discovered them, the Gift and the Hector let drive at them, both with great and small shot, that the Frigats which towed them, forsooke them, and forced the actors thereof to give fire sooner then they would, and so turned them adrift: who comming burning directly towards her (but the wind being stiffe, drove them to leeward of her) within halfe an houre after wee perceived a great many Boats driving right with the Hector, at whom they and we discharged, which againe made the Frigats forsake them, and also those appointed for to act it, sooner they they expected, whereby they gave fire only unto two of them, being foure of them chained together: but the Hector edging to windward (and it pleased God to send a stiffe gale of wind at present, which drove them to Leeward off her) our Gunner made a shot at one of the Boats unfired, and struck her, whereupon shee tooke fire, and the vehemencie of the flames reached unto the fourth, and set her a fire also, and so they drove ashoare hard by our landing place. My Pinnasse took three of the actors in a small Cannow, wherein they thought, the exploit being done, to have escaped. Two of them were brought aboord me, and the third was left aboord the Hector: and the Gelliwat returning aboord, found another which shee brought with her; one of them had his shoulder shot thorow. Thus it pleased God to disappoint all the malitious practises of our enemies against us.

Other Fire-boats.

The eleventh, the Vice-Roy seeing God crossing him in all his injurious attempts, set saile and fell downe into the Barre, where he anchored. The cause of his anchoring there, I was desirous to understand; I doubting it was for no other purpose, then to attempt the spoile of Surat: but I resolved, if he should so doe, to put out with my ships, and so to set upon his Fleet (which would make his enterprise against Surat to bee given over) being desirous to assist the place where wee had so great a stocke, and so many of our Merchants. But the Vice-Roy would not trust mee so much, as to unman his ships, lest I should

come against him; and therefore sent all the Frigats at night into the River, with some to capitulate about a peace, whereof he had flat answere to the contrary, as aforesaid. *Vice-Roy seeketh peace and is refused.*

The twelfth, Lacandas came downe, informing me from the Nabob (he being so assured by the Jesuits, with whom he alwayes kept faire weather for his better securitie, if wee should be put to the worse) that there were sixe or eight Frigats gone to the Northwards, with foure or five Fire-boats to be let drive among us in the night: and therefore wished carefully to looke out, for that it should be when we should least suspect. I allowed of his kindnesse, was glad of his carefull regard, although needing no such admonition, suspecting such practises as well when they were out of sight, and furthest from us, as when they rode hard by us. *The Jesuits factors of State, and Merchandise affaires in the East-Indies.* *Other Fire-boats.*

The thirteenth, for as much as Frigats or other vessels in the offing could not so well discerne the place of our ships, in the darke night, for the shadow of the shoare, though very low; therefore in the times of their hellish Gun-powder practises, they had lights for ayme given them ashoare, where fittest to come in. Now night by night we saw the like, in the like place as before; therefore esteeming some of their creatures againe to give ayme for their comming to like practises, though no vessels seene by day-light. And being formerly warned, as aforesaid, to looke out for like attempts, in hope to take hold of this Fire-man, at night I sent William Gurdin ashoare with twentie men, shot and pike, to incompasse and take the blaser of the said fire, supposing it to be some traytor inhabiting these nearest parts: who in his passage comming neare it, it would seeme presently out, and againe at an instant at another place contrary to their pursuit, and so playing in and out with them so long, that in the end they gave it over, esteeming it some delusion of the Devill, not knowing otherwise how to conjecture thereof. *Craft and subtilties of devils, and men, prove Ignes fatui & frustrate.*

This present night the Vice-Roy set saile from the Barre, leaving in the River some twentie of his Frigats, which *Vice-Roy departeth.*

continued the place, shifting to relieve each other sometimes more, and sometimes lesse, and kept in the Mallabars Frigats, which were there in service for the defence of the Towne. [I. iv. 511.]

The fourteenth, the Nabob sent me a great man and a Souldier (whom in amitie hee named his brother) to visit me, who declared his opinion, that the Vice-Roy and all his Fleet were gone for Goa, but some Frigats to attend this River, and some to returne to Diu and Ormus: which opinion of his I see no reason for it, could not allow of; esteeming him rather gone some-whither to refresh his people, to strengthen them against our putting forth to sea, when no sands should hinder his greatest ships to encounter me. He also told me that the King had sent downe forces, both to take Damon, and all the Country along the Sea-side; in which I gave him courteous hearing, beleeving as I saw reason: and that they were more willing to give our Nation entertainment and trade, then ever they did the Portugals; the which I thought he might with very good reason speake, because the Portugall hath beene injurious alwayes, and hath exercised many vile things upon them. And yet unlesse we continue able to mate and withstand the Portugals forces; they will unsay that speech againe for their owne ease. After he had seene the ship, and viewed our Ordnance, and all our defencible preparations, hee desired leave to depart with his traine, which with all courtesie and our Boats, in best fashion was performed.

Now our daily endeavour is, and long since hath beene to the clearing and beginning to lade the Hope for England; which by the over-topping and threatning forces of the Vice-Roy formerly, with reason I could not resolve to doe, though time and libertie would for present have allowed the same: but by hastie snatches, as it came, ever we put it in confusedly (some into one ship, and some into another) not thinking fit in so casuall a time, to hazard all our Cargason in one ship. Besides, it was long before the Hopes burnt Mast was newly cured: and that

I resolved to send home the Hope, it was not altogether for that I esteemed her fittest of burthen for the stowing of our goods presently provided; but withall, by the many impediments and disabilitie in the ship, in and by the Master and Carpenter daily complained of, as that the poste within the Rudder was unsheathed (a strange and dangerous neglect, and over-sight) and therefore fittest soonest to be returned, and the losse of our Quick-silver in her, which lyeth upon her Keele and Billages, another important cause.

The eighteenth, the Nabob sent Cogearson Allee, the Sabandar, and other Merchants of Surat, to intreat my stay for fifteene dayes, which in no sort I would grant: then they importuned me for ten dayes, which yet by no meanes would I yeeld unto, shewing how great prejudice to my Voyage my stay heere so long might be. The cause of their request, was their feare lest the Vice-Roy after my departure should come against Surat with all his forces. Wherefore I considering the weight of this busi-nesse, and the prejudice it might be to our selves, and also being unwilling to send them backe with deniall, seeing them much discontented thereat as a disgrace unto them, and being loath at my departure to give the Nabob any distast therein, that have done to my uttermost hitherto to give them all content possible; and knowing what future hindrance it might be to our businesse ashoare: and last of all, seeing there was six dayes worke of the ten to be done in the Hope, before we could be possibly ready; I at length (when they were altogether out of hope thereof, and upon departure) condescended to their request, whereat they were exceeding joyfull, and departed.

Feare for Surat.

The two and twentieth at night, I received a Letter from Surat, informing me of the Nabobs comming to see me the next day.

The three and twentieth, in the morning, came downe two Elephants and six Camels, bringing his Tents and other provisions.

The foure and twentieth, Master Aldworth came downe

with the rest of the Merchants to finish all businesse with me.

The five and twentieth in the morning, the Nabob came downe with a very great traine, and sixe Elephants more, and had beene two houres ashoare before I knew thereof: which when it was told me, being sory for my neglect of him, I sent Master Aldworth, Master Elkington, and M. Dodsworth ashoare unto him, to hold him in discourse untill I came unto him, which was not long after; I purposed to go unto him (as a sonne unto his father) in my doublet and hose, without any armes or great traines, according to custome, thereby to shew my trust and confidence that I reposed in him: but my friends perswaded me to the contrary, that I should rather goe well appointed and attended on with a sufficient guard, to continue the custome. Whereunto I consented (though in conclusion, it repented me that I had not taken mine owne course) and went ashoare with about one hundred and forty men, of pike and shot, who at my entrance into the Nabobs Tent gave me a Volly of shot. The Nabob entertained me very kindly, seeming very joyfull of my comming ashoare to him: we sitting a while under a very faire Tent, open on all sides round about, environed with many people, as well of mine, as of his attendants. At length hee brought me into a more private roome neare adjoyning, having on his side onely Alle Canne, a great Persian Captaine, and the Banian Henie for his Interpreter; and on my side, Master Aldworth, Master Elkington, and Master Dodsworth: where hee conferred both of the estate of this Countrey at present, and also of our affaires. At length I demanded of him if he would go aboord with me to see the shippe; whereunto he very willingly consented. Then he presented me with his owne sword (accompanyed with many good words, telling mee that it was the custome of their Countrey, to honour Captaines with armes, that had deserved well) which as he told mee was made in his owne house, the hilts thereof being of massie gold, and in liew thereof I returned him my sute,

Enterview of the Nabob and Gen.

[I. iv. 512.] *Nabob giveth his Sword.*

being Sword, Dagger, Girdle and Hangers, by mee much esteemed of, and which made a great deale better shew, though of lesse value. We came both forth of the private Tent, and I walked downe to the water-side, there staying his comming; whither he sent mee a present of ten Cuttonee quilts, and twentie Topseells; and not long after came the Nabob himselfe, and then we tooke boat together and went aboord, where having shewed him the lying of our Ordnance, and all our war-like preparation for defence, I presented him with a very faire standing guilt cup with a cover, and certaine very faire knives, and a Rundlet of Muskadine, with some other toyes. Then he desired to see our Ordnance shoote off, and how farre they would carry their shot upon the water, and I gave him three. Then he would have taken leave, but I accompanied him to the shoare, and gave him at his departure eleven great shot. At our parting at the water-side, the Nabob gave me foure baskets of Grapes; he likewise gave the Gunners and Trumpeters between them two hundred Mamudies, and among the ships company five hundred Mamudies, and one hundred books of white Bastas, of two Mamudies a peece: and then after some complements we tooke leave one of the other, and departed. I rowed along the shoare for my better getting aboord, the tide running so swiftly, and saw Lacandas the Banian come running towards the Boat, being sent of the Nabob to know of me, if he should erect a Tombe over my sonne: I returned him many thanks, and willed Lacandas to tell him that I had alreadie begun it: then I returned aboord, and he went to Surat; and not long after his Tents were taken downe, and went after him with the rest of his carriages.

He goeth aboord.

The six and twentieth, the Nabobs sonne and sonne in law (a very ingenious yong man) came aboord to take their leaves of me: upon whom I bestowed some knives, and other things which I had left, which could not be much, having still had one great man or other to visite me, who seldome or never went away without some one

A.D. 1614.

present or other: so they viewed the shippe and departed.

Two Antelops.

The seventeenth, there came aboord unto me the three sonnes of Allee Canne, the two yongest first, and after them came the eldest, called Guger Canne, who as yet had never been aboord: He presented me with two Antelops, male and female, whereat I was glad, since I had sent to enquire for some to send home to Sir Thomas Smith, but could not procure any. I presented him with foure Spanish pikes with heads, and some other things of my owne, and shewed him all the ship, with our warlike preparation for defence, as also all our Ordnance; and a little while after he tooke his leave, and at his departure I gave him eleven shot.

March 3. The third of March in the after-noone, upon the tide of ebbe, and a small gale came up Northerly, to give steering way to our ships, we seeing our friends the Mallabars (which had desired to go with us) not attempting to come forth, we hastened to get up our anchors, and to set saile to proceed on our journey: yet seeing comming in from the Westward another Fleete of Portugall Frigats, I was willing to shew my best, in the view of the Countrey people, to hinder their comming into the river of Surat; which was nothing, for that there was roome enough for them to passe by us every way out of the reach of our shot; yet we shot at the nearest of them, without hope to shoote neare them, but only to shew our good willes, and for encouragement to our friends on land; as also for those which went alongst the Coast (as I esteemed) to give knowledge to the Gallions of our comming, that they might report also that we shot at their fellowes going to Surat: that they might also expect that wee cared the lesse for their greater strength. In our passage this night, we had divers flawes of unconstant winds, for which we came to anchor for a while. Afterwards seeing it blew steadie, though faint, wee set saile, continuing our course South by East alongst the shoare. At that time the day-light began to discover to us all things neare us; we descried

Their departure.

betweene us and the shoare our enemies forces of Gallions, and two Gallyes, all comming to saile presently after they saw us, and stood after us with a faint gale, we standing somewhat without our course with all our sailes, partly to gaine time to make our selves in perfect readinesse to fight, partly to refresh my people that had taken much paines the night past; as also the further I draw them off the Coast, the further they will be from fresh supplyes to be sent them. But ere long, the tide of flood being come, and little wind to hold our owne, we came to an anchor, while the enemie resting his hopes in the wind, kept longer under saile to his greater disadvantage. But I not taking it for an error in them, but of purpose to doe us more harme, it brought mee into a new and great doubt, which drew all my powers to devise how to prevent. This was, that now we were at sea, they meant to return to Surat with al their strength, and there to worke their wills on our friends and goods, which I had no meanes to prevent, but by following them; knowing they durst not unarme, nor unfurnish their shippes while I was in sight of them. But the time now grew so late, that I doubted by the most hast that I could make, I should hardly get off the Coast before the foule weather came; which put me into some hope, that the Vice-Roy being so great a Souldier, and so discreet a Gentleman, would not expose himself, his people and ships to such great perils as the hastning winter did threaten. While these things floted in my mind, the tide of flood was spent, and time to worke if we make use of the ebbe, we (to my great content) saw the Vice-Roy his Fleete standing towards us with a fresh gale of wind. Wee likewise set saile, and stood away our owne course before him all that tide, and so spent the night to the best advantage, partly by sailing, and partly by stopping.

The enemies forces descried.

[I. iv. 513.]

The fifth in the morning, wee saw the enemie had gotten but little ground of us: This day also we spent, as before, in riding and sailing, as time served to our best advantage: and for that the Hector went best, and the

Hope (logloaden) worst, I sent to the Hector to take in her Boat, and to prepare for the Hope. I sent to the Hope to give directions to hasten to the Hector, to be towed, and to the end she should have nothing to hinder her, I had her Boat to tow at my sterne, and so spent the night working for the best, the wind fresh wee had no cause to anchor. This night the Vice-Royes ships got much ground of us: by this I was gotten well off from the shoare, and also an ende to the Southwards, and by his working I recovered some assurance to my conceit, that these forces would not this yeare annoy Surat: and for my businesse for encountring the enemie, I had by good leasure well considered how to contrive it, and withall I had considered of the cases of either, and the difference betweene the Vice-roy and me, I meane in our severall satisfactions and contents: My comming hither was by the authoritie of my King, and to follow the designes of my Imployers, which was in Merchants ships fitted for defence, and to endeavour by honest commerce, without striving to injury any, which God hath of his tender mercie and bountifull blessing so assisted me, that we have performed beyond my former conceit, and in most things hitherto God hath graunted me my hearts desire: and am now in a good way upon my way with the same: with which without further tempting of God, or presuming of Gods continuing mercies in further deliverances, if I by pride swarve from what is just, and before him to be allowed, whose mercies have been free, and without any cause in mee for his owne Name sake: therefore I hold it fit to proceede soberly, and attend upon the Enemies attempt, yet not in base manner, but in a warlike sort.

Wise and sober course.

On the other side, the unhappy Vice-roy a famous valiant man, therefore now sent by his Master the King of Spaine with Ships (the principall of India) with men (all the Gallants and principall Braggards of those neerer parts of India) what to doe? Not onely to disturbe or intercept the peaceable and quiet trade of the English

Thankfull consideration of Gods assisting our equitie and punishing the Portugall pride.

with the subjects of the Mogol, a great King in his owne Countrey, but to take or burne them: so little regard is had to the effusion of Christian blood; never looking towards the judgements of God, nor remembring that as men doe to others, they must expect to be done to. This Captaine was furnished with abundance of all things the Countrey might yeeld, and wanted nothing but an upright cause, fit for God to favour. He came to the place where he found what he sought, foure poore Merchants ships, a fewe men, and many of them sicke and dead; and those Braggards measured our minds by their owne, thought we would never stand out against so powerfull a force, as they esteemed they had; and the conceit of that, set those Coxcombs a madding to be doing mischiefe, to encrease their pride, which they intitle honour. I seeing the difference, and the cause I had to pray to God my onely refuge, whom it pleased to grant the request of me his poore and unworthy servant: in consideration whereof, I put forward the businesse, and as it were, baited my hooke, and the Fish presently ranne thereat as aforesaid.

They came three Ships, and thirtie or fortie Frigats, as I imagined; with a veaze laid the Hope aboord with the flowre of all their Gallants, where by the hand of God in their amazed carriage, they received such a blow, as few (and they by their extraordinary chance) escaped with safetie, and the three ships burnt. Thus it pleased God to crosse their first attempt, and never after, though they beleaguered us round about by sea, with all their sorts of shippes for many dayes together, our people still in action, and halfe tired with continuall labour, some receiving in goods; yet, Blessed be God, they could never get the advantage to winne from us the vallewe of a louse, unlesse our Bullets which we lent them, his fire-boats failing, and nothing prospering; and once in foure and twentie houres, I sent him a defiance for many dayes together, to try his temper; all which must needs lie heavie on the stomacke of a Gentleman of so great

courage. I esteeme now he will hazard much to recover some of his honour formerly lost (but craving pardon for this my digression, I will now returne and proceed with my former businesse.)

Wherefore the sixt in the morning betimes, I sent for my Master, and let him know that my purpose was, that when the Vice-roy should come up neere with us, that we would all at once cast about with him, and charge him first on the sudden, to strike an unexpected terror in the hearts of his people, who now are bragge, seeing us going away before them. And to that end I now went aboord every ship, to give them all directions; and more, that I would cause the Hector, with her Pinnasse and mine, to take in an hundred fardels of the Hopes goods to lighten her, and mend her going: which businesse (by reason of my Pinnasse to helpe) I stayed to see it done; so that it grew to be mid-day, neere which time, my ship which I left farre asterne for my better comming aboord, strooke saile, whereat (as wee imagined) the Vice-roy seeing the Admirall strike her sailes to fall a sterne, might take it of purpose to stay for him in contempt, he with his Consorts bore up with the shoare, and gave over the hope of their fortunes [I. iv. 514.] by further following of us: which course I like very well, since he is so patient; for there is nothing under his foot that can make amends for the losse of the worst mans finger I have. Besides, I wish no occasion to fight; *Rash fighting is rather humour then honour.* for that which I have alreadie paid for, I am already possest on, and I am so farre from the humour to fight for honour, unlesse for the Honour of my King or Countrey, that I had rather save the life or lives of one of my poorest people, then kill a thousand Enemies. Having now finished with the Vice-roy, I set my selfe to write Letters for the dispatch of the Hope, yet still thinking to have haled into the Bar of Goa, to proove if I could have left some Commendations there for the Vice-roy at his returne: this was my great desire that I long promised, yet so long trifled in dispatch of the

Hope, that wee were shot farre past it before wee had finished the same.

The rest of this Journall is * wanting; for hee is also wanting which should have perfected it. But alas, this is the imperfection of Mans best perfections, Death lying in ambush to intrap, whom by open force (you see) he could not devoure. He dying in this Voyage, and following his sonne, hath left this glorious act, Memoriæ Sacrum, the Memorable Epitaph of his worth, savouring of a true Heroike disposition, Pietie and Valour being in him seasoned with Gravitie and Modestie. We will not with heathen Poets cry out of cruell immature Fates: for Death hath prevented unto him possibilitie of disastrous events (which as shadowes follow the bodies in greatest light) and leaving his living Memory here, hath lifted his lively part, and vertuous Spirit, to receive the applause, and praise, and reward of God and with God, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

**Since this was written, I have obtayned M. Elkingtons Journall, wherein you may proceed with this worthy Captain to Bantam, and thence to his Grave: his History succeeding this, as himselfe did in the Generals place of command.*

Chap. XII.

Relations of Master Elkington and Master Dodsworth, touching the former Voyage.

§. I.

Collections taken out of the Journall of Captaine Thomas Elkington, successour to Captaine Nicholas Downton in the Voyage aforesaid, written by himselfe.

THe first of January 1613. the new ship built at Detford, was lanched and called the New-Yeares-Gift. The third of March, we came to an anchor in the Downes. The thirtieth of June, we set saile from the Bay of Soldania. Heere at this time which is their dead of Winter, it was temperate, rather inclining to cold then heate. We had little refreshing but water and fish. The

Soldania.

people are wretched, neither sow nor plant, dwell in small Cottages made of Hides, and so joyne many of them in a round Circle, having their Cattle in the middest. They are browne, but by greasing themselves become almost blacke, and in the wind unsavourie a doozen yards off, filching, trecherous, unworthy so good a Land, which in likelihood with culture would be very fertile.

The cry of bloud.

The sixth of August wee had sight of Saint Laurence. This night Robert Waters departed, a man long diseased in bodie, disturbed in minde by torment of conscience, for a man by him killed in Virginia, (cowardly commjng behind him, and knocking him on the head) for which hee obtayned his pardon in the Court of men, but in the inward and spirituall was thus pursued to his death.

S. Augustine.

Here in the Bay of Saint Augustine we wooded and watered: Some went up the river and came to their houses or sheads, which were small things set up with Canes, and covered with a thing like a hurdle, made of the leaves of the Palme Tree. The people fled and left all, that is, nothing but a little Cotton spunne, or on the Distaves, with a few necessaries. The eleventh and twelfth, we bought Cattell in exchange of Silver Chaines, they taking the value of twentie pence, or two shillings in a Chaine for an Oxe, which in money would cost five or sixe shillings. They are very good, fed (it seemes) within the land, for we saw nothing but sand and wood without any grasse at all.

The ninth of September, we had sight of Socatora, and passing by Tamarind Bay, came to an anchor in Delisha.

**Of Occurrents here, read the former and next following Discourse.*

The one and twentieth of October, we came into the Road of *Swally. After the fight on the twentieth of January, in which three Portugall ships were burnt, and two Frigats sunke, and Timber procured for the Hopes maine Mast, which the Nabob caused to be done so warily, that it seemed he was afraid lest the Portugals might know it. On the foure and twentieth, came a

Jesuite with another fellow from the Vice-roy to intreate of peace with Magribocan, who on the seven and twentieth, [I. iv. 515.] sent the Vice-Roy one hundred and fiftie Maunds Meale, one hundred sheepe, twentie five Maunds Conserves with Hens, &c. In the after-noone the Sabandar requested me to read a Letter from the Vice-Roy, which signified that whereas by the Padre hee was informed that the Nabob desired to make peace in his Masters name, and had appointed for treatie thereof the Sabandar, Isaac Beg, and Abduram, hee also had hearkened thereto and appointed three others to that businesse binding himselfe to performe their agreements.

On the one and thirtieth. The Sabandar came unto mee and told mee, that no peace could bee with the Portugals, they refusing to make any restitution for damages or goods taken, but rather required money of them: and that the Vice-roy had sent to all parts thereabouts for more forces. After their fire devices frustrated, they all set saile, both Ships, Junckes, Gallies and Frigats, and roade at the Barre of Surat. The Hector had taken one of their Frigats which was imployed to tow the fire-boats and in her seven men; three slaine, foure living. Soone after they departed: and we also weighed the second of March.

On the fourth, we descryed the Portugall Fleet, which presently gave us chase, and the next day also. On the sixth, the Generall came aboord us, to wish us to make readie, he purposing to turne and give the on-set on them: but about noone the Portugals bore up the Helme, and stood in for the shoare, and within three houres after we lost sight of them. The tenth, at night the Hope departed from us. The fifteenth, we saw three Spouts of water not farre from us, one whereof very bigge continuing halfe an houre. The nineteenth, we doubled Cape Comorine. *Spouts of water.*

The tenth of May, the wind and current against us, the Generall went to a greene Iland to the North of the Salt-hill, and there came to an anchor in twentie fathome *A.D.* 1615.

good ground sandie. Wee sought fresh-water but found none: wee saw Pigges and Hogs on the Iland, and gathered good store of Coco Nuts. About this Iland is good riding, beeing twelve fathomes within a stones throw of the shoare. The Pinnasse fetched water at an Iland foure leagues off, which was brackish. We found water in the Iland beyond the burning one. The second of June, wee came to an anchor in Bantam Road.

Masulipatan. The third of July, we weighed Mace and received Silke for the furnishing of the Salomon, for Masulipatan, wherein we concluded to send for Merchants, George Chancie, Ralph Preston, Humphery Elkington, Timothy Mallory, George Savage, and Robert Savage.

The eighth of July, we laded Porcelane in her: and then came newes by a Juncke from the Moluccas, of the Thomasine being there, and of twelve saile of Hollanders at Ternate, which hindered all men they could from Trade. The eleventh, our old house escaped great danger of a fire neere it.

Holland abuses of us at Macassar. On the twentieth, Master Jordan received Letters from Master Ball at Macassar, of the violent courses which the Flemmings used with him, beating him from thence, as also that they purposed with their whole force to come to take Bantam, and to place the King of Motran in the Government.

The one and twentieth, Master Bennet set saile in the Salomon. The five and twentieth, the Advice and Attendance came into the Road, having beene out of England eight moneths. At the Cape they met with the Globe and James, to whom they spared eighteene men. They departed towards England, July the seventeenth, and they hither, the eighteenth, meeting with a shippe neere the Cape, which we judge to be the Samaritan or Hope from England.

Generall Downton his death. *By order in the Box M. Elkington succeeded..* The fifth of August, I was aboord with the Generall then very ill, and the next day had word of his departure; whom followed on the eighth Master Evans the Preacher, and Master Hambden, as was supposed, by taking Loda-

num, they both being well a little before. On the eleventh, the Advice was dispeeded for Japan, with twentie two persons brought out of England, five Blackes and Fernando the Spaniard. *Advice goeth to Japan.*

The fourteenth, returned the Concord from Socodanna, and Macassar. That night was much Raine, Thunder and Lightning, the Church or Meskit of Bantam split in two with a Thunderbolt, and the chiefe Priest almost slaine, which the King and people tooke as an ill presage, and therefore determined to make peace with Jacatra. *Tempest.*

The sixteenth, the Thomasines Boat came into Bantam, with twentie two English, and five Blackes, which told of the casting away of the Thomasine on certaine flats, twentie two leagues from Macassar the night before, Wilson the Master being carelesse, and all the company asleepe, saving he which was at the Helme. The money they saved and brought with them. Master Baily signified also that the wracked company there enforced him to pay them their wages, which we caused them to restore. *Thomasine lost.*

The nineteenth, the Flemmings put into the Bilbowes three Blackes, that Master Baily brought with him from Celoar, pretending they tooke them climbing over their pales, also that they were taken from a place which they protected, and therefore would keepe them. We are many wayes most vily abused by them, nor is any way to right us except wee should goe together by the eares, this as we conceive being wrought of purpose, and the Blackes intised by them and willing to it, as being taken by force: which after that I knew, I was offended with Master Baily, being a meanes that whereas heretofore wee have beene in all places well intreated, that wee should be hated as Men-robbers, which the Flemmings to disgrace us will not let to blaze abroad. *Hollanders quarrels and abuses.* *M. Bailies injustice.* [I. iv. 516.]

The thirteenth of September, the watch espyed a fire in the thatch over Master Jordans lodging, which was soone quenched: it was throwne there purposely; we found the Cane wherein it was done, for which we suspected Francisco the Spaniard turned Javan. The same night

the like happened in two or three places of the Towne, but all prevented.

Puloway. The second of October, Sophonee Cossock, Merchant, came in a small Pinnasse from Puloway, one of the Ilands of Banda, with an Orancaya, to conferre of trade.

The two and twentieth, I with Master Pring and Master Boile, went ashoare to conferre with the Flemmish Generall, touching certaine idle complaints made by them of our Mariners: whom and the President I found very impatient, calling us insolent* English, and with threats, telling us our pride would have a fall, with many other disgracefull words; this being the entertainment of that borish Generall, Garrat Reynes, in his owne house; shewing the like or worse to Master Ball, comming aboord him at Banda, and foure of our men entreating passage with him thence to Cambello, upon no cause he carried them thither in the Bilbowes.

**Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes: Call whore first, Dutch policie. Is it such a crime to be English?*

Letter from Banda, with offer of Trade, &c. The third of November, I went ashoare: Captaine Jordan called together the Merchants, and sent for the Orancaya of Banda, having had his Letter translated, the effect whereof was, that in regard of the ancient friendship betweene the English and them, and especially with Captaine Keeling, withall being provoked by the cruelty of the Hollanders, their earnest desire was to trade only with the English for the Spices of Puloway, Pulerons and Nera: conditionally that the English would furnish them with Victuals, Munition and Ordnance, and helpe them to recover the Castle of Nera, and that some might bee sent to Banda, to conferre hereof with the Orancayas. To which was answered, that for helpe to recover Nera, we could not doe it without order from England; for Ordnance at present we were unprovided: what we could, we would, which was to furnish them with Victuals, and what other provisions we could, till further order out of England, and to trade with them for Spices, purposing to send a ship, and some to conferre with the Orancayas, how we should be secured, and whether they would permit us a Fort on shoare.

The two and twentieth, were five Hollanders riding without; foure of which came from Mauritius Iland (having come out of Holland nineteene moneths past) where they found Generall Butt cast away with three ships, two utterly lost, the third men and goods saved, the fourth went home with a Jury Mast, in company of a small Pinnasse that came thither by chance. One of these shippes that was at the Mauritius came away before the rest, whom they found driving to and againe before the Straights mouth, having lost one hundred and sixty men, and left in her but eight.

The five and twentieth, by a letter from Priaman, we had newes of the death of Master Oxewike and Samuel Negus.

§. II.

A Briefe of Memorialls observed and written by M. Edward Dodsworth, Merchant in the former Voyage, which returned in the Hope.

THe sixteenth of October, in the Bay of Surat, came aboord us Master Aldworth and Master Steele: and the next day in consultation it was demanded of Master Aldworth according to the Companies * Commission, concerning Paul Canning, of his cariage and respect with the King: to which he answered, That was well, and this good, till the Jesuits had made knowne that he was a Merchant, and not immediatly sent from our King; after that, neglected, since which he * dyed. Also he thought fit that some one of our Nation, of good respect, should remaine at Court, to right us in those wrongs which might bee offered. To this function Master Edwards was chosen as a man most answerable to the Companies Commission to go for Agra, some question being made whether he should proceed in name and profession of a Merchant (according to the strictnesse of the Commission) which Master Aldworth conceited would procure him disrespect with the King. After much

**This Commission had six questions, of which I take that which is fit for the publike.*

**Of his death you had before in N. W. his relations by poison, as was thought, from the Jesuits. T. Elk.*

contesting, some way was given to Master Edwards, lest they should seeme contrary to each other in their proceedings, it being before by some given out, that he was the Kings Messenger.

All this while wee heard not from the Cheefe at Surat, nor had any encouragement, or so much as refreshing, whereupon I was sent with a letter to the Nabob, and doubting to get into the Citie, was forced to stay by the way, and lye in a poore Gonge, and the next day was courteously entertained: but having Nicholas Uphlet with me for Interpreter, a man knowne and hated by the Nabob, for employment in Captaine Hawkins debts and affaires; he departed discontent, leaving Coianozan with others, to receive my letter: I refused to deliver it to them; in the afternoone I was admitted, and he seemed much discontent at our want of refreshments, as not knowing it, promising reformation; and the next [I. iv. 517.] day went to talke with the Generall at Swally, who had come into that Road on the one and twentieth. Nevertheless, we had found nothing but delayes: and the nine and twentieth, hee sent the Sabander to acquaint us, that wee should looke for no trade or kindnesse, except wee would assist them against the Portugall: Which the Generall refusing, further then his Commission gave leave, he also desired leave by his letter, that his Merchants might come aboord with their goods, so to depart to some other place, where with safetie he might deliver his Majesties Letters and Present to the Mogoll. Master Elkington and Master Aldworth went with this Letter.* But Magro Can would not so much as looke on us, but tooke it very scornefully, and went his way, and sent the Sabandar with answere as before.

**These words following, and some other I have heere inserted out of Master Elkingtons Journall.*

The second of November, we had sowre entertainment of him, telling us, if we would stay, we might; if we would go, we might go, either in Gods, or the Devills name; for our other demands referring us to Isaak Beg and the Sabandar, who would yeeld us nothing. The common people seemed well affected

to us, the greater to desire our roome rather then our company, but so that we thought none of them durst gaine-stand the Kings Firma: whereupon it was concluded that the goods should bee landed, which accordingly was done. But in the Alfandica wee could find no reasonable ratements on the goods, nor leave to carry away any thing, till the Nabob had seene them, and taken what he pleased (as hee had done in opening mens chests, neither Mariner nor Merchant escaping without trifles taken from them, no reason after given for it) searching to the very pillowes and pockets, not sparing Master Edwards himselfe; Customing the Cases, Bottels, Apparell, or what we brought for necessary use, as if they sought by foule usage to weary us.

Harsh and barbarous dealing.

The fifteenth, Magro Can himselfe came to the Alphandica, and sealed up the Kings Presents, which he was desirous to see, although he had promised that they should passe without opening. He desired to have all the Pictures and Combe-cases, which we said were to go for Agra, that the King might have his choise. Whereupon (notwithstanding he was offered part of them) he fell into great choler, and objected Sir Henry Middleton his proceedings in the Red-sea, wishing Master Aldworth to write to the King for satisfaction: which was answered to have beene already ended by Captaine Best, as the Articles manifest. He concluded yet with faire promises, but the effect was (defect and) delay, wee being not permitted to carry away the Kings Presents. The Pictures by lying in the Sunne, were broken and warped in vile manner, wee also in danger to lose the Monson, and the Kings Present, with Muskets and Fowling-peeces taken from our men, were carried to his house: and nothing permitted us, except he might first see the Kings Present, which we at last yeelded unto, and Magro Can as much as he could disgraced, boasting of his respect with the King. And thus had we leave to remove them.

The foure and twentieth, came a Firma from the Mogoll, which the Nabob (according to their custome)

met in state two miles out of the Citie, with sixe hundred horse. And the next day we were kindly entertained, and he gave Master Edwards eight hundred and fiftie Mamudies, thirty peeces of Topseell, ten of fine Calicoes, &c. the money to cary up the Presents, (the King not willing to charge them that bring them) the Stuffes and Calicoes for such as should accompany them. To the Merchants also he gave fifteene peeces of Topseels (five to each) with his chop for our departure, and kind promises; all in the sight of him which brought the Firma. The thirtieth, Master Edwards and we set forwards towards Amadavar.

The second of December, we came to Baroche: from whence the Governour sent a guard of Souldiers with us to Demylode, and there had a new convoy of fiftie horse and foot to Charmondo: whence we departed on the seventh, with five and twentie souldiers, all notorious theeves (as we after found). With these we went 10 c. and pitched in a plaine, where wee baracadoed our selves, as formerly we used, with our carts; at supper time wee had beene assaulted with fiftie horse-men, which came close upon us, had they not found us well provided, the charge wee carried being certainly knowne thorow all the Countrey as we travelled.

A Mastiffe dogge in request.

The eight, we came to Brodera, and gave the Governour a Present, which he accepted kindly, but requested a further kindnesse to see our Mastiffe dogge. This Citie stands in a plaine which seemed fertile, and is well watered, a thing not so common in those parts. Wee departed hence with one hundred horse and foot, which voluntarily offered that service (in regard especially of the Kings Present, employed by the Governour) not without charge to us, and came to Arras, a Towne inhabited for the most part with Banians, where their superstition of not killing any thing, caused us bad entertainment.

Arras a Towne of Banians.

Amadavas. Steel and Crowther their Journall following.

On the thirteenth, we came to Amadavas. Hence we gave commission to Richard Steele, and John Crowther

for their Persian journey. And hence the second of January, Master Edwards departed from us for Agra.

All this while finding the Merchants heere, in hope of Peace with the Portugals, to inhaunce the prices of their Indico, we resolved to go to Sarques to make triall with the Countrie people, who are the makers of it: which on the seventh we did, and found good employment, in foure dayes packing up foure hundred fardles; and Master Aldworth returning to Amadavas, found them now more tractable. Sarques is thence 3 c. distant, the Towne not bigge, but counted the best soile for Indico in those parts, the triall thereof chiefly by water, as at Amadavas Jambrozerch by fire, all of them ready to put trickes on us by mingling or otherwise. At Sarques are two of the most auncient Monuments in those parts; one of a chiefe Prophet there intombed, to which many Pilgrims resort from farre; the other of their ancient Kings. To the North of the Towne is the place, where Can Canna first put the Guzerates (the auncient inhabitants) to flight, the rest of the Kingdome being shortly after conquered by Ecbar this Kings Father. This place of the victory is strongly walled with bricke, some mile and halfe in circuit, planted with fruits and watered pleasantly, and a costly house called Victory erected, in which he resided for a time, but now in Bramport.

Sarques.

[I. iv. 518.]

Monuments & Pilgrimage.

The fight betwixt the English and Portugals.

The foure and twentieth, we went to the Governour for his leave to depart, which he granted; but hearing of divers robbed and murthered that night close by the Citie, order was given that we should stay till a sufficient guard were made readie for us. The next morning we had Letters from M. Elkington of the arrivall of the Portugal Vice-roy, with a strong force to drive us out of the Countrey.

See of it more in my Pilgrimage, l. 5. c. 7. §. 4. out of the relation of divers of the Hopes company at that time: as also Captaine Downtons owne Voyage.

The Generall to procure some weakening of their strength, caused the Hope to fall downe to the Southermost sand, thinking in eager pursuit some of them would be driven aground. Presently three of the smallest ships, and thirtie sixe Frigats were sent to boord her, hoping

Tempora mutantur & nos mutamur in illis.

to towe her away. Thrice the enemie entred, and was thrice repulsed, and forced at last to leape over-boord, thinking in their Frigats to save themselves, who received such hot discourse from the other ships, that they could not releeve them, so that many were swallowed by the Sea, others slaine aboord, to the number, as is reported, of three hundred at least. The Shippes which had boorded the Hope, were now (in despaire, and out of all hope) cut from her, and seized instantly by the two desperate, hopelesse, mercilesse Elements, Fire and the Sea, recommending some bones or ashes of their burnt Carkasses to the ground and shoare.

The sixe and twentieth, we departed with fortie cart-loads of Indico and other goods, and came the seven and twentieth to Mundevas, where the Gates were shut upon us by Sardar Cans command, which putting us in much doubt, we procured one to speake with the Governour, who told him of Letters that he had received from Mocrib Can, of our Generalls proceedings at Swally, and the safetie of Surat by the English, wishing him by no meanes to suffer us to returne without a sufficient guard, which the next day should be ready for our safe departure. The twentie ninth, we departed. At Brodera, Sarder Cans men took up more souldiours to assist them, many robberies and murthers beeing daily committed, and divers companies of Rashbootes lying in the way to intercept.

The second of February, above three hundred Rashboots assaulted us in a narrow lane, inclosed on both sides with thicke hedges, where we could not hurt them, as they did our Caffila, with their arrowes and Shot. We therefore made what haste we could for the Plaine: meane while, they cut off two of our Coaches. But having gotten the Plaine, we made a stand, where they betooke them to their hedges againe, and left us to looke to their prey, least one thiefe might rob another. Many of our company were hurt, whereof Humphrey Elkinton for one. The next day we got to Baroche, and on the

fifth to Surat, and thanked Mocrib Can for his care; and hearing of an assault the Portugals would next day give us, with his professed love and leave went the next day to Swally, and came aboord: but the Portugals deceived our expectation.

The ninth, the poore inhabitants of Swally brought us word of two fire-boats, to be sent with the next Ebbe to fire our ships, which endangered more then endamaged the Hope. The night following, they attempted the like with foure other chained together, which with the advantage of the Tyde, and attendance of smaller boats came, but frustrate in their successe save to themselves, foure of their Companie taken, and their Boats burned to the Keele. The Captives confessed this the last of the Vice-royes designes for this yeare, hee beeing enforced for want of water and victualls to returne for Goa.

The Examination of Domingo Francisco, taken in Swally Roade, aboord the Gift. February 20. 1614.

HE saith, That he was borne in Lisboa, beeing the sonne of a Marriner, and served Nuna d'Acuna in the fight against Captaine Best, in one of the foure Gallions, and afterwards went for Macao upon the borders of China, and returned againe to Goa, where hee hath remained ten Moneths, and was two Moneths since commanded to come in a Gallion called the S. Anthonie, in this Expedition for the Port of Swally, where the eighth of this Moneth hee was taken. The Vice-roy Don Jeronimo de Savedo, came (as this Examinate further saith) to the destruction of the English at Surat with these forces. His owne ship called the All-Saints, of eight hundred Tunnes burthen, had three hundred men, and twenty eight pieces of Ordnance. Michael de Soozo Captaine of the S. Bennet of seven hundred Tunnes, had one hundred and fiftie men, and twenty Peeces. John Cayatho, Captaine of the S. Laurence

The Vice-roy, and his forces and purpose. Gallions sixe. Their Captaines, burthen, men, and munition.

of sixe hundred Tunnes, had one hundred and sixtie men, eighteene Peeces. Francisco Henriques Captaine [I. iv. 519.] of the S. Christopher, so much burthen, had one hundred and fiftie nine men, and Ordnance as the former. Francisco de Mirande, Captaine of the S. Jeronymo of five hundred Tunnes, had one hundred and eightie men, sixteene Peeces. Gaspar de Meall Captaine of the S. Anthonio of foure hundred Tunnes, had an hundred and fortie men, foureteene Peeces.

Three ships. The ships were the S. Peter of two hundred Tunnes, Captaine Francisco Cavaco, men one hundred and fiftie, Peeces eight. The S. Paul of two hundred Tunnes, Captaine Don John de Mescarena, one hundred fiftie men, eight Peeces. The Pinnasse one hundred twenty Tunnes, Captaine Andrea de Quellio, eightie men, foure Peeces.

Two Gallies. Lewes de Bruto, Captaine of one Gally, Diego de Suro, of *Frigats.* the other, in each fiftie men. Of the Frigats there were sixtie, having twentie souldiours a piece, and eighteene oares on a side. The supply which came after, was two ships of two hundred Tunnes a piece, two India Junkes, and eight small Boates imployed to fire us. The Admirals Ordnance were all of Brasse; of the other five Gallions, halfe of Brasse, halfe of Yron; against all which, the Almightie (blessed be his Name) protected us.

The five and twentieth, the Nabob visited the Generall both ashoare and aboord. And the Generall thought fit with consent of the rest, that I should returne with the Hope for England. The third of March, we weighed from Swally road, the next day had sight of the Portugall fleete. The sixth, we expected they would have fought, and prepared our fights; but at noone they bare up for Goa. On the eleventh, we parted from the Generall, they bound for Achen and Bantam, we for England. On the twelfth, we held our course by the North end of the Maldivas, where by experience we found many shoalds *False plats.* and Ilands, laid in the plats most falsly, as may seeme of purpose, that these Seas might seeme more dangerous then they are.

The seventeenth of June, 1615. we arrived at Saldania Bay, where wee found a fleet of foure saile English bound for Surat, under the command of Captaine Keeling, which after consultation holden, and newes of the state there, departed. On the twentieth, I met with Crosse and his Companie, there left to make a discovery, and intreated some of them to acquaint Coree with my comming, which by the way were set upon by the Savages and wounded, and thereupon foure Muskets delivered Crosse at his request, who procured Coree to come downe with his whole family, and after that some Cattell. He told of the discords amongst the Savages, whereby the Mountainers sometimes robbed them. The sixe and twentieth wee departed, leaving our long Boat to Crosse, with powder, shot, and provision.

Of Crosse and his Company of condemned persons set on shoare here, see after in Peytons Voyage.

In twenty nine degrees North, we met with a Holland ship come from the Mauritius, set forth thither to cut wood, which seemed a Bastard Ebony; where contrary to their expectation, they found the lamentable wracke of foure ships come from Bantam and the Moluccas, broken on the rockes, the goods and men of two of them lost; of the third most of the goods saved, and with part thereof this ship laden; the fourth driven to sea by a storme, returned with a jury maine mast. The Master promised us company, but finding us a hinderance, after tenne dayes left us, without so much kindnesse as a farewell, or carriage of a letter, which I imputed to their inbred boorish disposition. Ill weather followed, and we were much weakened, yet I thank God without the losse of any, till my arrivall in Ireland, thwart of the River of Limerike. The seven and twentieth of October, 1615. there also entertained with a storme, till a Scottish Barke crossed with contrary winds, was hired to pilot us into Harbour: where also a remainder of Captaine M. his ungodly crue, which lately had obtained their pardon, put mee in feare, till Sir Henrie Foliot secured us with a supply of men; and I dispeeded Letters to London.

Chap. XIII.

A Journall of the Journey of Richard Steel and John Crowther, from Azmere in India, the place of the Great Mogols residence, to Spahan the Royall Seat of the King of Persia, in the affaires of the East-Indian Society. Ann. 1615. 1616.

March 17. 1614.

THe seventeenth of March, 1614. after we had been detained in Azmere from February, M. Edwards having received a Letter from the Mogol unto our King, delivered a Copy thereof together with his Letters unto Richard Steele, and tooke leave, promising to procure the Kings Firman for our safetie and speed, and to send it after us to Agra, where he willed us to stay for it. Wee went that night two courses to Mandill; we had foure servants, two horses, and a Camel. The eighteenth, to Bandersandree a small Aldea twelve course. The nineteenth, ten course to Mosobade. The twentieth, to Pipelo 13 c. The one and twentieth, to Chadfoole a Towne 7 c. The two & twentieth, to Lalscotte, 13 c. The three and twentieth, to Mogol Serae, 12 c. The foure and twentieth, to Hendowne, 14 c. The five and twentieth, to Bramobad, 12 c. The sixe and twentieth, to Fetipore, 12 c. This hath beene a faire Citie, built by Echabar, and hath within it a goodly house belonging to the King. It is walled round with a faire wall, and both within and round about, hath many spacious Gardens and places of pleasure. Now it goes to ruine, and much ground within the walls is sowne with corne, the King carrying much of the fairest stone to Agra his new Citie.

Richard Still or Steele.

A course is a mile and halfe, and in some places two miles English.

[I. iv. 520.]

The seven and twentieth, to Agra, 12 c. In the English house at Agra, we found one Richard Barber

an Apothecary, which came over with Sir Robert Sherley. Hee was sent by M. Kerridge, to looke to Nicholas Withington.

Within two dayes journey of Agra, we passed by the Country and Citie of Biana, where the finest Indico is made. The best was then worth sixe and thirtie Rupias the Maun at Agra; but in the Countrey much cheaper. The third of Aprill, perceiving the Firman came not, and the heat of the yeare comming on, we departed, leaving order with Richard Barber to send it after us. We came that night to a Serae called Boutta, 6 c. The fourth, to a Towne called Multra, 14 c. and lay in a faire Serae: there we received the Firman. The fifth, to a Serae called Chatta, 12 c. The sixth to a Serae built by Chan Azam, 9 c. The seventh to a Sera built by Shec Ferreede called Purwell, 11 c. The eighth, to another goodly Sera by the same Founder, 10 c. The ninth, to Dillee a Citie, 9 c. which is great and ancient, in times past the Seat of the Kings, where many of them lie buried. At this time many great men have their Gardens, and houses of pleasure there, and there are buried, whereby it is beautified with goodly buildings; the inhabitants (for the most part Banians) poore and beggerly, by reason of the Kings long absence. The tenth, to Bunira, 10 c. The eleventh to Cullvower 12 c. The twelfth, to Pampette, 12 c. a prety small Citie, where are made divers sorts of Girdles, Shashes, and great store of linnen cloth, and they have store of handicrafts. The thirteenth, to Carnall, 12 c. The foureteenth, to Tanisera, 14 c. The fifteenth, to Shavade, 10 c. The sixteenth, to Mogoll Sera, or Gaugur, 15 c. The seventeenth, to Sinan an auncient Citie, where is made store of linnen, 14 c. The eighteenth, to Duratia, 15 c. The nineteenth, to Pullower, 11 c. We passed this day a great River by Boat, called Sietmege, very broad, but full of shoalds, and runneth West into Sinda. The twentieth to Nicouder a small Towne, 11 c. The one and twentieth, to Sultanpoare an old Towne, having a River running to the North, and a bridge with

Biana, the place of finest Indico.

Divers Seraes built by great men, faire buildings to entertaine travellers.

Dely or Dillee an auncient Citie.

Pampette.

sixe arches: here is store of linnen cloath made: foure course from it we passed another small River. The two and twentieth, to Chiurmul, 11 c. This day by Boat we passed a River as broad as the Thames at Gravesend, called Vian, running Westward into Sinda: upon the bankes whereof was pitched Chan Allom, the Kings Embassadour into Persia, whose Campe seemed a little Citie. The three and twentieth, to Chan Channa Sera, 17 c. The foure and twentieth, to Lahoare, 7 c.

Lahor. Fertilitie of the Countrey. All the Countrey betwixt Agra and Lahore, is exceeding well tilled and manured, being the best of India, and plentifull of all things. It yeelds great store of poudred Sugar, the best being worth betwixt two Rupias three quarters, and two and an halfe, the great Maund of fortie. Here all the way is set on both sides with trees, the most of them bearing a kind of Mulbery. It is dangerous in the night for Theeves, but in the day secure. Every five or sixe Course, there are Seraes built by the King or some great men, very faire for the beautifying of the way, memory of their names, and entertainment of Travellers. In these you shall have a Chamber and place to tye your Horses, also store of Horsemeat. But in many of them but little good to be had for men, by reason of the Banians. When a man hath taken up his lodging, no other may dispossesse him.

Seraes what, and wherefore built.

In the morning about day breake, all men make readie to depart together, and then are the gates opened. Before, no man is suffered to depart for feare of Theeves. This was a tedious travaile: for within two houres after the Sunne-rising, wee were scarcely able to endure the heate.

Lahore. Lahore is a goodly great Citie, and one of the fairest and ancientest of India. It stands on the River Indus or Sinda; and from this place came the Treasure of the Portugals Trade when they had peace, as being the Centre of all Indian Traffique. And here they embarqued the same downe the River for Tatta, whence they were transported for Ormus and Persia. The

Tatta.

Merchants also passing that way betwixt Persia and India, payd them fraight. They did likewise drive a great Trade up this River for Pepper and Spices, furnishing these parts of India therewith. At this present the Merchants of India assemble at Lahore, and invest a great part of their monies in Commodities, and joyne themselves in Caravans to passe the Mountaines of Candahar into Persia, by which way is generally reported to passe twelve or fourteene thousand Camels lading, whereas heretofore scarsly passed three thousand, the rest going by the way of Ormus. These Merchants are put to great charges betwixt Lahore and Spahan, (besides great cold in Winter and heate in Summer, and the badnesse of the way, spending six or seven moneths betwixt those two places) they are said to reckon every Camels lading to stand them in one hundred and twentie, or one hundred and thirtie Rupias. Persia is that way furnished with Pepper and Spices from Masulipatan over land. In Lahore wee stayed from the foure and twentieth of Aprill, untill the thirteenth of May, to refresh our selves and our tyred beasts, and to provide Servants and necessaries for the way. Wee also here procured Letters from an Embassadour of the Persian King.

The thirteenth of May, we departed with intent to overtake a Caravan which was gone two moneths before, and went that day to Chacksunder a small Towne 11 c. The fourteenth, to Nonserae, 15 c. The fifteenth, to Mutteray, 8 c. The sixteenth, to Quemal Chan, 19 c. The seventeenth, to Herpae, 16 c. The eighteenth, to Alicasava, 12 c. The nineteenth, to Trumba, 12 c. This day we overtooke a small Caravan which went from Lahor eight dayes before us. The twentieth, to Sedousehall, 14 c. The one and twentieth, to Callixeokebaudi, 15 c. The two and twentieth, to Multan, 12 c. This is a great and ancient Citie. Within three Course of it Indus runneth. It yeeldeth white Linnen and Diaper. All Caravans are constrayned to stay at this River eight, ten, or twelve dayes before they can get leave of the [I. iv. 521.]

Governour to passe, to the end that the Citie being poore may get some-what. We were stayed five dayes, and then were faine to make way with a Present.

The eight and twentieth, we passed the River and went to Pettoallee a small Village 20 c. The nine and twentieth, we passed another great River by Boate, and the same night came to a small River called Lacca, where we found the Caravan aforesaid: we presented the Caravan Basha with a Looking-glasse and Knife, who wished us to pitch our Tent neere to his, that wee might have no wrong offered us. The Caravan had beene heere ten dayes, and stayed till the second of June, to procure a Convoy of Horsemen to conduct them to Chatcza a small Fort in the Mountaines, having heard of the Mountainers injury to a former Caravan.

The second of June, we dislodged and entred that night into the Mountaines 12 c. where wee were distressed for want of fresh water, the water being brackish. The third and fourth, we travelled all night climbing high Mountaines, and following water Courses with divers windings twelve Course, but in direct Line not above sixe. The fift, we followed the Course of a River ful of great Pebles 8 c. The sixth we rested. The seventh, we went 4 c. still crossing the said River. The eight, 8 c. The ninth, twelve. The tenth, three, and came to *Chatcza.* Chatcza, which is a little Fort, the wals built of mud, enclosed with a Ditch, where the Mogoll maintayneth eightie, or one hundred Horsemen to secure the way from Theeves. But they themselves are as very Theeves as any, where they find opportunitie.

The Captain of the Castle exacted upon every Camel of the Caravan two Abacees, although nothing be due by reason he & his have wages of the King. In all this way betwixt Lacca & Chatcza, we found not any sustenance for man or beast, except in some places a little grasse: & therefore we were constrained at Lacca to make provision, hyring an Oxe for that purpose to carrie Barley for our Horses. The Agwans (so they call the

Mountaine-people) came downe to us every day where we lodged, rather to espy what they could steale, then to buy, as they pretended.

The twelth, in the evening having made provision for three dayes, we went thence 14 c. that night. The thirteenth, 10 c. The fourteenth, 10 c. This day the people came downe to us and brought sheepe, Goates, Meale, Butter and Barley in great abundance, sufficient for our selves and our Cattle, at reasonable prices. And from this place forwards the people daily did the like, sometimes also bringing Felts and course Carpets striped. The fifteenth, we went 6 c. The sixteenth, 4 c. The seventeenth, tenne. The eighteenth, 9 c. The nineteenth, 9 c. to a little Towne of the Agwans, called Duckee, where the Mogore maintayneth a Garrison, with a little square Fort, the wals built of mud a good height, distant a mile from the Towne. Heere wee stayed three dayes, because the Caravan could not agree with the Captaine of the Castle, who pretended a dutie on every Camell: which at last they payd, one Abacee and a halfe on each. The three and twentieth, we went 6 c. The foure and twentieth, wee past by a place called Secota, or three Castles, because of three Villages triangle-wise scituate on the side of a hill neere together. Wee went 8 c. The five and twentieth, wee rested by reason of foule weather. The sixe and twentieth, 10 c. The seven and twentieth, 14 c. This day wee passed the Durues, or Gates of the Mountaines, being narrow straits, having Rockes on both sides very high, whence with stones a few may stop the passage of a multitude: and divers Caravans have beene in these places cut off. This night where we lodged we suffered divers insolencies from the Agwans, and on the morrow they exacted of us as wee passed by a small Village called Coasta, two Abacees and a halfe on each Camell. The eight and twentieth, 5 c. The nine and twentieth, by Abdun a Village 8 c. The thirtieth, 6 c.

Durues or straits of the hils.

The first of July, 7 c, to a place called Pesinga, a small *Pesinga.*

Fort much like unto Duckee, where are store of Souldiers for securing the way. The Captaine exacted halfe an Abacee upon a Camell. The third we left the Caravan and went forwards 6 c. The fourth, wee past a mightie Mountaine, and descended into the Plaines 14 c. The fifth, 20 c. we were distressed for want of graine for our Cattell. The sixth, in the like distresse for them and our selves, 12 c. The seventh, to Candahar, 8 c.

Candahar, the Mountaynes. These Mountaines of Candahar, are inhabited by a fierce people called Agwans or Potans, very strong of bodie, somewhat whiter then the Indians, great Robbers, accustomed to cut off whole Caravans. But at present partly for feare of the Mogoll, and partly through sweet found by commerce (in venting their graine, sheepe and Goats, of which they have great store, and buying of course Linnen and other necessaries) they are become [I. iv. 522.] more civill. Yet if they can take any stragling by themselves or staying behind, they will sell them above in the Mountaines, and hoxe them to prevent running away, and put them to grind graine with Hand-mils, and other servile drudgerie.

The Citie. The Citie of Candahar is ancient, the Inhabitants anciently Banians: there now resideth the Governour of the Countrey, and a Garrison maintayned by the Mogoll, of twelve or fifteene thousand Horsemen, in regard of the Persians neighborhood to the North. And West-ward it is environed with a mightie steepe, craggie Rocke; and to the South and to the East with a strong wall. By reason of frequent passage of Caravans it is much enlarged lately, that the Suburbs are bigger then the Citie. For within this two yeare, that the way of Ormus is stopped up by the wars betwixt the Persians and Portugals, all Caravans which passe betwixt India and Persia, must of necessitie goe by this place. And here they doe hire Camels to go into India, and at their returne for Persia. They cannot returne also without the Governours leave, which causeth them to stay a moneth, and when least, sixteene or twentie dayes:

whereby it is much inhabited with lewd people, as all such places of resort commonly are. Provision of victuals is there in great abundance for man and beast, yet deare by so great concourse. Trade it yeelds not of it selfe, but accidentally by the meeting of Indian, Persian and Turkie Merchants, which are not willing to travell further at twentie per Cento profit. At this place the Caravans which goe to India, do joyne for greater strength in passing the Mountaines of Candahar: and those which come from thence heere breake into smaller Companies: for in many places greater would not find provision.

Barrennesse of the borders of the Mogoll and Persian.

For all Persia, especially betwixt this and Spahan, is barren, where sometime in two or three dayes travell, there is no greene thing to be seene; only some water, and that also often brackish, stinking and naught. Wee stayed heere foureteene dayes, partly to refresh our bodies weakened with heate and travaile (John Crowther being so weake that hee feared hee should not bee able to travell further) and partly for company.

The three and twentieth of July, wee departed Candahar in company of three Armenians, and a doozen Persian Merchants, and went 10 c. to a Village called Seriabe. The foure and twentieth, 12 c. to Deabage a small Dea or Village. The five and twentieth, 8 c. to Cushecunna a small Castle, where the Mogor hath a Garison in the utmost confines of his Dominions.

The Persians Countrey.

The sixe and twentieth, 17 c. and lay by a Rivers side in the open fields. The seven and twentieth, 4 c. to a Castle called Greece the first of the King of Persias. Here we delivered the Embassadours Letter received at Lahore, to the Governour, and presented him with a Looking-glasse and three Knives. He would take nothing of us for our Camels, whereas others paid five Abacees upon a Camell. He promised to safe-conduct us, and to send a company of Horse to carrie us to the next Government. But we saw none, neither were we sorrie for it: for that hee is little better then a Rebell, and all his people Theeves. The eight and twentieth, at

night wee departed and lodged neere unto a Dea called Malgee; two farsings. Every farsing is two Indian Courses and a halfe. The nine and twentieth, ten farsings, and lodged in the open fields, where was nothing to be had but water. The thirtieth, five farsings to Gazichan a small Castle. The one and thirtieth, five farsings to an olde ruined Fort, where was nothing to bee had but water, and that stinking.

Farsings (Parasange of 60. Furlongs.)

The first of August, five farsings to an old Fort, called De Laram, where wee paid an Abacee and halfe on a Camell, and stayed one day to refresh our cattell, which is called making of Mochoane. The third, to Bacon, an old Castle, seven farsings. The fourth, in the open fields, nothing but water, foure farsings. The fifth, foure farsings. The sixth to Farra five farsings: This is a little Towne walled with a high wall of brickes about, dried in the Sunne (as are all the Castles, and most of the buildings of those parts) foure square, a mile about; having a pretty Bazar vaulted over-head to keepe from raine, wherein all necessaries are sold. It stands in a good soile, and hath plenty of water, without which in this Countrey nothing is be had: and it is strange to see, where there is any good spot of ground (which is heere but little) with what labour and industry they bring water to it, in some places three or foure miles together by trenches under ground. At this Towne all Merchants which go into Persia, are forced to stay seven, or eight, or ten daies together, where the Kings Treasurer seeth the weight of all their packets, and esteemes them at so much the Maune, as he thinkes fit, and takes three per cento custome.

Farra. Sun-dryed Brickes.

Water how precious.

At their comming into Persia, they are used with great favour: for they feare lest complaints should be made to the King, which will have Merchants kindly entreated.

But at their going into India they use all extremitie, searching them to the skinne for gold, which to transport, or any coyne of silver out of Persia, but the Kings, is death.

Likewise they looke narrowly for horses and slaves, which the King will not have transported. Heere we stayed two dayes for certaine Armenians, with whom we went, leaving our former company. The ninth, one farsing to a River. The tenth, in the open fields, seven farsings. The eleventh, foure farsings to a small Village, where we had store of provision. The twelfth, foure farsings, where we digged for water. The thirteenth, eight farsings. The fourteenth, to Draw, a Village, five farsings, where we stayed a day, which is the custome once in foure dayes, for such as travell with laden Camels, to rest. The sixteenth, three farsings. The seventeenth, foure farsings. The eighteenth, to Zaidebasha, five [I. iv. 523.] farsings, where are good store of Carpets to be bought. The nineteenth, to Mude a Village, where are also Carpets. The twentieth, to Birchen, five farsings, where are store of fine Felt, Carpets of Camels haire, made, from two to five Abacees the Maune, heere we stayed a day. The two and twentieth, to Deazaide, where they pretend all to be religious, and have store of Carpets to sell at cheape rates. The three and twentieth, three farsings. The foure and twentieth, five farsings to Choore, an old ruined towne. The five and twentieth, three farsings. The six and twentieth, seven farsings, the water brackish and stinking. The seven and twentieth, to Dehuge, where is a prettie streame of hot water, which being put into any vessell, becomes coole and health-some. The eight and twentieth, seven farsings to Dea Curma. The nine and twentieth, to Tobaz five farsings, we payed *Tobaz.* halfe an Abacee a Camell. At Tobaz all Caravans doe rest at least foure or five dayes, the better to be able to passe the salt Desert adjoyning, being foure long *Salt Desert.* dayes journey, wherein many miscary. We found there a small Caravan of one hundred Camels, which went the next day. Heere, and in the former Village, are store of Dates, and three thousand Maune yearely of the finest Silke in Persia, which is carried to Yades, a faire Citie, *Yades.* where they have the like, and is made into Taffatas,

Sattens and Damaskes. The King will not suffer it to be transported, especially into Turkie, but the Portugalls carried it into Portugall. Yades is about twelve dayes journey from Spahan, and twelve farsings out of the way of India. The thirtieth, we went nine farsings over the Desert, lay in the fields, and sent our beasts three miles out of the way for water, it being exceeding salt. The one and thirtieth, ten farsings, where the water was not all so brackish.

The first of September, five farsings, where we went two miles for water. The second, to a small Castle nine farsings, little provision. The third, five farsings, lay in the fields, sent farre for water. The fourth, to Seagan ten farsings. The fifth, foure farsings. The sixt, to Irabad, a Castle, ten farsings, where we payed halfe an Abacee on a Camell. The seventh, six farsings. The eight, to Ardecan eight farsings, where we stayed till the tenth. Then went to Sellef foure farsings. The eleventh, to Agea Gaurume, a small Castle, three farsings. The twelfth, nine farsings to a spring in the fields. The thirteenth, to Beavas three farsings. The fourteenth, to Goolabad foure farsings, from whence Richard Steele rode before to Spahan. The fifteenth, to Morea Shavade five farsings. The sixteenth, to Coopa five farsings. The seventeenth, to Dea Sabs five farsings. The eighteenth, foure farsings, and lay in the fields. The nineteenth, three farsings, and came to Spahan. Richard Steele reached thither the fifteenth at noone, and found Sir Robert Sherley dispatched from the Persian King, in Embassage to the King of Spaine, with him his Lady, and for his Chaplaine, a Frier of the Bare-foot Order, with five and fiftie Portugall prisoners, and his owne followers, both Persians and Armenians, speeding for Ormus, to imbarke for Lisbon. The purpose is, that seeing the Portugalls are not able to stand, the Spaniards may be brought in, six Friers remaining in hostage till his returne, at Spahan, whom otherwise the King hath vowed to cut in pieces; which he is likely enough to

doe, who hath done to death his owne sonne, and committed a thousand other severities. Richard Steele delivered his Letters to Sir Robert, who durst scarsely reade them, but now and then by stealth, fearing the Portugalls should know of them. Hee after said it was too late to look after that businesse for our Nation, and seemed discontent with the company, and the Master and Merchants which landed him. But at last said he was an Englishman, and promised to effect our desires, and (the Friers being absent) caried both on the nineteenth to the Master of the Ceremonies or Maimondare, and took us with him to the Great Vizier, Sarek Hogea, who presently called his Scrivans, & made draughts of what we desired: viz. three Firmans, one which John Crowther hath for Surat, one for Richard Steele, to carry into England; the third sent to Jasques, to the Governour. All are sealed with the Kings great Seale, and to this effect, That all Governours of Sea-ports within his Majesties Dominions, shall kindly entertaine the English shipping, &c. The same day that these Firmans were ended, departed Sir Robert Sherley, being the last of September, towards Siras, with great pompe and much honour, &c.

Of Sir Robert Sherley his landing, reade Peytons first Voyage: and of the rest of his Journey, his second.

Your Worships at Command,

RICHARD STEELE.

Your Worships servant ever to be Commended

JOHN CROWTHER.

The chiefe Commodities of Persia are Raw-silke, of which it yeelds, according to the Kings bookes, yearely seven thousand and seven hundred Batmans. Rubarb growes in Corasan, where Worme-seed growes also: Carpets of all sorts, Silke and Gold, Silke and Silver, halfe Silke halfe Cotton, &c. Their moneyes in Persia of Silver, are the Abacee, the Mahomedee, Shahee and Biftee: the rest of Copper, like the Tangas and Pisos of India. The Abacee weigheth two Metficalls; the

Commodities of Persia.

Their Moneyes.

Mahomedee is halfe an Abacee; the Shahee halfe a
[I. iv. 524.] Mahomedee: in the Riall of eight are thirteene Shahees. In a Shahee are two Biftees and a halfe, or ten Casbegs. One Biftee is foure Casbegs or two Tangs. The weights differ in divers places: two Mahans of Tauris make one of Spahan, and likewise the Batman. The measure of Silkes, &c. is the same with the Pike of Aleppo, which we judge seven and twenty inches.

Their measure.

Richard Steeles journey by land thorow Persia and Turkie.

John Crowther returned into India. Richard Steele to England by the way of Turkie. From Spahan the second of December, five farsings to a Sarail. The third, eight farsings to another Sarail. The fourth, to a Village sixe farsings. The fifth, to Dreag seven farsings. The sixt, to a Sarail seven farsings. The seventh, to Golpigan eight farsings. The eight, to Curouon seven farsings. The ninth, to Showgot seven farsings. The tenth, to Saro six farsings. The eleventh, to Dissabod eight farsings. The twelfth, two Manfields to a faire Towne Tossarkhan, twelve farsings, and rested that day, because of the deepe Snow. The fifteenth, to Kindanor six farsings. The sixteenth, to Sano eight farsings. The seventeenth, to Shar Nuove, where I was stayed by the Daiga, but shewing Letters from the Vizier, hee bade me depart in the name of God and Alle. The eighteenth, passed by a bridge, where all men are to give account what they are, and pay two Shahees a Camell. The nineteenth, to Kassamkhan, the last of the Persian Governments, and gave a Present to the Governour for a guard against the Turke-men: which hee not onely did, but gave mee licence to feed on his Villages without paying, which yet I would not. The one and twentieth, I began my journey over the high mountaines, which part the two Countries, being dangerous, and the two and twentieth arrived at a Village, eight farsings. The three and twentieth, seven farsings, lay under a rocke. The foure and twentieth, to Mando, a Towne under the Turkes, eight farsings. The five and twentieth, to Emomester eight farsings. The sixe and twentieth, to

Boroh, passed over a River by Boat, and that night arrived at Bagdat, eight farsings, where I was searched and examined for letters, which I had hid under my saddle, whither one also was prying, but by a signe which I made, gave over, and followed mee to my lodging for his expected reward. I escaped better then an old Spaniard, which a fortnight before was imprisoned and chained in the Castle, his letters read by a Malteza Renegado. I met with a Portugall which arrived heere (from Goa and Ormus) two daies before mee. The Basha made us stay heere twenty dayes, to stay for a Sabandar of his.

The sixteenth of January, we passed Tygris, and lay on the Desert side. The seventeenth, we went five Agatza (leagues or farsings) the eighteenth, met with Euphrates at Tlulquy, where Merchants disembarcke for Bagdat, or (after five per Cento custome paid) passe the Tigris for the Persian Gulfe. And after a tedious passage, partly by the River, partly by Deserts, partly by Sea, the fifteenth of Aprill 1616. he arrived at Marsiles, and the tenth of May at Dover, &c.

Your Worships to command in all obedience,

RICHARD STEELE.

The Copie of the King of Persias Firman, Translated out of the Persian.

FOrman or Command given unto all our Subjects, from the greatest, unto what degree soever, unto the Souf-basha or Constable of our Country, to kindly receive and entertaine the English Frankes or Nation, at what time any of their ships or shipping shall arrive at Jasques, or any other of the Ports in our Kingdome: to conduct them and their Merchandize to what place or places they themselves desire: and that you shall see them safely defended about our Coasts, from any other Frank or Franks whatsoever.

Franke, a name given in the East to all Westerne Christians, since the Expedition into the Holy Land: the French being chiefe therein, and a French Councell at Claremont cause thereof.

Thus I will and command you so to doe, as you shall answere to the contrary. Given at our Royall Citie, the twelfth of this Mon Ramassan (October) in the yeare of Our Tareag 1024. A.D. 1615.

Chap. XIIII.

Memorials of a Voyage, wherein were employed three shippes, the Samaritan, Thomas and Thomasine 1614. written by *John Milward Merchant, who went in the Thomas.

*The Journall had not the Authors name, but I find him thus named by Captaine Payton, as Chiefe at Tecoo. Soldania in thirty three degrees, fiftie minutes South.

THe tenth of May 1614. we anchored at Gore-end. The third of October in the Bay of Soldania, where we bought one hundred and fortie sheep, and ten Oxen, and more might have done. These people are most miserable, destitute of Religion in any kind, so farre as we can perceive, and of all civility; their speech a chattering rather then language; naked, save a short cloake of skinne on their shoulders, and a Fox-skinne before their privities: have but one stone, naturally or ceremoniously I know not; eate that which dogges would hardly digest. They demanded unreasonably for their Cattell, which we thought [I. iv. 525.] proceeded from Cories, who had been in England, and (as we suppose) acquainted them with our little esteeme of Yron and Copper, asking peices as big as their cloakes, and had for their Cattell Skillets, Basons, and Scummers. One seemed to be chiefe, whom the Generall kindly entertained in his Tent, and wee after that bought more freely. Their Sheep like our Goats, with small hornes, their Oxen larger then ours, the flesh white like our Muttons, the fat yellow as the yoalke of an egge, wilde, and of one stone most of them like themselves. October is with them, as Aprill with us, the weather temperate, but hot and parching at noone, the aire wholesome, our men presently recovering, some desperately sicke, they

of the Scurvy using a red Berry as big as a Gooseberry.

The twentieth of December, the Generall caused the Masters and Masters-mates to come aboord, supposing that we were shot one hundred and fiftie leagues more then reckoning to the East, in eighteene degrees fortie minutes. The nine and twentieth, we discryed land, but knew not well in what height we were, resolved that it was Java, but knew not what part of it, supposed it the South-side, and that we were fallen on it by keeping too Easterly a course. And though the plats make it to lie betwixt eleven and twelve degrees, and our latitude, at that time, was but eight degrees forty minutes; yet it is questionable whether it hath been discovered. But howsoever, or wheresoever we were, it is certaine that we were fallen to Lee-ward of the straits of Sunda, by two or three degrees, and into the North-west Monsons, which blow thereabouts from September to the last of March. All the Masters were of opinion, to goe back into thirteene or foureteene degrees South-ward, to fetch the South-east wind, which is a trade wind betweene twentie eight and eleven degrees, and so to shape our course more Northerly. Others were of opinion, to goe round about the Iland, and to fetch Bantam, as certaine Dutchmen had done heretofore on like occasion, and accomplished it in sixe weekes space. But the first opinion tooke place. The land hereabouts is very high, and neere the sea full of great Trees, the aire noysome by stinke from the shoare, subject to much lightning, thunder, and raine, with sudden gusts. The next day noone, we had a good observation in the latitude of eight degrees thirty five minutes. The Generall was resolved to beat up and downe, to see if we could get any thing to the West: he charged M. Wilson for author of the error; betwixt whom also and the Captaine, passed both words and blowes, which the Generall reduced into amitie the eleventh of January. On the eighteenth, we had land in seven degrees tenne minutes, being by likelihood not farre

The Copie of this Voyage was so hurt with wet, that I could not in some places read it, and therefore have delivered it more imperfectly. They know not where they are.

Trade wind.

Wilson accused, at also for the losse of the Thomasine afterwards.

West from our first land, notwithstanding that we had runne from it by our course neere one hundred leagues to the West, by reason of a violent current to the East.

Strong Current.

The Land to the sea is low and levell, within high mountaines: wee anchored at the entry of the Bay, where we found calmes, the Current setting strong East South-east, that in a calme it would carry a ship foure leagues a watch. There is store of Wood and Water from the Rocks, but brackish. We found neere to the shoare continuall calme, (the wind still blowing two or three leagues off at Sea) be it never so great a storme. In this place, which I may well call Inforced Bay, we saw no people, the shoare very thicke of Wood, Cocos, Palmes, and a hundred other kinds of trees, some growing in a number of rootes,* which descend from the toppe of the branches, where are fortie or fiftie foot high, and take root againe, so that the Tree sheweth like a Woodstacke. I suppose that never Christian had been there, nor will againe, if he can avoide it: yet the Generall in one of the trees set up his name and armes. We were not past two leagues from our anchoring place, from whence we had scant wind enough to bring us, but there rose so great a gust of wind and raine, that we were forced to take in all our top-sailes, and strike our maine saile.

Inforced Bay.

**Indian fig tree, or Arbore de rais, which Goropius conceited to be the tree of Adams sin. See my Pilgr. l. 5. c. 13. §. 2.*

On the three and twentieth, after much consultation and subscription for the Generalls discharge, we bore in with the land, and anchored in a Bay which I may terme Voluntary, where we found a Dutch-man at anchor, whom we had formerly met at Sestos. The next day we went ashoare, and found a Towne and people, not blacke, but tawney, their houses built of Canes, cloathed some from the Waste, other wholly; they respected nothing that wee had, nor affoarded us any thing to speake of; their weapons pipes and cryses. The Dutch-man named this place Middleton Bay: it is a good Harbour, hath a River and an Iland, and lieth some fiftie leagues to the East of the North end of Java, as the

Voluntary Bay.

Middleton Bay.

Dutch-man informed us, who coasted it all along. It is in seven degrees thirtie five minutes.

The second of February, we were in tenne degrees twelve minutes. We saw the next day a small Iland, fortie leagues to the South of Java major, in tenne degrees, about five leagues broad, eight long. The fourth at Sun-setting, we had three degrees tenne minutes to the West variation. It is an infallible rule, that from the Cape of Good Hope to Java, the variation increaseth to the West, the further East we runne, till it come to about seventeene degrees, and then as we runne to the East decreaseth, till we come to the straights of Sunda, where it is three degrees and a halfe variation, and is holden the best guide for Easting and Westing, though not observing exact proportion. On the fifth, we had nine degrees sixteen minutes, and three degrees forty eight minutes variation West. The declination of the Crosiers is twenty eight degrees and a halfe. On the thirteenth, we were in the straights of Sunda, having on our Larboord Sumatra, and Java on our Starboord. The foureteenth at night, we anchored within three leagues of Bantam Road. The next morning came to us, M. Baily Merchant, and M. Samon Master of the Globe, who told us that the Globe was then laden for England, and that the Trades-increase beeing brought on ground on Pulo penjohn, all her men died in the careening of her; and afterwards it stood them in five hundred ryalls of eight a day to hire Javans, of whom five hundred died in the worke, before they could sheath one side; so that they could hire no more men, and therefore were inforced to leave her imperfect, where shee was sunke in the Sea, and after set on fire by the Javans. The Chineses also reported, that the Devill appeared on Pulo penjohn Iland, signifying his offence, that the Chineses would undertake such a businesse on his ground, and give him nothing (for they were the workemen) whereupon one of the chiefe Chinese Carpenters came to Sir Henry Middleton, and reported it, desiring to have a Buffolo

An Iland.

Rule of variation.

[I. iv. 526.]

Bantam.

The Trades-increase.

for sacrifice, who denyed, yea forbad him when hee would have done it at his owne charge, esteming the want thereof cause of their evills.

The Globe departed from Bantam the one and twentieth of February. The foure and twentieth, the Thomasine departed for the Molluccas, M. Baily Cape Merchant, and M. Wilson Master. Our Generall sent word to the King of Bantam, that the Spaniards would invade him, and take away his Towne; who answered, that if all the Caffars (so they call all not Mahumetans) in the world should come against him, he had a god * that would defend him.

**Where is the evidence?*

The foureteenth of March, we departed in the Thomas for the Coast of Sumatra. The twelfth of May, we arrived at Priaman, but were denied trade. The next day, we rode to Tecoo, along by the Sea-side, which I thinke in this place, hath the greatest source of any in the world, occasioned by the many shoales and breaches on this coast, whereby the dangers of sailing are unknowne. On the seventeenth, we weighed for Achen, where the twentieth of June we arrived. On all this coast when there is no raine, although it bee calme, the Sea goeth very high; and in raine though the wind blow much, the Sea is smooth. The King sent us his Chop. On the eight and twentieth, he sent an Elephant to carry the Kings Letter in State. We carried for a Present, a great piece of Ordnance, with the carriages, twenty Bullets, a Ladle, Skowrer, and two barrels of Powder, twelve fowling peeces, tenne Swords, sixe fine Baftas, all wrapped in the Kings colours. He sate in great Sate with the King of Jor, and gave to my selfe, M. Nicols, and M. Yate three Vests (contrary to his custome) and was very merry.

No trade without the King of Achens Letter at Priaman and Teco.

Achen.

Smooth sea in great wind.

The second of July, he came by the waters side upon an Elephant in great state, with divers Elephants before him, and twelve other Elephants having Castles (as they tearme them) on their backs, full of his Women, having multitudes of Women and Eunuches attending, all other

The Kings Women and Pompe.

A.D. 1615.

people being beaten out of the way, and not daring to be seen; our selves having our house neere the Waters side, were commanded to shut our doores and windowes. The Sabandar by a Parable taught us to know him, telling us, That if a man will sow a piece of Cloth, let the Needle go through, and the thred will follow of it selfe; insinuating that a Bribe must usher our designes. The King offered us to settle a Factory here, paying custome as other Nations did, which was seven in the hundred, and we accepted it, whereat the Dutch were angry.

Factory at Achen.

The sixth, the Hector set saile for Teco, having lost at Achen twenty sixe men, principally occasioned by distemper in Aracke houses. The eleventh, the Captaine of the Dutch house protested he had not a Mase to buy victualls, and besides was indebted; whereupon I lent him seventy taile of Gold, to be paid at Bantam. Perceiving the Gold of this place base, I refused to sell but for Silver. On the sixteenth, we went to the Court (without a Present, presence is not tolerated there) to see a Cock-fighting, but the King spake nothing of any businesse, and except he beginne, no man else may. The next day, I attended all day in vaine, whiles he was solacing himselfe with his Women. On the eighteenth, his Gallies came from Malacca. On the nineteenth, he sent them for Pedir, and so for Malacca. Twelve of them were very faire, with twenty eight and thirtie oares on a side. The Admirall had a Turret built in the Poope, covered with Massie plate of Gold, and curiously wrought. It is reported, that in each of his great Gallies he would carry one thousand men, and in his fleet (beeing three hundred great and little) one hundred thousand. He forced a Guzerate Junke of foure hundred Tunnes, with the Commander, to goe with him: yet it was thought he meant not to goe himselfe, but gave it out to further his businesse; and that Orencay Maraga should be Generall, a man whom he most feareth, as of auncient Nobilitie, a good Souldiour, and popular, yet circumspect. The King beeing going, word was brought that for the

Death by distemper.

Dutch relieved.

King of Achens Gallies.

rest of his debt, I must take pepper at eight tayle the Bahar, which I refused; yet was it weighed, choose whether I would take it, or nothing. Orencay Laxaman demanded for better conditions, a Cable, Anchor, great piece, barrell of powder, twentie shot; and for himselfe sixty tayles of Gold, for other Officers thirtie: so should we settle at Teco, and Priaman for two yeares. At length, for so much Gold, and twentie taile more, he undertooke to procure our dispatch, but at last the other also were demaunded.

On the thirtieth, came in two Dutch ships from Masulipatan, the Admirall the White Lyon, wherein was the Visador and the Ragusa. The Visador sent the King a great peece, with other things for a Present, which were rejected as of too little value. They demanded Sr. Isaac, Captaine of the Dutch house at Achen, as indebted to the Company, whom the King had appointed for Malacca, and held as his slave, and said, That if the Dutch tooke him, they should have no trade in his Countrey. He demanded one of their ships with him to Malacca, alleadging an ancient promise of such a kindnesse by a former Embassadour some twentie yeares agoe, but they excused, and he said, They were an unjust Nation, and denied them his Chop, that they might not goe on shoare for seven or eight dayes, so much as to fill water: and three or foure daies after, they turned their Admirall ashoare, and gave her to the King, willing to give him content, and withall to avoid that desperate Voyage.

Dutch rejected.

[I. iv. 527.]

The seventeenth of August, the Thomas set saile from Achen. The twentie ninth of September, we had a Spout. At our first comming from Achen, we stood off to the West, for avoiding of rocks and shoales about sixtie leagues, wherein being deceived in the Current, we were off one hundred and fiftie leagues, whereby we brought our selves open to the Bay of Bengala, and so into a strong Current, which kept us very long from our Port. The seven and twentieth of October, we anchored in Teco road, and the next day presented the King of

Current deceiveth.

Teco.

Achens letters for two yeeres Factory. The thirteenth of November, the Thomas departed for Bantam, I, George Piborne, John Perce, and my man Peter staying. We had much adoe with these rude people, but bare our selves stiffely on the King of Achens Letters. The ninth of May, 1616. a man of Achen being reviled by a Woman, did beat her, and thereupon grew a great uproare; for the Tecoans having fined him at foure Tailes, he denyed to pay any, and the next day an hundred men came to take him, but all the Acheners joyning, they were repulsed, one slaine, and sixe hurt: and they beeing two hundred, fortified the neather Towne, intending to stand it out to the utmost, affirming that if they should suffer themselves to be over-borne by the Country people, the King of Achen would cut off their legs. The King by this policie (his Officers being all Acheners which will suffer no abuse) holding them in awe. But the matter was ended, Lose Gee the Achener paying a summe of Money. Three moneths before this time, the small pockes were rife here, whereof many died. This moneth also was very unholesome and faint, many dying with a swelling: our selves were sicke round about the house.

Hatred betwixt the Tecoans and Acheners.

Unholesomeness of Tecoo.

The eleventh of June, arrived the Expedition at Priaman. The second of July, there was a Malem that lost both his hands for stealing, who in the execution was not seene once to stirre. The thirteenth, Captaine Payton sent me word, that he feared his men would mutiny, and runne away with the ship, as they had formerly attempted, at Bantam, and therefore desired me to receive some of them ashoare, so to disperse their knot. The sixe and twentieth, the Dragon and Peppercorne anchored at the Offing, Captaine Will. Keeling Generall in the Dragon, and Captaine Harris in the other. They had been with the King, who had graunted them trade at Teco for two yeares, after which time he would have no Nation to trade but at Achen. Hee left M. Nichols principall at Achen.

Knot of knaves.

The eight and twentieth of August, arrived Addicke Raja Pongola Corcon from Achen, who had the Kings goods to sell, and power to receive all the Kings customes past and to come. Hee came in nature of an Informer, and therefore all men stood in feare of him. The first of September began their Randam, at the first of sight of the new Moone: all that Moneth following, they eate nothing but in the night, and that temperately. The fifteenth, wee begunne to buy Pepper, but were forced to promise Addicke Raja one hundred Royals, before we could have any trade. The next day I excepted against the waight, whereupon Raja tooke it away to examine it, whereat the Polimo was much afraid, having in that kind much abused our Nation. The Pongelo came to the English house to reforme the weights, but beeing presently to weigh, gave us a weight lesse then that we had. The next day, I sent him fiftie Ryals for a Present, which he returned, saying, He scorned to be fed like a Boy. The one and twentieth, Captaine Harris being ashoare, seemed to take so much upon him, that Raja Addick sent to him to borrow three hundred Rialls of eight to buy him a Wench, and prest the matter so instantly, that I was forced afterward to send him an hundred.

Ramdam or Lent.

Corruption of Officers, by corruption onely to be amended.

The third of October, I spoke at his instance also unto Captaine Harris, to spare his Carpenters two or three daies to mend his Prow, which he refused to doe. The sixth, came the Speedwell sent by the Generall from Bantam, in the charge of John Clare, Boteswaine of the Hector, sunke at Bantam in the Carining. Newes of five ships from England, foure for Surat, & the Swan for Bantam. The Thomas gone for Japan, the Concord for Socodania, the Attendant for Jambo: from Maccassar also, that the Spaniards are there bound for the Moluccas, twenty seven saile of Ships, Gallies, and Frigats, that we doubted much their comming to Bantam. On the foureteenth, arrived a Java Junke with five Hollanders, which had been cast away in the Æolus, five degrees

Hector sunke.

Spanish fleet feared.

South, and desired our releefe. We graunted them the Speedwell to goe to the Iland Engano, where they had laid their goods and money ashoare, whether they set saile on the three and twentieth. *Dutch releeved.*

The people complaine, that when they sell their Pepper to the King, they loose a fourth part, by reason they take so much more then when they dealt with the English. Reliqua desiderantur.

Chap. XV. [I. iv. 528.]

The second Voyage of Captaine Walter Peyton into the East-Indies, in the Expedition, which was set forth by the East-India Company, together with the Dragon, Lyon, and Pepper-Corne, in January 1614. gathered out of his large Journall.

§. I.

Occurents at Soldania, Mohelia, Socotora, Surat, with divers other Intelligences.

January the foure and twentieth, 1614. wee set saile from Gravesend. The second of February, Sir Thomas Roe Embassadour from his Majestie to the Great Mogoll, repayred aboord the Lyon with fifteene followers. And Master Humpherey Boughton aboord the Pepper-corne, (recommended to the Company by his Majestie) to passe into India. Wee carryed with us in the Fleete eleven Japonezas brought into England by the Clove, divided proportionably amongst the shippes: likewise fourteene Guzerats brought by the Dragon: also nineteene condemned persons out of Newgate, to be left for discoverie of unknowne places, the Company having obtayned the Kings Pardon for them to this purpose. *Sir T. Roe.* *Japonezes Guzerats, and condemned persons.*

On the twentieth, some of the Dragons men, the Newgate-Birds amongst, attempted to run away with their Pinnasse, which then was prevented. But one of those condemned with two of the Pepper-cornes company carryed away her Pinnasse next night; two of my ships company having conspired to carrie away the Boate, but were discovered. The three and twentieth, wee set saile out of the Downes.

Anno 1615. *Maps false in Cape Boyadore, and Marpequena.*

On the sixt of March, lost sight of the Lizard. And on the sixe and twentieth, had sight of land which we supposed the Westermost part of Forteventura, and proved part of Barbarie, one of the land points entering the River Marpequena, beeing misgraduated one whole degree more Northerly then it should be. Likewise Cape Boyadore is misgraded one degree as we then found by experience, escaping great danger caused by that errour in our plats. The sixe and twentieth, the Generall wind began.

The tenth of May, being by reckoning distant from the Cape of Good Hope, bearing East a quarter South, sixe hundred and twentie leagues, wee saw many Pintados, Mangareludas and other fowles; whereof I have not heard the like.

Soldania.

The fift of June, we anchored in the Bay of Soldania, having not buried above three or foure in the whole Fleete, about thirtie being now sicke. Wee built five Tents. Corey came downe and welcommed us after his manner, by whose meanes the people were nothing so fearefull as at other times, nor so theevish. They brought us cattell in great abundance, which wee bought for Copper shreds. Corey shewed some of our people his house, wife and children, at a Towne thence distant five English miles, contayning about one hundred houses. Most of them can say Sir Thomas Smith, English ships, which they often with great glorie repeat. Their wives and children came often downe to us, to whom we gave great content with Bugles and the like. And two or three desired to goe for England, seeing Corey had sped

Corey a Savage which had bin in England.

so well, and returned so rich with his Copper Sute, which he yet keepeth in his house very charily. Corey also determined to returne, and to carry one of his sonnes when our ships are thence bound home-wards. On the East-side of the Table is another Cottage of ten small houses, built round like Bee-hives, covered with Mats made of Bents woven together. *Their houses.*

The sixteenth, we set on shoare by consultation tenne condemned persons, to remayne at the Cape, viz. John Crosse, Henry Cocket, Clerke, Brand, Bouth, Hunnyard, Brigs, Pets, Metcalfe, Skilligall. We gave each man something for his owne defence against wild beasts and men, weapons and victuals. They consented Crosse should be their head; The people desire Brasse, and set not so much by Copper; they desire pieces of a foot or more square. Iron hoops they care little for. We caught seven or eight hundred fishes in the River with Saynes. *Ten condemned persons set on shoare.*

The Countrey people brought us downe of the Root Ningin, whereof wee bought one handfull for a piece of Copper an inch and halfe broad, and two inches and halfe in length. Our men got some, but not so full, nor ripe, this being not the season, which in the full perfection is as tender and sweet as Annis-seeds. On the twentieth, wee set saile. On the five and twentieth, we had sight of land in thirtie foure degrees twentie eight minutes. It is the land to the West of Cape de Arecife, misgraduated twentie seven minutes in Daniels Plats more Northerly then it should be. *Ningin, a medicinable root much prized in Japan, somewhat like a Skirret.* [I. iv. 529.]

Likewise, on the sixt of July, we should have seene land of Saint Laurence, by most of our reckonings according to the Plats of Daniel, (of Mercators projection) which prooved false about seventie leagues in distance of longitude betwixt the land of Æthiopia, Cape Bona Speranza, and the Ile of Saint Laurence, as the same protracted into Plano of Tottens making doe manifest. *False plats.*

The two and twentieth, all foure ships anchored at Mohelia. Wee had water out of Wels, we digged a little above the high water marke close by the rootes *Mohelia. Plentifull refreshing.*

of Trees, eight or nine foote deepe. Doman is the chiefe Towne where the Sultan abides, to whom we gave a double locked piece and a Sword. Wee had plentifull provision for little Money, Hennes, Goates, Bullockes, Limons, Oranges, Limes, Tamera, Coco-nuts, Pines, Sugar-Canes, with other fruits. There are amongst them Arabians, Turkes, Moores, many of which speake reasonable Porteguse. These told me of a strange course of the Current which ranne fifteene dayes Westerly, fifteene dayes Easterly, and fifteene dayes no way: of which somewhat I observed.

Strange Current.

For at our first comming the Current set Westerly: and on the eight and twentieth, it set Easterly, and so continued while we stayed (sixe dayes) but we went away before perfect triall could be made. I learned of them that the King of Juanni was here King, and gave the Government to this Sultan.

The nine and twentieth, a ship arrived at Doman from Gangamora, in Saint Laurence, and I was wished by the Generall to see their Commodities, which were Rice and a kind of cloth made of Barkes of Trees whence they make coole garments. I enquired of the Pilot who spake Portuguse well, touching Captaine Rowles and the Englishmen betrayed in that Iland, of whom they could say nothing, but that two or three yeares past, an English Boy was at Gangamora in the custodie of Portugals, whom they thought now to be dead, neither knew how he came thither. This Towne of Doman hath in it one hundred houses of lime and stone strong built, the Inhabitants orderly and civill. They have traffique on the Coast of Melinde, Magadoxo, Mombassa, Arabia and Saint Laurence: they carrie Slaves taken in warres, which they sell for nine or ten Rials of eight, and are sold againe in Portugall for one hundred. At Momboza and Magadoxo I understood of great Trade for Elephants Teeth and Drugges, and it was concluded to advise the Honourable Companie thereof touching sending a Pinnasse yearely thither. Wee bought in Mohelia two

Tree-cloth.

C. Rowles lost out of the Unitie.

or three Bullockes for a Barre of Iron, weighing betwixt twentie and five and twentie pound. Wee bought there two hundred head of cattell, fortie Goates, Hennes, Fruits, &c.

The second of August, wee set saile from Mohelia: The seventeenth, wee had sight of Cape Guardafui, where the Countrey people were fearefull of us. The twentieth, wee anchored in the Road of Galencia in Socotora, where the fiercenesse of the wind made the Sea in a breach round about us, and with the Sprie of the Sea, which the winde blew about us like raine, our ship and tackling were all over white like a hoarie Frost or white Salt. *Ship white with Salt.*

The three and twentieth, we anchored at Tamarine the Kings Towne, and the foure and twentieth at Delisha. Here, we were demanded thirtie Rials of eight the Kintall of Aloes Socatrina, which made us buy the lesse: (for Captaine Downton, the Faiking said, had bought one hundred Kintals) it was liquid by reason of the newnesse or heat of the Sunne, and readie to run out of the skinnes. Each Kintall contayned by our Beame one hundred, three pounds and a halfe. It is made of the leaves of Sempervive, the tops and roots cut away, and the juice of the rest pressed out and boiled to a certain height, after put up in earthen Pots, stopped closed, so standing eight monethes, and lastly, put in small skinnes to sell. *Aloes Socatrina.*

The North part of Socotora or Socatra, lyeth in twelve degrees thirtie five minutes, and the bodie is one hundred and twentie degrees, twenty five minutes. It is fourteene leagues thence to Abbadelcuria, and as much from thence to Cape Guardafui. And I should wish those that saile to Socatra to touch at the Cape, thence to saile the next morning a little before breake of day, to lose no day-light, which is precious there by reason of the thicke and obscure night, with boysterous winds (and fogges) this moneth and a part of September: from thence to Abbadelcuria, and anchor on the West side thereof in seven or eight fathome water under the low land, or if *Caveat for sailing to Socatra.*

they get no anchorage, to keepe close by a winde to the Southward in the night, lest the windes and Northerly current put them too much to lee-ward before day-light. The winds blow not steddie, notwithstanding the Monson, sometimes South by West, and South South-west, but seldome to the East of the South. On the one and thirtieth, we set saile from Socatra.

The tenth of September, we had Quailes, Hernes and other Land-fowles blowne from land, unable to returne.

On the fourteenth, we had sight of Diu, and on the sixteenth of Doman, inhabited with Portugals, and strongly fortified.

Arrive at Swally. [I. iv. 530.]

On the eighteenth, we passed by the Barre of Surat, and anchored against Swally Barre. The next day we sent a messenger ashoare, and our Boat returned the same night with M. William Biddulph. He told us of affaires in the Countrey, and that Zulpher Car Chan was Governour at Surat. Here we had sheepe for halfe a Riall of eight a piece, and twentie Hennes for a Riall of eight.

Vile prices, base custome at Surat.

The two and twentieth day, Master Barber and other Merchants were sent to Surat, to provide furniture for Sir Thomas Roe the Lord Embassadours house, who were there narrowly searched, their pockets and other parts according to the base manner of the Countrey, where a man must pay custome for a Riall of eight in his Purse, or a good Knife in his pocket: and if any raritie appeare, the Governour under pretence of buying, takes it away.

The five and twentieth, the Lord Embassadour landed, accompanied with the Generall, Captaine and Merchants, and eightie men in Armes with shot and Pike in order, fortie eight Pieces of Ordnance discharged from the Fleet, the shippes also fitted in their holy-day Sutes of waste clothes, Streamers, Ensignes, Flagges, Pendants.

Embassador landed.

The chiefe men of Surat attended in their Tent, and there welcommed him. Much adoe there was about the barbarous search, which they would have executed on

his followers, which the Embassador wholly disclaymed, till at the last he and three or foure of his chiefe Followers were exempted, the rest they would onely imbrace for fashions sake. Much passed also betwixt the Governour and Him about like barbarous exactions, he justly challenging the honour and immunitie of an Embassadour from a free King; they willing to make no difference betwixt him and others of that ranke in those parts, and of our owne also which had assumed that name. Once their barbarous usage not only then perplexed him, and detayned him long till from the Court he had order, but all his time (as hereafter out of his owne Journall shall follow) held him busie more then enough. Neither did they easily acknowledge difference betwixt this Embassadour and Master Edwards, who was so stiled amongst them.

Fugitives.

The first of October, Master Barwickes man (which beeing inveigled by a Fugitive from Captaine Best, and since turned Moore, had runne away) was brought backe from Surat. Others after did the like, and wrote from Damon to perswade others. The second, came aboord two Hollanders which had come thither by land from Petapoli. The tenth, the Governours brother came aboord with faire words and had a Present given him: also we had newes of Master Aldworths death. The Governour impudently urgeth Presents, having had three alreadie, but findeth fault with them, and nominates what he would, begger and chooser both.

The fifth of November, we had newes from Brampore of the Lord Embassadors falling sicke there, and of Master Boughtons death.

Coynes and wares at Surat.

The current Coine at Surat is Rials of eight, whereof the old with the plaine crosse is esteemed best, worth five Mamudies a piece, the new with Flower-delices at the ends of the crosse at foure Mamudies three quarters, if they be not light. The Mamudie is a silver Coyne, course, contayning thirtie Pice, which is a Copper Coyne; twelve drammes make one Pice. The English shilling,

if weight, will yeeld thirtie three Pice and halfe. Larines are much about the worth of Mamudies. Rupies are of sundry sorts; some worth halfe a Riall of eight, other lesse, by which a man may easily be deceived.

Their trading is by Banian Brokers, who are subtile and deceitfull both to the buyer and seller, if not prevented. In their Weights each Citie differeth from other. The Commodities are infinite: the chiefe, Indicoes of two sorts, Checques the courser, and Lahor the finer; Cloth made of Cotton-wooll, as Callicoes white and coloured, contayning fourteene yards the Booke, from two to one hundred Mamudies the piece, Pintados, Chints and Chadors, Shashes and Girdles, Cannakens, Treckanees, Serrabaffs, Aleiaes, Patollas, Sellas, Quilts, Carpets; Greene Ginger, Suckets, Lignum Aloes, Opium, Salarmoniacke and abundance of other Drugs. Commodities vendible are Knives, Glasses, Pictures and such like toyes; English cloth; China wares, Silke and Porcelane; all manner of Spices. The Guzerats lade their great ships of nine, twelve or fifteene hundred tunnes at Goga, and steale out unknowne to the Portugals.

Indus falsly set in Maps.

Chiefe Cities for Trade on the River Sinde or Indus, are Tatta, (on a River which fals into it) Duilsinde, Multan, Lahore. At Duilsinde the Expedition in her former Voyage had delivered Sir Robert Sherley the Persian Ambassadour, of whom I thought good to adde this (which I learned by inquiry of some of his Followers to Agra) as an appendix to that relation in my former Journall.

Of Sir Robert Sherley.

Being weary of Duilsinde by the Governours evill intreatie and suffering the Portugals to molest him, seeking also to cut him off, for which purpose twelve Portugals came from Ormus; He sought libertie to goe to Tatta, but the Governour not permitting (as was thought of evill purpose) he went without leave, and was by the way to passe a River, where none durst carrie him or his, being prohibited on paine of death by the said Governour. They therefore made rafts of boords

Tatta.

and Timbers, on which the Embassadour shipped himselfe with Nazerbeg one of his Followers to helpe him over: and were no sooner put off, but twentie or thirtie Horsemen came from the Governour in great haste to stay them. Thus were they brought backe, men swimming to the raft, which Nazerbeg was not able to guide against the tyde, and they narrowly escaped drowning. His Followers disdaining this rude dealing, one Master John Ward shot off his Pistoll in their faces, and was instantly slaine by another shot, and the rest carryed away Prisoners to Duilsinde, being pillaged by the way of the Souldiers. After some time of imprisonment, the Governour permitted their departure to Tatta, where they were friendly entertained of the Governour being a Persian. Sir Thomas Powell, and Master Francis Bub, were then dead before in Duilsinde. He remayned at Tatta till fit opportunitie for Agra, the way long and in danger of Theeves: whither he went in company of a great man which had a strong Convoy, for whom he waited also two moneths.

Ward slaine. [I. iv. 531.]

Sir T. Powels death and his Ladies.

The Ladie Powell in this space was delivered of a Sonne, but shee and it together with Master Michael Powell, Brother to Sir Thomas, lost their lives in this tedious expectation, in Boats, for that great man aforesaid. At his comming to Agra the Mogoll gave him favourable entertainment, and upon his complaint sent for the Banian Governour of Duilsinde, to answere at the Court, promising him his owne revenge, if he would stay. But hee hasting to the Persian, after many Presents from the Mogoll, with a Convoy and necessaries for his journey, departed for Persia, not having one Englishman with him. Master Richard Barber his Apothecarie returned to Surat, and John Heriot dyed at Agra. There remayned with him of his old Followers only his Ladie, and her Woman, two Persians, the old Armenian and the Chircassian: His Dutch Jeweller came from Agra to Surat, with Master Edwards.

[§. II.

§. II.

Prizes taken, Factorie at Callicut, Observations of divers places of Sumatra: the English shippes miscarrie. Dutch Abuses, Factories in India.

THe nine and twentieth of February, we tooke a Portugall prize. The third of March, we riding at an anchor in the Road of Callicut, the Great Samorines Deputie came aboord many Boats attending him, signifying his Masters joy of our comming, and his earnest desire to have conference with our Nation, and therefore earnestly perswaded us to stay a day or two, till he might send to the Samorine, then at Crangalor, besieging a Castle of the Portugals. We had here store of provision brought aboord at reasonable rates. Callicut hath latitude eleven degrees ten minutes, variation fifteene degrees fortie minutes. The same evening came a Pilot by order from the Samorine to intreate us to ride two or three dayes before Crangalor.

Samorine or King of Calecut.

The fifth, we anchored all foure ships before Crangalor, two leagues from the shoare. About noone the Samorine sent to the Generall to request his company ashoare, which was not thought fit without a pledge, and Master George Barkley went. But the Samorine refused to reveale his minde to any but the Generall, and seemed discontent at his stay.

Crangalor in 10. deg. 15. min.

The eight, he went and spake with the Samorine, whose businesse was to stablish a Factorie in his Dominion, profering a faire house rent-free, freedome from Customes or any other Taxations, for whatsoever goods brought thither or carryed thence, with protestation of his affection to our Nation. Answere was made of our present disabilitie, having left most of our goods at Surat, and now going to Bantam. He replyed, that for present leaving goods it was no matter, only that we would leave two or three English there which should want nothing, and the next yeere we might make supply of men, and

Offers of the Samorines to the English.

goods, hereby he being assured of our returne: otherwise his care and hopes should be frustrated. He told also of a shippes lading of Pepper there to be had yearely, and of the vent of our Commodities. Whereupon it was concluded to leave a Factorie there, which with Merchandise were sent ashoare on the ninth. The men were George Woolman chiefe, Peter Needham and Roger Hares underfactors, Edward Peake, a Boy, and Richard Stamford. The Boy was to learne the Language. The Kings name is Pendre Quone Samorine. A Minion and a Barrell of Powder was given him for a Present. He promised that if hee recovered the fort of Crangalor from the Portugals, the English should possesse it.

Factory at Crangalor.

The tenth, the King sent his Letter of agreement touching the said Priviledges with many protestations of love. This day we set saile. We came before Cochin and might behold the forme of it. The next day we had sight of Coulan Castle, and Towne, and a ship riding at anchor under the Castle which we boorded and brought foorth, the people being fled without hurt of shot from the Castle. It was a Portugall ship of foure or five hundred Tunnes lately arrived from Bengala and Pegu, laden with Rice, Graine, Bengala clothing, Butter, Sugar, Gummelacke, hard Waxe, Drugges and other provisions.

Cochin.

Coulan, a second prize taken.

The twelfth, we espyed another ship which by midnight we fetched up; shee yeelded at the first shot. I sent for her chiefe men aboord my ship (the rest being three or foure miles off), and set some of mine aboord charging them to hurt no person. There were eighteene or twentie Portugals, and about eightie slaves, men, women and children: her chiefe lading Rice, Butter, Sugar, Gummelacke, Drugges, Bengala Stuffe. Wee offered these our first price with victuals to carrie them ashoare, which they refused fearing to become a prey to the Malabars, a Fleete of whom consisting of fourteene saile they lately had with difficultie escaped. The next day wee landed them where they desired and suffered them to depart unsearched for Plate, Jewels, Money

A third prize, in part of satisfaction for their unjust vexation and hurt at Surat, &c.

[I. iv. 532.]

and the like. We had three English ships, and three prices.

Brinion. The fourteenth, we arrived at Brinion where we took out of the first prize what we pleased and set her a drift. Brinion is in latitude eight degrees thirtie minutes, variation fifteen. It hath a small Town in a little round Bay, is to be known by a long white beach to the North, and to the South is all high land: and two leagues to the South, a red Cliffe neere the Sea. From thence to Cape Camorine is sixteene leagues: the course South-east by South bold and free Coast. The Inhabitants of Brinion are no way subject to the Portugals.

1616. The first of Aprill, the bodie of Zeilon did beare East by South seven leagues off.

The tenth, the Pike Adam bare North. I tooke my leave of the Generall, the Dragon and Pepper-Corne they being bound for Achen, and I in the Expedition for Priaman, Tecoo, and Bantam. It is good to ride till the end of March in Brinion, and not to double the Cape by reason of calmes, the Southerly Current setting off to the Maldivæ: but then the Easterly Monson ends.

Note for Cape Comorine.

I would wish all that come from the West to Priaman or Tecco, to dispose that they may have day-light enough for the comming in betwixt Nimptan and the other Ilands adjacent. The best is on the North-side. On the thirtieth, I met the Advice going for Tecoo, but at my request shee returned to Bantam whence she was sent for Japon.

The Advice & Hosiander at Japon.

The first of May, I arrived at Bantam, where I found the Hosiander newly returned from Japon, and the Attendance from Jambe, most of the men sicke or dead. Here I heard of the death of Captaine Downton, and of the arrivall of Captaine Samuel Castleton with the Clove and Defence, which with the Thomas and Concord were gone for the Moluccas: The Thomas appointed to proceed from thence to Japon.

The nineteenth, I set saile for Tecoo. The tenth

of June, I put into Priaman, and the eighteenth arrived at Tecoo. The third of July, I brought my ship on Careene to sheath her. The double sheathing of ships which goe for Surat is of great purpose: for though the outermost sheathing be eaten like a Honey-combe with wormes, yet the inner is nothing perished. It were also requisite that the Rudders were sheathed with thinne Copper, to prevent the Wormes eating off the edges thereof; which causeth great defect in the steering, not easily to bee remedied being so deepe under water. The Inhabitants here are barbarous, deceitfull, expecting bribes, and sometimes I have beene in danger to be murthered, one hundred of them drawing their Crises upon us, because they might not have their will to take our goods upon trust or otherwise at their pleasures. The twentieth, Thomas Bonner Master of the Expedition dyed, John Row succeeded, the third Master in this ship this Voyage.

Strange wormes in the Surat Sea.

The sixe and twentieth, arrived the Dragon and Pepper-Corne from Achen. They had bought there Pepper carryed thither from Tecoo in great Junckes and Prawes which saile to and fro, but never out of sight of land.

The King of Achen commands those of Tecoo to bring thither their Pepper, which none may buy but he, who puts off his Surat Commodities in trucke at what rates he pleaseth. Oft times he sends his Commodities to Priaman and Tecoo, enforcing them to buy them at his rates, none being suffered to buy or sell with other till his bee vented: This makes our trade with them the better.

King of Achen his playing the Merchant.

Jambe is on the East-side of Sumatra. It yeeldeth like great-grained Pepper as Priaman, but is not subject to the King of Achen, as are Baruse, Passaman, Tecoo, Priaman, Cottatinga, and other places on the West-side. Baruse is to the North of Passaman, and yeelds store of Benjamin, Cottatinga Gold, the other places Pepper. The Generall brought the King of Achens Letter to them which the great men received with great submission,

Jambe.

each kissing and laying it on his head, promising us to performe the contents, but failed. And it were fit in these Letters of the King, to procure him to expresse the manner and particulars of our Trade. The eleventh of September, I set saile from Tecoo for Bantam.

Passaman best Gold and Pepper. The best Gold and most plenty is had at the great high hill of Passamam, where also is greatest quantitie of Pepper, the fairest and best cheape: but the evill constitution of the aire is so pestilent and infectious, that there is no going thither for our Nation without mortalitie of men: neither needs for the Pepper, Surat Commodities at Tecoo being sufficient attractive. Many of the Natives I have observed full of contagious diseases, the limbes of some ready to droppe off with rottennesse, others having huge swellings (Wennes) under their throat as bigge as a two peny loafe, which they impute to the bad water. They are very ignorant to cure their diseases.

Gold, and good constitution of bodie or mind, not agreeing.

Tecoo barbarous. The people of Tecoo are base, theevish, subtill, embracing gaine at any price by fraud, or (as farre as they dare) by force, mis-reckoning, false weights, yea attempting to poison our meates and drinkes as they are dressing, creesing also our horses. Better order may be hoped by the King of Achens procurement. There were but five left in the Factory. Our two Portugall prizes wee made away at Achen, sharing (according to the custome of the sea) one sixt part to the shippes companies, the rest for our employers, &c.

[I. iv. 533.] *Observations for going into PriamanRoad. Hee mentioneth many other shoalds not heere expressed, but knowne to our Country men by experience.* Betwixt Priaman and Tecoo there lyeth a dangerous shoald North-west by West, from the South-west Ile of Priaman, a mile and a quarter in length, and in breadth a quarter, of which care is to be had, lest the Current setting Southerly put you on it. This and other shoalds hereabouts being white Corall, are easily discerned. When the South-west Ile doth beare South South-east from you, then are you past danger, provided the Northermost Ile of the foure by Priaman shoare beare East by North, so may you steere in for the Road, East, and East by South, and East South-east, leaving two Ilands,

on the Starboord, and two on the Larboord side. Latitude of Tecoo is South thirtie minutes, variation West foure degrees, thirty minutes: latitude of Priaman is also South betwixt eight and forty degrees, fifty minutes.

Many of our men were sicke, whereof the cause seemeth their immoderate drinking of Arack and strong drinkes. At Bantam were at my last being there (October 1616.) foure English ships there and at Jackatra, and five Flemmish ships, which raised the price of Pepper, and the rather by the Hollanders boasts of bringing this yeare sixteene hundred thousand Rialls of eight, readie money, which it is likely they reported to outbrave our Nation. The last Fleet of theirs, sixe in number, tooke two or three Portugall ships, whereof they made great bravado's. They seeke by all abuses to depresse our Nation, in unchristian manner through the Indies: even in Bantam (where they acknowledge our equall right) they threaten to pull our people out of the Factory by the eares; sometime quarrell with them in the streets, other times imprison them; and when themselves have caused an uproare, they complaine to the King of Bantam of our unquietnesse, and bribe him to command us to be quiet, who receiveth their money, and tells us of their dealing, himselfe taking advantage to pole both parts, by this disagreement.

Huge summes transported by Hollanders.

Their pride and abuses of the English.

Also at Puloway, an Iland freely given his Majestie, they abused our people, putting halters about their neckes, and leading them thorow the Towne with an houre-glasse before them, publishing that they should be hanged so soone as the glasse was runne: and although they did not effect that honorable designe, yet did they imprison them, and keepe them three or foure dayes in irons, afterwards sending them aboord the Concord and Thomasine upon a counterfeit composition never to returne (these things are reported to bee very true.) Likewise at the returne of the Hosiander from Japan, shee brought thirtie tunnes of wood, free of fraight and

Insolencies at Puloway.

charges, for the Hollanders; who notwithstanding reported that shee had returned empty but for their wood: which they might have said as well of my bringing one and thirtie Churles of Indico, and a Chist of Pistolls fraight-free for them from Surat to Bantam.

Captaine Castleton to the Moluccas with foure ships.

Captaine Castleton went to the Moluccas with foure ships, the Cloave, Defence, Thomas and Concord, to be better able to defend themselves against the Hollanders: but being threatned by eleven saile of theirs, they returned without doing any great matter, onely a few Cloaves laded in the Cloave: the Captaine himselfe dying there of the fluxe, to whom the fault is imputed with other things laid to him.

Decay or losse of English ships. Trades Increase.

The Trades-Increase was fired twice by the Javans, and by our people quenched: but the third time fired in so many places at once, that industry could not save her.

Darling.

The Darling (that I may adde such ships as were lost and laid up at my departure from Bantam) was laid up at Patania, in June 1615. by Master Larkine and the Factory, and could not be repaired: Herrold the Master was reported to have intended to runne away with her to the Portugals, which being prevented, he yet went himselfe.

Thomasine.

The Thomasine was cast away, comming from the Moluccas, upon a shoald in the night, in September 1615. they lost their goods, which were not much, but saved their money, two thousand Rialls of eight, with their provisions, living fourteene dayes in a desolate Iland, where they fitted their Boat, which brought them and their money to Bantam, leaving the rest behind; the King of Macasser seizing on them, who would not make restitution. This shoald lyeth eighteene leagues West from Macasser.

Hector.

The Hector failed at Jacatra in careening, the upper workes not fitted (as is reported) and the seames opening, and receiving so much water, that shee suncke in three fathom, the keele exceedingly worme-eaten.

The Concord is there also laid up, rotten and leake, that they were forced to take out her provisions, and let her sinke close to the shoare. *Concord.*

The Hosiander was appointed to set saile for the Coast of Coromandel, the fifteenth of October, 1616.

The Factories which I could heare of setled for the Company in the East-Indies are these: Bantam (wherein were George Barkley Chiefe, John Jordan, George Ball, Ralph Copendale, with divers others both Factors and Attendants) Jacatra, Surat, Amadavas, Agra and Azmiro, Brampore, Calecut, Masulipatan, Petapoli, Patania, Siam, Beniarmasse, Socodania, Macasser, Achen, Jambe, Tecoo, Ferando in Japan, Japar, Banda. *English Factories.*

The commodity which ariseth from the Factory at Achen is to sollicite for our better proceeding at Priaman and Tecoo, the place is unholesome, especially for such as stuffe themselves with hot and fiery drinkes, as Aracke and Aracape, which bring many unto untimely ends; whence ariseth an imputation to the Voyage. How unruly the common sort are abroad, cannot be imagined at home, many never thinking themselves well, longer then whiles their braines are a crowing with drinke. The King of Achen is said to have a strange straine of drinking drunke, when the English resort to him, thereby to shew his love; to whom it seemeth dishonour, not to conforme in sitting in the water with him, and other his rites. He is very cruell to his subjects, daily cutting off their hands, armes or legges, upon small or no occasions; causing them to bee throwne before Elephants, himselfe commanding the (understanding) Elephant to tosse the partie so oft and so high, either to bruise or kill him, as he fancieth. He hath prohibited any, which arrive at his Port, without his Chop to come on shoare, which a Dutch Merchant neglecting, caused a Dutch General there arriving to come on land, professing his great favour with the King: who comming to the Court-gate, where they must demand another Chop: the King finding the chiefe Leeger cause of that pre-

Aracke a wine distilled out of Rice steeped in liquor taken out of the Coco-tree. [I. iv. 534.] *King of Achen.*

sumption, sent for him, and laid him before the Elephant, which tossed him three times (without much bruising) to teach him how to neglect the commands of Kings another time; the Dutch Generall standing by, and fearing his owne share, whom yet the King cleared as ignorant of his Law. The King after sent for the Merchant to prie into his patience, who for feare of worse, soothed him, and acknowledged it a fatherly chastisement, yet closely fled at the departure of the ships; the rest following were brought backe, and the King hath placed us in their house.

Cause of disgust betwixt the Achener and Hollander.

§. III.

A briefe Declaration of the Ports, Cities and Townes, inhabited and traded unto by the Portugall, betwixt the Cape of Good Hope and Japan, as I could learne by diligent enquiry.

Places of Portugall trade. Quame or Cuamo.

THe River Quame in South latitude one and twenty degrees, fifty minutes, heere is reported to be Gold, Elephants-teeth, Ambergreese and Slaves, for which they trade yearely.

Mosambique. Mosambique is an Iland where they trade for Gold, Ambergreese and Slaves.

Mombassa. Mombassa in South latitude three degrees, thirty minutes, where they yearely trade for Gold, Ambergreese, Elephants-teeth, and Slaves, in trucke of Iron, Lead, Tinne, and Cambaya Commodities.

Magadoxa. Magadoxo hath two degrees, five and twenty minutes, store of Elephants-teeth, some Ambergreese, and divers sorts of Drugges. From these places they drive their annuall trade into Cambaya, the Red-sea, and other places, observing the Monsons, which blow West in Aprill, May, June, July, August, and part of September, and the East Monson the rest of the yeare, the space betwixt both, being various or calme, but in few dayes

The Monsons course.

hold course, except to the East of Sumatra, where they keepe five moneths East, and five West, two variable.

Ormus in the Gulfe of Persia, whence they trade into Persia, Arabia, Diulsinde, &c. they fetch much Pearle from Balsora, and with Persian Commodities lade a shippe or two for Diulsinde, where in the end of August, or middle of September they arrive; they bring with them also great store of Rialls of eight. Ormus is their best place, but Goa, which they have in the Indies. *Ormus.*

Muskat: they have small trade heere, and a Fort, where they awe the Natives by land and sea, not suffering them to trade but by their licence, what, and how much, under paine of confiscation, which they practise thorow all the Indies, where they are strong. *Muskat.*

Sinde or Duilsinde, in the Mogolls Dominion, in foure and twenty degrees, eight and thirty minutes: variation West, sixe degrees, five and forty minutes. Diu, where they have a strong Castle. *Sinde.* *Diu.*

Damon is a Citie inhabited by them, where they have a Castle, and by report one hundred Villages. *Damon.*

Serra de Bazien, is a little South from Damon, and bordereth upon the Decans Countrey, betwixt which and Chaul they have three Ports, Gazien, Banda and Maia. Chaul is a great Citie with a Castle. Dobul hath a Factory, but no Fort. *Serra de Bazien.* *Chaul.* *Dabul.*

Goa is their Metropolitan Citie of India, built on a small Iland, the anchoring place of their Carickes, the Seat of their Vice-Roy. *Goa.*

Onor hath a small Fort. Barcolor hath a Castle and Towne, it yeeldeth Pepper, Ginger, and many sorts of Drugges. *Onor.* *Barcolor.*

Mangalor hath a Towne and Castle. Cananor is a Citie, and hath a Castle, Merchandize as before. From Calicut they are thrust out by the Samorine, as he seeketh also at Crangalor, where they have a Fort. *Mangalor.* *Cananor.* *Crangalor.*

Cochin hath a strong City and Castle, pleasantly situated by the Sea side in a good ayre, with a faire River for ships to ride. *Cochin.*

[I. iv. 535.] Cowlan, heere they have a Towne and strong Castle. *Cowlan.* Saint Laurence is a small Village, inhabited by Friers and *Saint Laurence.* Jesuits.

Quilaon. Quilaon, is a small Citie with a Castle. *Tuckatra.* Tuckatra, a Towne with a Castle, the people most part Christians.

Maner. Maner, is on the Iland Zelon, betwixt Cape Comorine and Punto de Galle, a Towne inhabited by Portugals.

Columbo. There also they have Columbo, and many other small habitations, having almost conquered the Iland: it yeelds Sinamom and Drugges.

Negapatan. Negapatan, is a City of great trade: heere they have *Saint Thomas.* only a Factory. Saint Thomas, alias Maliapor, is a walled City, inhabited with Portugalls, in thirteene degrees, *Ganges.* twenty minutes. Up the River Ganges, they have many small habitations, some Factories, and a Towne at Bengala.

Pegu. In Pegu, they have a Factory, and likewise in Aracon, *Aracon.* and in the River of Martaban.

Junsalao. At Junsalao, they have a great Factory, from whence they lade much Tinne for the Coast of Malabar.

Malacca. Malacca, is a strong city and castle, the Centre of a great trade in those parts, whence the King of Achen seekes to roote them out, having burnt and spoiled some of their ships this yeare.

At Macao, an Iland upon the Coast of China, they have a Citie with a Castle, reported to be of great trade with the Chineses.

Japan. In Japan, they have a Factory, but neither Towne nor Fort. They trade also on the Coast of China, in the time of fitting Monson to and from Japan and other parts: whereof the Hollanders are said to make good pillage, and of all Heathen Nations, Chineses and others, being all fish that comes to net.

The first of November, we set saile. The fifth of January, I was not able to weigh the anchor (the wind over-blowing) to follow the Dragon to Pengwin Iland. My advise for ships comming about the Cape at this time of the yeare, is, not to anchor short of Soldania Road,

but rather to put romer for Pengwin Iland, and there to anchor with two at once till the wind serve.

In December, January and February, the South South-east winds are there very furious, from the new Moone to the ful. I hold it dangerous neverthelesse to neglect this place in hope of Saint Helena (a certainty for uncertainty) the Sunnes and Moones often obscuritie and thicke mists at this time of the yeare, may frustrate the best Artists to the losse of shippe and men. Cory came downe with three sheepe, and promised more: but hasted away to his wife and children, which he said now dwelt further. It seemeth that the Hollanders have frighted them, by their going up into the Countrey with one hundred men at a time. Our best refreshing heere was fresh-fish. *Note.*

The ninth of Aprill 1617. wee passed much weeds, called the Seragasso, which lye in long ridges or rankes a pretty distance one from another alongst with the wind, with which they alter and shift. It hath a leafe like Samper, but not so thicke, and a yellow berry very small. It reacheth from two and twenty degrees, three minutes North latitude, unto two and thirty degrees North latitude. The nine and twentieth of May we anchored in the Downes. *Seragasso.*

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Chap. XVI.

Observations collected out of the Journall of Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, Lord Embassadour from His Majestie of Great Britaine, to the Great Mogol: Of matters occurring worthy memory in the way, and in the Mogols Court. His Customes, Cities, Countryes, Subjects, and other Indian Affaires.

§. I.

Occurrents and observations, in, and touching the Voyage to Surat.

Uncertainty of the Variation.

THe fifth of June, we anchored in the roade of Soldania. Though the Variation be an excellent evidence in the whole course of veering land, yet it delivereth no other certaintie, but warning to look out; for it lessens not in the same proportion neere land, but by a much slower: for which I could give a perspicuous reason, but too large for this place, nor can any judgement at all be made to twenty leagues thereby (that shall be infallible) the magneticall amplitude beeing so difficult to observe truely by the Ships motion, and the Needles quicknesse, that a degree is scarce an error. This consideration made me confident, that we should see no land untill the fifth day early in the morning.

Soldania.

[I. iv. 536.] Soldania, is as I suppose, an Iland in the South end whereof is the Cape of Good Hope, divided from the maine by a deepe Bay on the South-East side, and due East by a River, which wee discerne upon the table. The land is fruitfull, bearing short thicke grasse, the maine is divided with most high and steepe rocky Mountaines covered with snow, and unaccessible, except it be

searched by the River of Dulce, which doubtlesse is very great, falling into the Bay on the East side: there is on the Iland five or sixe hundred people, the most barbarous in the world, eating Carrion, wearing the guts of sheepe about their necks for health, and rubbing their heads (curled like Negroes) with dung of beasts and durt: they have no other clothing then beasts skinnes wrapt on their shoulders, the skin next the body in heat, in cold the hairy side; their houses are but one mat, concaved like an Oven, into which they creepe, and turne them about as the wind changes: for they have no doores to keepe it out. They have left their stealing by trading with us, and by signes make shew their heart is good: they know no kind of God or Religion. The aire, and water is very good and wholesome, and both of them subtile and searching. There is on the Iland, Buls, Cowes, Antelops, Baboones, Moules of great bignesse, Feasants, Partridges, Larks, Wild-geese, Ducks, Passerflannugos, and many others. On Pengwin there is a fowle so called, that goes upright, his wings without feathers, hanging downe like sleeves faced with white: they fly not, but walke in pathes and keep their divisions and quarters orderly; they are a strange fowle, or rather a miscellaneous creature, of Beast, Bird, and Fish, but most of Bird, confuting that definition of man to be Animal bipes implume, which is nearer to a description of this creature. The commodities here are, first reasonable refreshing with Cattell (so that a season be chosen when they are not leane, a Moneth after the Sunne is departed from them Northward) Maugin rootes, Arras, if our Merchants be not deceived; and I doe strongly suppose, that I found out a Rocke yeelding Quick-silver and Vermillion, the stone being spotted all without, with a most pure red colour, equall to any painting, and that will come off upon Paper, or other fit matter: by the description of John Acosta it cannot faile to be the same; it is also very heavy, full of Marquisat and minerall appearances. The Table, or high Rocke so called, by a straight line

Pengwin Iland.

The height of the Table.

from the water side, is 11853 foot high: the Bay is full of Whales and Seales. The Dutch have fished on Pengwin for them: the latitude is, thirtie three degrees fortie five minutes: the longitude twentie eight degrees thirtie minutes from the Lisard, the variation doubtfull, whether to the East or West; but my opinion is, that the variation is West thirty minutes: the cause of variation beeing in the maine, as appeares evidently by the many lines, and changes towards the Cape F. and after Westerly: if any shipping, having time enough, fall but one hundred leagues more to the North with the maine, which may be done with safety, no winds forbidding it, I assure my selfe they shall have good trade for Cattell, and other Commodities, and may by leaving some men discover the land, and perhaps get knowledge of the people that trade with the Spaniards on the East side in one and twenty degrees for Gold, after the manner of the Moores in Barbary to Gago. These left at the Cape will goe no further, but attend opportunity of passage, and there can doe no great good being among the basest banished people, that know nothing savouring of man, nor are no other way men, but as they speake and walke like men.

Molalia. Molalia is one of the foure Ilands of Comory, Angazesia, Juanny, and Mayotta beeing the other three. They lie East and West neere in a parallel one off another, except Angazesia, which lieth somewhat more North. Molalia is in twelve degrees twentie minutes South latitude, in the same Meridian with Cape Augustine, the variation being sixteene degrees fortie minutes.

Angazesia. Angazesia beares from it by the Compasse North by West, seven leagues off, the further-most end in eleven degrees fiftie five minutes, extending it selfe North eleven degrees sixe minutes, as I observed within five leagues thereof, bearing South from me; it is the highest land I ever saw, inhabited by Moores trading with the Maine, and the other three Easterne Ilands with their Cattell and fruits, for Callicoes, or other linnen to cover them. It is

A. 1615.

governed by tenne petty Kings, and is sufficiently fruitfull of Kine, faire Goates, Cocos, Orenges and Limons: they made us fires as we passed by, being desirous of trade at the first hand which now they fetch by Canoes at Molalia where our ships ride. They are held a false and an unfaithfull people, having betraied some of Sir James Lancasters men long since; but now having experience of us at other Ilands, I doubt not they would regaine their credits.

Juanny, and Mayotta.

Juanny lies from Molalia East, and Mayotta in the same course, the coast betweene them is every way bold. These three Islands are very full of very good refreshings, but principally Mayotta, as I was informed by the Arabs trading in Molalia, and the Dutch stop there. The next in goodnesse is Juanny, where lives an old Woman Sultannesse of them all, to whom they repaire for Justice, both in Civill and Criminall causes.

The governement of Molalia.

Molalia hath in it three Sub-Sultans, children of the old woman, two men one daughter, who governe severall parts of the Iland. The Sultan in whose quarter we anchored hath such authoritie, that his subjects dare not sell a Nut untill leave obtained: to which end, Captaine Keeling sent foure boats to his Towne desiring libertie to trade, where they were received by a Governour, or rather an Admirall or Commander of the port, lying some foure leagues to the Eastward of our Road, where having obtained leave to come ashoare, we landed some fortie men with Captaine Newport: the Governour they found sitting upon a Mat of straw, under the side of a Junke [I. iv. 537.] which was a building, accompanied with about fiftie men, his apparrell was a Mantle of blue and red linnen, wrapt about him to his knees, his legges and feet bare, on his head a close Cap of checker worke, the Interpreters were certaine Magadoxians, that spake Arabique and broken Portuguise. Captain Newport presenting him with a Peece and a Sword blade from Capt. Keeling, received a welcome, and commanded foure Bullocks to be returned in requitall, and with gravitie enough intertained

them, giving free libertie to buy and sell, and signifying so much by a Messenger to the Inhabitants round about, and promised to send downe his owne Cattell, but professed he had no power to compell or make price for others, but left the trade open to every mans will. He sent for Coco Nuts to give the Company, himselfe chewing Bittle, and lime of Burnt Oyster-shels with a kernell of a Nut called Arracca, like an akorne, it bites in the mouth, avoids rheume, cooles the head, strengthens the teeth, and is all their Phisick: it makes one unused to it giddie, and makes a mans spittle red, and in time colours the teeth, which is esteemed a beautie: this is used by all men hourely. From the Governour they were led to a Carpenters house, a chiefe man of that towne; the house built of lime and stone, plaistered with mortar or white lime, low and little Rooft, with Rafters of wood covered with leaves, the out-sides walled with Canes: they are kept cleanely, and their poore houshold-stuffe still neate, their Gardens paled with Canes, inclosing some Tobacco, and Plantan trees. For Dinner, a boord was set upon Tressels covered with a fine new Mat, benches of stone about it likewise covered, on which they sat: first water was brought to every man in a Coco-shell poured out into a wooden platter, and instead of a Towell, the rinds of Cocos. Then was set boyld Rice, and roasted Plantans upon the Rice, quarters of Hennes, and pieces of Goat broild. After grace said, they fell to their meat, with bread made of Cuscus beaten, and mingled with honey, and so fryed, and Palmet wine, and Coco milke for drinke. I sent a Gentleman and my Chaplin to see the Sultan himselfe, who lives three miles up in the land from Fambone the towne of the Governour, but they found him by chance there: he used them courteously and made them dine with him, differing little from the former intertainement, only the Governour and all other gave him much respect, kissing his hand, his name is Sultan Amar-Adel, a kinne to Mahomet, not unlike to be descended of such an imposterous race, his clothes not

unlike the Governour, but somewhat better stuffe, his manners differing much, beeing with lesse gravitie and State, somewhat a light foole, and very hastie to be drunke with wine carried by the English. The other Vice-Sultan his brother, in whose quarter we were not, I saw beeing come downe to our Road with three slaves to trade: he brought a Certificate from Captaine Sayers, that he had used the English well in his Dominions, he is as well Xeriffe as Sultan, which is high Priest: he kept a kind of State in place, but otherwise a poore bare-footed roague: he offered to trade for Quick-silver, and beeing asked what quantitie hee would buy, replyed to foure or five Rialls of eight, when this merchandize failed him, hee fell to begging of shooes. Then I left him.

All the people are strict Mahometans, observing much of the old law, and at this time being the preparation to their Randam or Lent, unwilling to drinke wine: they are very jealous to let the Women or Moschees to be seene, of which we had experience by an alarme of one of their Priests, who espied one of ours comming to a Village, who shut up all the Women, and cryed out if we came neere them or their Church, they would kill us; but by the authoritie of the Xeriffe, the Priest was appeased, and suffered it with more patience. Many of them speake and write the Arabique in a faire Character, and some few Portiguise, trading to Mosambique in Junkes of fortie Tunnes made of Cocos sowed, in stead of Pinnes caucked, tackled, and wholly fitted, victualed, and fraughted with that universall tree.

Here our fleet refreshed with Oxen and Cowes, small as two yeereling, but good flesh, with Goats very fat and large, Arabian sheepe, Hennes, Cocos, Orenges, Limons, Limes in great abundance, which we bought for Callicoes, Hollands, or other linnens, Sword-blades, and Rialls of eight, and their fruits for Glasses, Knives and trifles: whatsoever is bought for money is bought dearest.

Here was in trade a Junke of Madagascar with slaves: the Pilote of the Junke called Malim Abrinme spake

Portuguise, and told me on the South-side of S. Laurence there was store of Amber-greece, and Cocos of the Sea; hee was skilfull in the coast, and in the lying and bearing of lands, both in course and distance. He had a great parchment Card, lined and graduated orderly, which I sent to see: he found fault with many things in my Card at sight, which I mended by his direction, and with reason, as the distance from Socatra from the Maine, and rasing quite out certaine Ilands to the Southward of Melalia, affirming there are none such: his countrey lyes from one degree fiftie minutes, to foure degrees, the Port in two degrees tenne minutes North latitude, governed by one King: he assured me of trade enough at his port to load one ship with Marsill, Amber, and Tinta Roxa: he promised to bring me his Plot and soundings, and a sample of Tinta Roxa, but some other cause diverted him, that he would come no more at me, notwithstanding I dealt liberally with him in present and in promises. To the South of Magadoxa, all the Ports are governed by Moorish petty Kings, even to Mosambique: he perswaded me that wee might in many places trade for Gold and Silver; that in Magadoxa the houses roofes were gilt, that [I. iv. 538.] they had gold in sand, and mingled with earth, which they esteeme not: of the Inland hee knew little, onely naming some places or Regions betweene Magadoxa and Prester John, as Odola Mahesa, Rohamy and Gala, of which Odela and Gala, are Chaphares which signifieth mis-beleevers; I know not whether he meanes Gentiles or Christians, using the same promiscuously aswel to Prester John as to other Gentiles. Of Prester John, he knoweth no more, then that hee is a great Prince and a. Caphar: from Magadoxo to Cambaya, hee was expert, his brother who came with him to me, was in fight against the Hope in a Portugall ship, pressed from Damon, in which fortie five were slaine, more he knew not, but that three ships were burned, and the rest run away; he said the King of *Chaul, Damon.* Dabul tooke courage on this victorie and surprised Chaul, Damon, & other the Portugals Port Townes, was march-

ing to Goa, that the Portugall was in great distresse of victuals. I hoped to have stored my selfe with more discourse from him, but I was, I know not how, prevented: it were time well bestowed to see this Coast, and I spake to some of it, but it fared the worse for the Father.

The Road of Molalia lyes in twelve degrees ten minutes, and for the first sixe dayes the Current sets two leagues a watch South-west, the Moone increasing at the ful, we woond up North-east the other way but very easily, for the most part riding upon the Current. The Magadoxians made some absurdly beleeve, that the Current set fifteene dayes one way, and fifteene another, and fifteene dayes still: which because of the first sixe dayes it set South-west, and after wee woond up North-east, it begot the opinion of a wonder, but the Current sets constantly South-west, and before the full of the Moone, it had such power on the ebbe and floud that wee never woond, but at the full Moone and Spring-tydes we roade upon the floud against the Current it running under, and the tyde above, highing sixteene foote water, and the ebbe winding backe with the Current, so that the supposed chance of the Current, was on the strong tydes, at the full Moone overcomming it above: for at Sea when the spring was past, I found the same Current, and though we were set to the Eastward the first day we weighed, unto the Westward the next, the cause was the Eddies of Juanny one day, and Angazesia the other, but being cleere of them it set his due course, that I raised little, and did West-ward much.

The fourteenth of August, in the morning we saw the Coast of Magadoxia in foure degrees of North latitude foure leagues off sounding, had eighteene fathome of low land, white sandie bankes. Then wee stood off East North-east, the difference of longitude betweene the Maine and Molalia in Mercators projection, agreeing with our account. And also by course having found the longitude of Cape Saint Augustine and Molalia to be *Magadoxia.*

one: I conclude that Saint Laurence ought to be laid to the East thirtie nine or fortie leagues according to my first opinion, and all the Coast of the Maine being broader then it is land in the Card, must be also set in proportion to the East-ward, because the distance of longitude is right from one to the other, though all their longitude false in themselves: from Malalia, to fall with Cape de Bussos, North North-east one quarter East way is the best course, it being necessary to see the Mayne about the latitude in this course since we lost the Westerly Current at Angazesia, I found none or very little contrary to all Journals, our Mariners in this course are of as many opinions as points in the Compasse, both for Currents, distances and bearings according to Compasse or Variation: but I observed the truth in the latter end of this South-west Monson, which, I confesse, may alter in the heart of a contrary Monson, the setlednesse of the wind causing much change in the Currents, of which no rule can be given.

Abdalacora, or Abbadelcuria. They lost divers Cables & Anchors.

The two and twentieth, at Abdalacora and the high lands of Socatra, the windes powred downe with such impetuousnesse, and the ground so rockie, that I advise all to forbeare to anchor under them, for if they be put from their anchors in the night, they shall fall so farre to leeward, that they cannot recover the Iland, but must lose company: but if night or weather force them to anchor, let them chuse to ride where some lower land breakes the violence of the wind from the hils. Wee rode in the second quarter of the increasing Moone, which rose then above the Horizon about twelve at noone, and set at midnight, at which time these winds begun to rage so long as she is under the earth, and rising againe it becomes temperate, the Moone is a great Ladie of weather in these parts and requires much observation.

Tamara.

The three and twentieth, we weighed together and came to anchor afore Tamara, the Kings Towne, bringing the low point to the East of the high sandie hill without it East by North in ten fathome water a mile from the

Towne: here the Sultan sent us word, the winds were from the hils so forcible that we should hardly ride, but advised us to goe to Baia Delicia, two leagues to the East where he would meete us: it is a very good Road deserving the name of delightfull for the peaceablenesse thereof in respect of others: it is a Valley of much lower hils; betweene the water and the raggie Mountaines of Tamera, you may bring the two little Homocks that lye on the low point without the high land to the East-ward South-east, and the low land that was East by North in Tamera Road North-west by West, and ride in ten fathome within three quarters of a mile of the shoare, latitude in thirteene degrees five minutes, the variation eighteene degrees twentie minutes, the ground is white, sand, but rockie so that you must coatch or boy your Cables. *Delicia.*

Socatra is an Iland in the mouth of the Red Sea, called anciently Dioscuria or Dioscorida, standing in twelve degrees fiftie five minutes, governed by a Sultan called Amar-Ben-Seid borne in the Iland, the Sonne of the King Farteque in Arabia Fœlix called Sultan-Seid-Ben-Seid, who was Sultan of Socatra, in the time of his Grand-father, as this shall be King after his Father of Fartaque, and his sonne left at Socatra (the Kingdome of Fartaque lyes from fifteene degrees to eighteene degrees along the Coast of Arabia, and to the North to the Mountaines, he is at peace with the Turke, (who holds all Arabia in Tribute, except this Countrey) on this condition to send five thousand men in ayd of the Turke, if he require it to bee paid by the Turke, without other acknowledgement. There lyes neere the Sea a pettie King about Dosar, with whom he dares not meddle, being in the Grand Seigniors protection. This is the relation of Amar-Ben-Seid of Socatra. The Sultan of Socatra met our Fleet with three hundred or thereabouts, having set up a Tent at Baia Delecia: he rode upon a Horse, and three of his chiefe Servants on two Horses and one Camell, the people marching before and behind him, shouting after the Turkish manner, with two Guards, [I. iv. 539.] *Socatra, or Socatora.*

one of Souldiers, which are his Countreymen, and twelve of private Guard, hired Guzerats, some with Turkish Bowes, some with Pistols, some with Muskets, all with good Swords, he had a few Kettle Drummes, and one Trumpet. When the Generall went ashoare, he received him with state and courtesie: he is a subtile man of good understanding, as appeares by his Government and divers Answeres: hee raignes so absolutely that no man can sell any thing but himselfe, his people sit about him with great respect, his Officers standing by, who take account of Trade, and receive and pay: his clothes are of Surat Stuffes, after the Arabs manner with a Cassock of wrought Velvet red and white, and another the ground Gold, a very good Turbant, but bare-footed, every night at Sunset they stand or kneele all towards the Sunne and pray, the Xeriff throwing water on their heads: their Religion is Mahometan: the Kings Towne of Tamara, is built of lime and stone whited over, battelled and pinnacled, the houses being flat at the top it shewes faire in the Road, but when one is there is but poore; Master Boughton borrowed the Kings horse, and obtayned leave to see his house, the King sending a Sheck with him, he found it not answerable to the appearances, yet such as an ordinary Gentleman might make a shift with in England, his lower roomes were used as Ware-houses, one as a Wardrope, where hung a long the wals some changes of Robes, and twentie five Bookes of their Law, Religion, Storie, and Saints lives, of which I could obtayne none, but above no man may come to see his Wives which are three, nor other women, but the ordinary are seene in the Townes, with their eares full of silver Rings; in the Church the Priest was at service, but seeing Master Boughton take out his Watch, hee soone finished and came and wondred. There was provided three Hennes for their dinner with Rice, and for drinke water and *Cohu.* Cohu, blacke liquor taken as hot as may be endured: at his returne, the King in complement said, hee had seene a poore place, but desired him to accept it.

TE COLVI VIRTVS
VT REM. SED NOMEN INANE ES.
S.r THOMAS ROE Kt. Embassador to the Great Mogul,
Grand Signior, Kings of Poland, Sweden & Denmark, the Emperor
& Princes of Germany at Ratisbon, Chancellor of y Garter & Privy Counsellor.
Ob.t An. D. 1644.

There is a Castle foure square on a hill, a mile from Tamara, but he could not get licence to see it. The people are of foure sorts, Arabs his Countrymen, who it seemes are his strength, and such as are not the ancient Inhabitants, but come in with the Conquest of his Ancestors, and those obey him, and dare not speake without licence, as appeared, when one seemed of qualitie to speake, he asked him how hee durst open his mouth in his presence, but approching kisse his hand. A second sort are of Slaves, who when they come to him kisse his foot, and these doe all his worke and make his Aloes. A third sort, as I suppose, the olde Inhabitants of the Countrey, but not the eldest, called Bedwines, the same which other Historians have called Jacobits Christians, that have long dwelt there, with these he hath had a warre, as the Arabs report, and dwell in the Mountaines very populous but are now at peace, on condition to live quietly, and to breed their children Mahometans, which I perceive they doe not, having no manner of conversation with the Arabs. The reason why I take them to be the old Jacobite Christians, mentioned by Maginas, Purchas and others, is, because Master Boughton saw an old Church of theirs in the way to Tamara, left desolate, the doore shut, but onely tyed, being desirous to enter it, the Sheck his guide told him it was full of Spirits, yet he adventured in and found an Altar with Images, and a crosse upon it, which he brought out, then the Shecke told him they were a people of another Religion, but very loth to have them much enquired after, as I suspect, knowing them to be a kind of Christians, doubting we would either wish them better, or not suffer them to bee oppressed. The fourth sort are a savage people, poore, leane, naked, with long haire, eating nothing but Roots, hiding in bushes, conversing with none, afraid of all, without houses, and almost as savage as beasts, and by conjecture, the true ancient Naturals of this Iland. *Bedwines.*

The Iland is very mountainous and barren: having

some Beeves, Goates and Sheepe, a few Dates and Oranges, a little Rice and nothing else for sustenance, of commoditie they have Aloes, which is the juyce of a leafe like Semperviva, they make a poore cloth of their Wooll for their slaves.

The King had Sanguis Draconis, and Indico of Lahor, but held it deare: many small Civit Cats and Civit: all is either the Kings, or passes his hands and price. He hath a handsome Galley and Juncke of Surat, with Mariners, that serve him to transport his goods for wages [I. iv. 540.] by the yeare. The King hath some knowledge of Prester John; confessing him the greatest Prince in the World, above the Turke and Persian, giving faire reasons for his opinion: he hath among his slaves divers Abbassines. Hearing our hoy-boyes in the Generals boat, hee asked if they were the Psalmes of David? and being answered yes: hee replyed, it was the invention of the Devill, who did invent it: for King David, who before praysed God with his lips and heart in devotion, but after it was left to sencelesse Instruments. They bury their dead all in Tombes, and have in great reverence the Monuments of their Saints, whereof there have been many: But of most account Serdy Hachim, buried at Tamara, who being slaine one hundred yeares since by the Portugalls once inhabiting heere, appeares to them, and warnes them of dangers to ensue. They impute the violence of winds to his walking, and have him in wonderfull reverence. I never went ashoare, not knowing what entertainment I should find, in respect of the quality I beare, but gleane up the most probable reports. If I had gone my selfe, and conferred with the King, or could have spoken with any of his people of understanding, I had enquired further to satisfie the curious: But all the Interpreters followed the Generall, that I had no oportunity.

Advice not to stay outwards at Socatra.

I give my advice that the Fleet stop not at all outwards bound at Socatra: But from Molalia, having made Cape Guardafui, and there rested a convenient time for refreshing, or attending the latter end of the Monson,

if it be soone in the yeare, shape their course right for Surat. If it be objected, that they shall want their usuall refreshings: I answere, at Socatra the victualls is both carrion, and as deare as in England, goodnesse considered, the water farre to fetch and dangerous, so that every Fleet hath lost some men in rowling it downe a streame full of deepe holes. At Cape Guarda-fui you shall ride at ease, and without doubt trade plentifully and cheape, and fish at pleasure: and though we made no experience of trade, yet wee saw people in Turbants and cloathed, who assuredly, if we had stayed, might have been drawne to bring downe cattell: for not farre to the West of that place, Sir Henry Middleton, and some other ships had excellent Goats and sheepe for trifles, as both his Journall, and Master Barret of his owne experience have enformed mee.

§. II.

His journey to the Court, and entertainment there, and Customes thereof.

THe six and twentieth of September, I landed, accompanied with the Generall and principall Merchants: Captaine Harris was sent to make me a Court of guard, with one hundred shot, and the ships in their best equipage, giving mee their Ordnance as I passed. (The passages betwixt the Embassador and those of Surat I omit; their barbarous customes and actions holding so ill correspondence with his honorable condition, and civill conditions, that even heere also it would be harsh to the Reader: we will therefore find him removing from them in his way toward the Court.) *September 26. Visitation of Sultan Parvis.*

The fifteenth of November, I arrived at Brampore, being by my conjecture two hundred twenty three miles from Surat, and the course wholly East, a miserable and barren Countrey, the Townes and Villages all built of mudde, so that there is not a house for a man to rest in. This day at Batherport, a Village two mile short

of Brampore is their Store-house of Ordnance. I saw divers of brasse, but generally too short, and too wide bored. Betweene that and Brampore I was met by the Cutwall, well accompanied, and sixteene Colours caried before them: he brought mee to the Saralia, where I was appointed to lodge, where at the gate hee tooke his leave, being a handsome front of stone: but when I entered, I had foure chambers allotted me, like Ovens, no bigger, round at the top, made of bricke in a wall-side; this troubled mee, but my Tents were my refuge, and I sent the Cutwall word I would depart the Towne, scorning so meane usage: hee desired me to be content untill morning. Heere lives Sultan Pervies, the Kings second sonne, holding the State and custome of his Father; and the Channa Channa being the greatest subject of the Mogoll, Generall of his Armies, whereof fortie thousand horse are with him: The Prince hath the name and state, but the Chan governes all.

The eighteenth, for many considerations, as well to see the fashions of the Court, as to content the Prince, who desired it, and I was loath to distaste him, because there was some purpose of erecting a Factory in the Towne; and I found by experience Sword-blades were well sold in the Armie; I went to visite the Prince, and carryed him a Present. I was brought in by the Cutwall: at the outward Court were about one hundred horsemen armed, being Gentlemen that attend the Princes setting out to salute him, making a lane of each side; in the inner Court hee sate high in a Gallery that went round, with a Canopy over him, and a Carpet before him, in great, but barbarous State. Comming toward him thorow a lane of people, an Officer came and brought me word I must touch the ground with my head, and my hat off: I answered, I came in honour to see the Prince, and was free from the custome of Servants. So I passed on, till I came to a place railed in, right under him, with an
[I. iv. 541] ascent of three steps, where I made him reverence, and he bowed his body, and so went within it, where stood

round by the sides all the great men of the Towne, with their hands before them like Slaves; the place was covered over-head with a rich Canopie, and underneath, all Carpets. To describe it rightly, it was like a great Stage, and the Prince sate above as the Mock-Kings doe there. When I was entered, I knew not where to be placed, but went right, and stood before him, where there is an ascent of three steppes, upon which stands his Secretary, to deliver what is said or given briefely. I told him, being an Embassador from the King of England to his father, and passing by, I could not but in honour visite him: he replyed I was very welcome, and asked me many questions of the King, to which I replyed as I thought fit: but standing in that manner below, I demanded licence to come up and stand by him. He answered, If the King of Persia or the Great Turke were there, it might not be admitted. I replyed that I must bee excused, for I doubted not hee would come downe and meete them at his gate; but I desired no more priviledge, then the Embassadors of such Princes had, to whom I held my selfe equall: he protested I had that, and should in all things. Then I demanded a Chaire, but I was answered no man ever sate in that place: but I was desired, as a courtesie, to ease my selfe against a pillar, covered above with silver, that held up his Canopie. Then I moved him for his favour for an English Factory to be resident in the Towne, which hee willingly granted, and gave present order to the Buxy, to draw a Firma both for their comming up, and for their residence. I also desired his authoritie for cariages for the Kings Presents, which he gave in charge to the Cutwall. Then I gave him my Presents, which hee tooke in good part, and after some other questions, he said to give me content, although I might not come up where he sate, he would go into another place, where I should come unto him; but one of my Presents was a Case of Bottells, which tooke him up by the way, and after I

had stayed a while, I heard he was drunke, and one of his Officers came to mee in his name, with an excuse, desiring mee to goe home, and to take some other time to returne to visite him: this night I tooke my feaver.

The sixt of December, we lodged in a wood, not farre from the Kings famous Castle of Mandoa which stands on a steepe hill, walled round in circuit fourteene Course: the Castle is faire, and of wonderfull greatnesse.

Master Edwards. Thomas Coryat. Cytor.

The two and twentieth, Master Edwards met me, accompanied with Thomas Coryat, who had passed into India on foote five Course to Cytor an ancient Citie ruined on a hill, but so that it appeares a Tombe of wonderfull magnificence: there stands above one hundred Churches, all of carved stone, many faire Towers and Lanthornes cut thorow many pillars, and innumerable houses, but no one Inhabitant: there is but one ascent to the hill, it being precipitious, sloaping up, cut out of the Rocke, having foure gates in the ascent, before one arrive at the City gate, which is magnificent: the hill is incompassed at the top about eight Course, and at the South-west end a goodly old castle: I lodged by a poore Village at the foot of the hill. This Citie

Ranna.

stands in the countrey of one Ranna, a Prince newly subdued by this King, or rather bought to confesse Tribute. The Citie was wonne by Ecbarsha, father to this Mogoll. Ranna is rightly descended from Porus, that valiant Indian, overcome by Alexander: so that I take this Citie to have been one of the ancient Seats of Porus, though Dely much further North be reported to have been the chiefest, famous now only in ruines. Neare that stands a pillar, erected by Alexander the Conqueror, with a great inscription. The present Mogoll and his Ancestors, descendants of Tamberlane, have brought all the ancient Cities to ruine, having dispeopled them, and forbidden reparation, I know not out of what reason, unlesse they would have nothing remembred of greatnesse beyond their beginnings, as if their Family and the world were equalls.

The three and twentieth, I arrived at Adsmeere, two hundred and nine Courses from Brampore, foure hundred and eighteene English miles, the Courses being longer then toward the Sea. I kept my bed.

The tenth of January, I went to Court at foure in the evening to the Durbar, which is the place where the Mogoll sits out daily, to entertaine strangers, to receive Petitions and Presents, to give commands, to see and to be seene. To digresse a little from my reception, and declare the customes of the Court, will enlighten my future discourse. The King hath no man but Eunuches that comes within the lodgings or retyring roomes of his house: his women watch within, and guard him with manly weapons; they doe justice one upon another for offences. Hee comes every morning to a window called the Jarrneo, looking into a Plaine before his gate, and shewes himselfe to the common people. At noone he returnes thither, and sits some houres to see the fight of Elephants and wilde beasts. Under him within a raile attend the men of rancke: from whence he retyres to sleep among his women. At after-noone he returnes to the Durbar before mentioned. At eight after supper he comes downe to the Guzelcan, a faire Court, wherein in the middest is a Throne erected of free-stone, wherein he sits, but sometimes below in a chaire, to which are none admitted but of great quality, and few of these without leave, where hee discourses of all matters with much affabilitie. There is no businesse done with him concerning the State, Government, disposition of War or peace, but at one of these two last places where it is publikely propounded and resolved, and so registred, which if it were worth the curiositie, might be seene for two shillings: but the common base people knew as much as the Councell, and the newes every day, is the Kings new resolutions, tossed and censured by every rascall. This course is unchangeable, except sicknesse or drinke prevent it, which must be knowne: for as all his Subjects are

January 10.

Eunuches only and women, his household Courtiers.

[I iv. 542.]

slaves, so is hee in a kind of reciprocall bondage, for hee is tyed to observe these houres and customs so precisely, that if he were unseene one day, and no sufficient reason rendred, the people would mutinie; two dayes no reason can excuse, but that he must consent to open his doores, and be seene by some, to satisfie others. On Tuesday at the Jarrneo he sits in Judgement, never refusing the poorest mans complaint: where he heares, with patience both parts, and sometimes sees, with too much delight in blood, the execution, done by his Elephants. Illi mervere, sed quid tu ut adesses?

Necessitie of the Kings presence.

His comming to the King.

At the Durbar I was led right before him: at the entrance of an outward raile, where met mee two principall Noble Slaves to conduct me nearer. I had required before my going, leave to use the customes of my Countrey, which was freely granted, so that I would performe them punctually. When I entered within the first raile, I made a reverence; entring in the inward raile, another; and when I came under the King, a third. The place is a great Court, whither resort all sorts of people. The King sits in a little Gallery over-head; Ambassadors, the great men and strangers of quality within the inner-most raile under him, raised from the ground, covered with Canopies of Velvet and Silke; under-foote laid with good Carpets: the meaner men representing Gentry, within the first raile: the people without, in a base Court, but so that all may see the King. This sitting out hath so much affinity with a Theatre, the manner of the King in his Gallery; the great men lifted on a Stage, as Actors; the Vulgar below gazing on, that an easie description will enforme of the place and fashion. The King prevented my dull Interpreter, bidding me welcome, as to the Brother of my Master. I delivered his Majesties Letter translated; and after, my Commission, whereon he looked curiously; after, my Presents, which were well received. He asked some questions; and with a seeming care of my health, offered me his Physitions, and advising me

Face of the Presence like a Theatre.

to keepe my house till I had recovered strength, and if in the interim I needed any thing, I should freely send to him, and obtaine my desires. He dismissed me with more favour and outward grace, if by the Christians I. were not flattered, then ever was showen to any Ambassador either of the Turke or Persian, or other whatsoever.

Sultan Coronne.

The fourteenth, I sent to the Prince Sultan Coronne, his third sonne by birth, but first in favour, that I determined to visite him, not doubting he would use me with due respect: for I was enformed he was enemie to all Christians, and therefore feared some affront. Hee answered I should be welcome, and receive the same content I had from his father. He is Lord of Surat our chiefe residence, and his favour important for us.

His conditions.

The two and twentieth, I visited the Prince, who at nine in the morning sits out in the same manner (as his Father) to dispatch his businesse, and to be seene of his followers. He is proud naturally, and I feared my entertainment. But on some occasion he not resolving to come out, when he heard of my arrivall, sent a principall Officer to meete me, who conducted mee into a good roome (never before done to any) and entertaine mee with discourse of our owne businesse halfe an houre, untill the Prince was ready, who came abroad on purpose, and used mee better then his promise. I delivered him a Present, such as I had, but not in the name of his Majestie, it being too meane; but excused it, that the King could not take knowledge of his being Lord of Surat so lately conferred on him, but hereafter I doubted not his Majesty would send to him according to his worth. This was the respect of the Merchants, who humbly commended themselves to his favour and protection. He received all in very good part: and after opening of some grievances and injuries suffered at Surat by us from his Governours, of which for respect to him I had forborne to complaine to the King, hee promised mee speedie and effectuall

Justice, and to confirme our securitie by any propositions I should offer, professing to be ignorant of any thing past, but what he had received by Asaph Chan, delivered by mee; especially of any command to dismisse us, which the Governour had falsely coyned, and for which hee should dearely answere. So he dismissed me, full of hope to rectifie the decayed estate of our reputation, with promise of a Firman for Surat effectually.

The foure and twentieth, I went to the Durbar to visite the King, who seeing me a farre off, beckned with his hand, giving signe I should not stay the ceremony of asking leave, but come up to him, where he appointed me a place above all other men, which I after thought fit to maintaine: I gave him a small Present; it being the custome, when any body hath businesse, to give somewhat, and those that cannot come neare to speake, send in, or hold up their gift; which he excepts, be it but a Rupie, and demands their businesse. The same course he held with mee, having looked curiously, and asked many questions of my Present, he demanded what I required of him: I answered Justice; that on the assurance of his Majesties Firman sent into England, the King my Master had not only given leave to many of his Subjects to come a dangerous Voyage with their goods, but had sent me to congratulate the amity so happily begun betweene two so mighty Nations, and to confirme the same: but that I found the English, seated at Amadavas, injured by the Governour in their persons and goods, fined, exacted upon, and kept as prisoners, that at every Towne new Customes were taken of our goods, passing to the Port, contrary to all [I. iv. 543.] Justice and the former Articles of Trade. To which he answered he was sory, it should be amended, and presently gave order for two Firmans, very effectually, according to my desire to be signed, one to the Governour of Amadavas, to restore money exacted from Master Kerridge, and to use the English with all favour: the other to release all customes required on any pretence

His second hearing.

Two Firmans granted to the English.

on the way; or if any had been taken, to repay it of his owne accord: wishing mee, that if these gave not speedy remedy, I should renue my complaint against the disobeyer, and he should be sent for to answere there: and so he dismissed me.

March 1. *A house of pleasure.*

The first of March, I rode to see a house of pleasure of the Kings, given him by Asaph Chan, two miles from Adsmeere, but betweene two mightie Rockes, so defended from the Sunne, that it scarce any way sees it; the foundation cut out of them, and some roomes, the rest of free-stone, a handsome little Garden with fine fountaines, two great Tankes, one thirty steps above another; the way to it is inaccessable, but for one or two in front, and that very steepe and stony, a place of much melancholy delight and securitie, onely beeing accompanied with wild Peacocks, Turtles, fowle, and Munkeyes, that inhabite the Rockes hanging every way over it.

The Norose a solemn Feast, and Rites thereof.

The second, the Norose began in the evening. It is a custome of solemnizing the new yeare, yet the Ceremonie begins the first new Moone after it, which this yeare fell together: it is kept in imitation of the Persians feast, and signifies in that language Nine dayes, for that anciently it endured no longer, but now it is doubled. The manner is, there is erected a throne foure foote from the ground, in the Durbar Court, from the backe whereof to the place where the King comes out a square of fiftie sixe paces long, and fortie three broad was rayled in, and covered over with faire Semianes or Canopies of Cloth of Gold, Silke, or Velvet joyned together, and sustained with Canes so covered: at the upper end West, were set out the Pictures of the King of England, the Queene, the Lady Elizabeth, the Countesses of Somerset and Salisbury, and of a Citizens wife of London; below them an other of Sir Thomas Smith, Governour of the East-India Companie: under foot it is laid with good Persian Carpets of great largenesse, into which place come all the men of qualitie to attend the King, except some few that are within a little rayle

right before the Throne, to receive his Commands, within this square there were set out for shew many little houses, one of Silver, and some other curiosities of price. The Prince, Sultan Coronne had at the left side a Pavilion, the supporters whereof were covered with Silver, as were some of those also neere the Kings Throne: the former thereof was square, the matter wood, inlayed with mother of Pearle, borne up with foure pillers, and covered with cloth of Gold about the edge over-head like a valence, was a net fringe of good Pearle, upon which hung downe Pomgranats, Apples, Peares, and such fruits of Gold, but hollow; within that the King sate on Cushions, very rich in Pearles, in Jewels round about the Court; before the Throne the Principall men had erected Tents, which encompassed the Court, and lined them with Velvet, Damaske, and Taffatae ordinarily, some few with cloth of Gold, wherein they retired, and set to shew all their wealth: for anciently the Kings were used to goe to every Tent, and there take what pleased them; but now it is changed, the King sitting to receive what New-yeeres gifts are brought to him. Hee comes abroad at the usuall houre of the Durbar, and retires with the same: here are offered to him by all sorts great gifts, though not equall to report, yet incredible enough: and at the end of this Feast the King in recompence of the Presents received, advanceth some, and addeth to their entertainment some horse at his pleasure.

The twelfth, I went to visit the King, and was brought right before him, expecting a present which I delivered to his extraordinary content; so he appointed I should be directed within the raile to stand by him, but I beeing not suffered to step up upon the rising, on which the Throne stood, could see little, the rayle beeing high, and doubled with Carpets, but I had leisure to view the inward roome, and the beauty thereof, which I confesse was rich, but of so divers pieces, and so unsutable, that it was rather patched then glorious, as if it seemed

to strive to shewe all, like a Lady that with her Plate, set on a Cupboord her imbroydered Slippers. This Evening was the sonne of Ranna his new Tributory brought before him with much ceremonie, kneeling three times, and knocking his head on the ground: he was sent by his Father with a Present, and was brought within the little raile, the King embracing him by the head; his gift was an Indian voyder full of Silver, upon that a carved Silver dish full of Gold; so he was lead toward the Prince. Some Elephants were shewed, and some Whoores did sing and dance: Sic transit gloria Mundi.

Passages remarkeable.

The thirteenth at night, I went to the Gussell Chan, where is best opportunitie to doe businesse, and tooke with me the Italian, determining to walke no longer in darknesse, but to proove the King, being in all other wayes delayed and refused; I was sent for in with my old Broaker, but my Interpreter was kept out: Asaph Chan mistrusting I would utter more then he was willing to heare. When I came to the King, he appointed me a place to stand just before him, and sent to aske mee many questions about the King of England, and of the Present I gave the day before: to some of which I answered; but at last I said, my Interpretor was kept out, I could speake no Portugall, and so wanted meanes to satisfie his Majestie, whereat (much against Asaph Chans desire) he was admitted. I bad him tell the King, I desired to speake to him; he answered, willingly: whereat Asaph Chans sonne in law, pulled him by force away, and that faction hedged the King so, that I could scarce see him, [I. iv. 544.] nor the other approach him. So I commanded the Italian to speake aloud, that I craved audience of the King, whereat the King called me, and they made me way. Asaph Chan stood on one side of my Interpreter, and I on the other: I to enforme him in mine owne cause, he to awe him with winking and jogging. I bad him say, that I now had been here two Moneths, whereof more then one was passed in sickenesse, the other in Comple-

ments, and nothing effected toward the ende for which my Master had employed mee, which was to conclude a firme and constant love and peace betweene their Majesties, and to establish a faire and secure Trade and residence for my Countrey-men. He answered, that was already granted. I replyed it was true, but it depended yet on so light a thred, on so weake conditions, that being of such importance, it required an agreement cleare in all points, and a more formall and authentique confirmation, then it had by ordinary Firmans, which were temporary commands, and respected accordingly. He asked me what Presents we would bring him. I answered, the League was yet new, and very weake: that many Curiosities were to bee found in our Countrey of rare price and estimation, which the King would send, and the Merchants seeke out in all parts of the world, if they were once made secure of a quiet trade and protection on honourable Conditions, having been heretofore many wayes wronged.

He asked what kind of curiosities those were I mentioned, whether I meant Jewels and rich stones. I answered, No: that we did not thinke them fit Presents to send backe, which were brought first from these parts, whereof he was chiefe Lord; that we esteemed them common here, and of much more price with us: but that we sought to finde such things for his Majestie, as were rare here, and unseene, as excellent artifices in painting, carving, cutting, enamelling, figures in Brasse, Copper, or Stone, rich embroyderies, stuffes of Gold and Silver.

An English horse much desired.

He said it was very well: but that hee desired an English horse: I answered, it was impossible by Sea, and by Land the Turke would not suffer passage. He replyed, that hee thought it not impossible by Sea. I told him, the dangers of stormes, and varietie of weather would proove it. Hee answered, if sixe were put into a ship, one might live; and though it came leane, he would fat it. I replied, I was confident it could not be in so long a Voyage, but that for his Majesties satisfaction, I would write to advise of

his request. So he asked, what was it then I demanded? I said, that hee would bee pleased to signe certaine reasonable conditions, which I had conceived for the confirmation of the League, and for the securitie of our Nation, and their quiet trade, for that they had beene often wronged, and could not continue on such tearmes, which I forbeare to complaine of, hoping by faire meanes to procure amendment. At this word, Asaph Chan offered to pull my Interpreter; but I held him, suffering him onely to winke and make unprofitable signes.

The King hereat grew suddenly into choller, pressing to know who had wronged us, with such shew of fury, that I was loath to follow it, and speaking in broken Spanish to my Interpreter, to answer, That with what was past I would not trouble his Majestie, but would seeke Justice of his Sonne, the Prince, of whose favour I doubted not. The King not attending my Interpreter, but hearing his Sonnes name, conceived I had accused him, saying, Mio Filio, Mio Filio, and called for him; who came in great feare, humbling himselfe: Asaph Chan trembled, and all of them were amazed. The King chid the Prince roundly, and he excused himselfe, but I perceiving the Kings error, made him (by meanes of a Persian Prince, offering himselfe to interpret, because my Italian spake better Turkish then Persian) and the Prince both understand the mistaking, and so appeased him, saying, I did no way accuse the Prince, but would in causes past in his Governement, appeale to him for Justice, which the King commanded hee should doe effectually. The Prince for his justification, told the King he had offered me a Firman, and that I had refused it: demanding the reason: I answered, I humbly thanked him, but he knew it contained a condition which I would not accept of; and that further I did desire to propound our owne demands, wherein I would containe all the desires of my Master at once, that I might not daily trouble them with complaints, and wherein I would reciprocally bind my Soveraigne to

The King angry with his Sonne.

mutuall offices of friendship; and his Subjects to any such conditions, as his Majesty would reasonably propound, whereof I would make an offer, which beeing drawne Tripartite, his Majesty (I hoped) would signe the one, the Prince the other, and in my Masters behalfe I would firme the third. The King pressed to know the Conditions I refused in the Princes Firman, which I recited, and so we fell into earnest dispute, and some heate. Mocrib Chan enterposing, said, he was the Portugals advocate; speaking slightly of us, that the King should never signe any Article against them. I answered, I propound none against them, but in our owne just defence; and I did not take him for such a friend to them: the Jesuite and all the Portugals side fell in, in so much that I explained my selfe fully concerning them; and as I offered a conditionall peace, so I set their friendship at a mean rate, and their hatred or force at lesse. The King answered, my demands were just, resolution noble, and bad me propound. Asaph Chan that stood mute all this discourse, and desired to end it, least it breake out againe (for we were very warme) enterposed, that if wee talked all night it would come to this issue, that I should draw my demands in writing, and present them, and if they were found reasonable, the King would firme them; to which the King replyed, yes; and I desired his Sonne would doe the like, who answered he would: so the King rose. But I calling to him, he turned about, and I bad my Interpreter say, That I came the day before to see his Majestie, and his greatnesse, and the Ceremonies of this Feast, that I was placed behind him, I confessed with honour, but I could not see abroad; and that therefore I desired his Majestie to licence me to stand up by his Throne; whereat he commanded Asaph Chan to let mee choose my owne place.

MochrebChan back-friend to the English.

[I. iv. 545.]

The foureteenth in the morning, I sent a Messenger to Asaph Chan, least hee or the Prince might mistake me by the Kings mistakings, that I had complained against them, which as I did not, so it was not yet in my

purpose: onely I was willing to let them see, I did not so depend on Asaph Chan, by whose mouth I used to doe my businesse; but that if he continued his manner of never delivering what I said, but what he pleased; I would find another way. My message was to cleare any such doubt, if it remained; or if not, to entreat him that he would soften the Prince in my demands concerning Surat. He answered, Neither the Prince nor hee had any reason to suspect, my purpose was to complaine of them: that the error was evident enough, for his part he had ever had the love of the English, and would endeavour to continue it.

The sixe and twentieth of Aprill, I received intelligence, that the Prince caused one of his Servants at the Durbar, to aske the King why he used so good countenance to the English, that for their cause the Portugals were barred the Port of Surat, who brought more profit to the King, as many Ballaces, Pearles, and Jewels, whereas the English came onely to seeke profit, with Cloth, Swords, and Knives of little estimation. The King answered onely, it was true, but who could mend it. Hereby the Princes good affection was manifest, and I had faire warning to bee watchfull, and to study to preserve our selves in the Kings grace, in which onely wee were safe: but I resolved to take notice of this, and to make proofe if I could settle a better opinion in the Prince of our Nation.

The two and twentieth of May, I went to the Durbar to visit the King, and to desire his authoritie to have one Jones a youth, that was runne away from mee to an Italian, and protected himselfe under the name of the King to the infamy of our Nation. The King gave order for his deliverie, but the Prince who ever waited opportunitie to disgrace our Nation for the cause of his Favorite Zulpheckarcon with whom I was newly broken off from conference, and had sent the Prince word I would no longer forbeare opening my cause to the King, mooved the King in private to send for the youth first, which

at the Gusel Chan hee did: and the Prince giving him countenance, he railed to my face with most virulent malice, desiring the King to save his life, so the King resolved not to deliver him to me, but to send him Prisoner to Surat, but the Prince to brave me, begged him for his servant, the fellow having quite renounced his Countrey, the King gave him to the Prince, notwithstanding any reasons I could alledge: so the Prince presently gave him one hundred and fiftie Rupias, and the pay of two Horse, and forbade mee to meddle with him.

The three and twentieth, at night my man came and fell at my feet, asking pardon for his lying and madnesse, and offered to submit himselfe in any kind. I told him I would not now keepe him Prisoner he was the Princes servant, but that before I could give him any answere he should make me publike satisfaction as farre as he was able.

The foure and twentieth, Jones made meanes to come to the Gusel Chan, and there asked pardon of the King for his lyes, denying every word hee had spoken, and to have been done to protect himselfe from me, whom he had offended, desiring the King to send for me that he might there aske my pardon: the King was well pleased. But the Prince fell into a great rage.

The five and twentieth, I went to the Guzelcan, where after many protestations of the King, that he never beleeved him, that he was a Villaine, yet that hee could doe no lesse but protect him, having cast himselfe into his mercy: the youth was sent for, who on his knees asked mee forgivenesse, and on his oath swore to the King, that he had in every particular belyed me, which he professed to doe voluntarie, for that he durst never returne to his countrey. The King chid him a little, and told me, he nor any good man ever beleeved him: but the Prince grew so angry that moving him with many questions to stand to his first word, which he refusing was bid be gone: and the Prince publikely calling

for him againe, bad him most basely returne him the one hundred and fiftie Rupias, delivered him for that he gave it to maintayne him against me, which seeing he went from, he would have his money: which the fellow promised but he should have it presently, and so sent an under Treasurer with him to the house, where hee was lodged, for into mine, I would not suffer him to come.

The seven and twentieth, thus I was enforced to seeme content, because I had no way to seeke remedie, for Presents I had none, and the King never takes any request to heart, except it come accompanied, and will in plaine tearmes demand it, which advantage the Prince takes, urging the Portugals bringing of Jewels, Ballests and Pearles with much disgrace to our English commoditie.

The nine and twentieth, the Portugals went before the King with a Present, and a Ballas Rubie, to sell as was reported, weighing thirteene Tole, two Tole and a halfe being an ounce: they demanded five Leckes of Rupies, but the King offered but one. Asaph Chan is also their Sollicitor, to whom they gave a Present of [I. iv. 546.] Stones, they had divers Rubies Ballaces, Emeralds and Jewels set to sell, which so much contented the King and his great men, that we were for a time eclipsed.

The Prince and the Jesuite fell out about presenting them, which the Prince desired; but it was promised to Asaph Chan before concerning the Portugals credit, here I ever made my judgement by report, but now experience shewes me the difference made betweene us and them, for they were sought after by every bodie, whereas they seeme to buy our commodities for almes, besides their Neigbour-hood and advantage to hinder that Trade into the Red Sea, is ever more readier then ours to doe harme, because they are setled, so that onely for a little feare wee were entertained, but for our trade or any thing we being not at all respected.

§. III.

Occurrents happening in June, July, August 1616. and divers passages of speech and action, whence the Nature, Arts, and disposition of the King and his Subjects may bee observed.

June 12. Sultan Coroone, to be emploied in the Decan warres.

THe twelfth of June, there is a resolution taken that Sultan Coroone shall goe to the Decan warres, and the day prefixed having consulted all the Bramans. Prince Parvis is called home, whom (it is reported) wrote to his father, that if hee would send his elder brother, he would obey, but to dishonour him by imploying this, hee would first fall on him, and after finish the warre. All the Captaines, as Channa Chana, Mahobet Chan, Chan John, refuse to stay if this Tyrant come to command, so well is he beloved: it is true, all men awe him more then the King, now that hee is to receive the Armie; the King cannot bee remooved from his resolution, so that his sudden departure two and twentie dayes from this present, must hasten me to finish this businesse, and to know a resolution: for after his departure with his Minion Zulpheckcarcon, there is no hope to recover a penny, nor any Justice against him.

Severe command.

The eighteenth, the King commanded one of his brothers sonnes (who was made a Christian in policie, to bring him into hatred with the people) to go strike a Lyon on the head, which was brought before the King; but he being afraid, refused it: so the King bade his youngest sonne to go touch the Lyon, who did so without any harme, whereat the King tooke occasion to send his Nephew away to a prison, where hee is never like to see day-light.

The foure and twentieth, the Prince had a sonne borne, and now being preparing for this warre, all mens eyes were on him, either for flattery, gaine, or envy, none

for love. He received twenty Lecks of Rupies towards his charges, (two hundred thousand pound sterling) and began to deale money liberally: but notwithstanding his show of his Fathers affection and greatnesse, a Chan perswaded the King that the Voyage would bee dangerous, in respect of the Prince Parvis, whose honour was so wounded, that he would not returne without revenge. The King replyed, let them fight, I am well contented, and he that proves himselfe the better Captaine shall pursue the warre.

Abdala Hassan. Abdala Hassan is Captaine of all the souldiers, entertained at Court, and Treasurer to all the Armies: he entertained me courteously, with few complements, but much civility, wee sate to see his souldiers shoote in bowes and peeces, most of them with single bullet did hit the marke, being a hand-breath in a butt, wee had some discourse of our use of weapons, and so I departed.

Exquisit markmen.

July 13. The thirteenth of July in the morning, I sent Sultan Carronne three bottles of Alligant, and a Letter concerning the Portugalls, the differences betweene our Trade and theirs, and to procure all the customs in and out to farme for the Companies use (the copy is registred.) The Prince caused (as is his barbarous custome in all businesse passing in publike) the Letter to be twice read by his Secretary, and often interrupted it with speech to him: in the end sent word, that at night when he came downe, he would reade it himselfe, and consider it, and that I should receive answere from Merze Sorocalla.

The Kings delight in Painting. At night I went to the Durbar to visite the King: So soone as I came in, he sent Asaph Chan to me, that he heard I had in my house an excellent Painter, and desired me he might see some of his worke: I replyed, according to truth, that there was none, but a yong man, a Merchant, that for his exercise did with a pen draw some figures, but very meanely, farre from the arte of Painting. The King replyed, that I should not feare that hee would take any man from mee by force, that he

would neither doe mee injury, nor suffer any other; and prayed that he might see that man and his worke, howsoever it was. I replyed, I had no such doubt of his Majesty, and for his satisfaction I would bring him to the Guzell Chan with such toyes as he had, which perhaps was an Elephant, or a Deare, or such like in paper. At this answere the King bowed himselfe, and returned, that if I desired an Elephant, or the figure, or any other thing [I. iv. 547.] in his Countrey, I should not buy it, nor seeke any other way but to him, that whatsoever I had a mind to, he would give me, and that I should freely speake to him, for he was my friend. I made a Reverence, and answered that I humbly thanked his Majesty, Elephants were of no such use to mee, neither was it the custome of my Nation, especially of my place, to aske any thing, if his Majestie gave me but the worth of a Rupie, I would receive it, and esteeme it as a marke of his favour. He replyed, he knew not what I desired, that there were some things in his Countrey, rare in mine, and that I should not make dainty to speake to him, for he would give mee such things as should be most welcome, and that I should bee cheerefull, for that he was a friend to our Nation and to mee, and would protect us from any injury, but desired that I would that night come to the Guzell Chan, with the youth that painted, with his Pictures. So Asaph Chan wished me to send home to fetch him to his house; whither if I would go and stay with him untill the King came abroad, I should be very welcome; which I promised. I never received so much grace and favour from the King, as at this time, which all men tooke notice of, and accordingly altered their fashions towards mee; specially it happened well that the Jesuit was made Interpreter of all this by the Kings appointment.

Story of an Eunuch and one of the Kings women.

This day a Gentle-woman of Normalls was taken in the Kings house in some action with an Eunuch; another Capon that loved her, killed him: the poore woman was set up to the arme-pits in the earth, hard rammed, her feet tied to a stake, to abide three dayes and two nights

without any sustenance, her head and armes exposed to the Sunnes violence: if shee dyed not in that time, shee should be pardoned: the Eunuch was condemned to the Elephants. This Damsell yeelded in Pearle, Jewels, and ready money, sixteene hundred thousand Rupies.

The two and twentieth, I received Letters from Bramport: in answere of those to Mahobet Chan, who at first granted my desire, making his Firman to Barooch most effectuall, to receive our Nation, and to give them a house neare the Governour, strictly commanding no man to molest them by sea or land, or to take any custome of them, or any way trouble them under colour thereof. Finally, that they might buy, sell, and transport any commoditie at their pleasures, without any molestation; concluding, that they should expect to heare no other from him, and therefore they should be carefull in execution. I received with it a Letter from himselfe (which was more civility then all the Indies yeelded me) full of courtesie and humanity, and great respect, protesting his desire to give me content, and that what I had demanded, I should make no doubt of performance: and if I had any other occasion to use him, hee desired mee to write, and it should be performed. The Copies are worthy the seeing for the rarenesse of the phrase. The Firman I caused to be sent to Surat: so that Borooch is provided for a good retrait from the Princes injuries, and the custome given, whereby fifteene hundred pound, per annum, will bee saved, besides all manner of searches and extortions. For the performance of this no man maketh any doubt, for that all men confesse, that he neither careth for the Prince, and so feareth not, nor needeth any man, being the only beloved man of the King, and second person in his Dominions, and in all his life so liberall of his purse, and honorable of his word, that he hath ingrossed good reports from all others: and concerning Custome, the King takes none, the Governours make it their profit, which he professeth to scorne that he should abuse the liberty of the Kings Ports.

Mahobet Chan his grant to the English for Borooch.

His Civility and good parts.

August 6. The Kings curiosity in painting, and the Indian workmanship, for which cause, and for notice of the Kings disposition is heere added.

The sixt of August, I was sent for to the Durbar; the businesse was about a Picture I had lately given to the King, and was confident that no man in India could equall it. So soone as I came, he asked mee what I would give the Painter that had made a copy so like it, that I should not know my owne: I answered, a Painters reward, fifty Rupies. The King replyed, his Painter was a Caveleer, and that too small a gift; to which I answered, I gave my Picture with a good heart, esteeming it rare, and meant not to make comparison or wagers: if his servant had done as well, and would not accept of my gift, his Majesty was most fit to reward him. So with many passages of jests, mirth, and bragges concerning the Arts of his Countrey, hee fell to aske mee questions, how often I dranke a day, and how much, and what? what in England? what Beere was? how made? and whether I could make it heere? In all which I satisfied his great demands of State. He concluded that I should come to the Guzel Chan, and then I should see my Pictures. At night he sent for me, being hasty to triumph in his work-man, and shewed me sixe Pictures, five made by his man, all pasted in one table so like, that I was by candle-light troubled to discerne which was which, I confesse, beyond all expectation: yet I shewed mine owne, and the differences, which were in arte apparent, but not to be judged by a common eye. But for that at first sight I knew it not, he was very merry and joyfull, and craked like a Northerne man: I gave him way and content, praising his mans art. Now, saith he, what say you? I replyed, I saw his Majestie needed no picture from our Countrey; but saith he, what will you give the Painter? I answered, seeing he had so farre excelled in my opinion of him, I would double my liberality, and that if he came to my house, I would give him one hundred Rupies to buy a Nagge, which the King tooke kindly, but answered, he should accept no money, but some other gift: which I promised: the King asked what? I said it was referrable to my

discretion: so he answered it was true, yet desired I would name it. I replyed, a good Sword, a Pistoll, a Picture; whereat the King answered, You confesse hee is a good work-man: send for him home, and shew him such toyes as you have, and let him choose one, in [I. iv. 548.] requitall whereof you shall choose any of these Copies to shew in England. We are not so unskilfull, as you esteeme us: so hee pressed me to choose one, which I did; the King wrapping it up in a paper, and putting it up in a little booke of mine, delivered it, with much joy and exultation of his mans supposed victory, whereat I shewed him a Picture I had of his Majesties, farre inferiour to the worke I now saw, which caused me to judge of all other by that which he delivered me as the best. He asked me where I had it; I told him. Why, said he, doe you buy any such things? have not I the best? and have not I told you, I would give you whatsoever you desired? I thanked his Majesty, but that I held it not civility to trouble him in such trifles, especially as a begger: he replyed, it was no shame to aske of him, and bad me speake at all times freely, pressing me *The courtesie of the King.* to aske somewhat: I answered, I would not choose my gift, whatsoever came from his Majesties hands I would receive as a marke of honour: hee replyed, if you desire my Picture, I will give you one for your selfe, or for your King. I answered, if his Majestie would send the King one, I would gladly cary it, and knew his Majestie would take it friendly, and esteeme it much. But that since his Majestie had emboldened mee, I would desire one for my selfe, which I would keepe and leave to my Posteritie, as an ensigne of his Majesties favour. He replyed, your King doth not desire one, but you doe, therefore you shall have it, and so he gave present order for the making: then he turned to rest, and wee were blind-fold dismissed.

The twelfth of August, Gemal-din-ussin, a man of *The courtesie of Gemal-din-ussin.* seventie yeares, Vice-roy of Patan, and Lord of foure Cities in Bengala, one that hath beene often Ambassadour,

and of more understanding and courtesie then all his Countrimen, and to be esteemed hospitable, and a receiver of strangers, not secretly ambitious; he often made meanes that I would come to his house, which at last I did, and was received with extraordinary familiaritie and kindnesse, offering me a Lecke of Rupias, and such other curtesies so great, that they bespake their owne refusall. His favour with the King, his credit, his counsell, all was offered that could fulfill complements. And this I must confesse, that from a person reverent in yeares it seemed more cordiall, and for in some Discourse speaking so plainly of his fellowes in Court, truthes in mine owne experience, I resolved hee was a good natured and right hearted old man. He told me much of the Customes of this Countrey, of their servitude, of their want of Lawes, of the increase of this Empire, wherein hee had served three Princes in grace and favour, of which times hee shewed me a Booke or Annall of all memorable Actions which he had daily commited to record, and had composed them into a Historie, the Copie whereof he offered me if I could procure it translated. Concerning the Kings revenue and the manner of raising it, besides confiscations, gifts, and cuttings upon great men; that the Government of every Province did yearely pay a Rent: as for his Government of Patan onely, he gave the King eleven Leckes of Rupias, (the Rupias sterling is two shillings two pence) all other profits were his, wherein he had Regall authoritie to take what he list, which was esteemed at five thousand horse, the pay of every one at two hundred Rupias by the yeare, whereof he kept fifteene hundred, and was allowed the Surplusse as dead pay: besides the King gave him a Pention of one thousand Rupias a day, and some smaller governments. Yet he assured me there were divers had double his entertainment, and above twentie equall.

A History written by him.

Manner of Mogull Government.

Eleven Leckes for Patan to the King.

He praysed the good Prophet Jesus and his Lawes, and was full of very delightfull and fruitfull Discourse. This Visit was past some few dayes, and I thought that

Their opinion of Christ.

his courtesie had beene at an end: but this day he had borrowed of the King his house and Garden of pleasure: Havar Gemall, a mile out of Towne to feast me in; and overnight earnestly inviting me, I promised to come. At midnight he went himselfe and caryed his Tents and all furniture, and fitted up a place by the Tanke side very handsomely. In the morning I went. At my comming he came to meet mee and with extraordinary civilitie carryed me into his roome prepared where hee had some company and one hundred servants attending, two of his sonnes, being a father to thirtie. He entertayned me with shewing me the Kings little closets and retyring roomes which were painted with Antiques, and in some panes Copies of the French Kings and other Christian Princes; wanting no Court-ship. That he was a poore man, slave to the King, that he desired I should receive some content, and that therefore he had drawne me to a slight Banquet to eate bread and salt together, to seale a friendship which he desired me to accept: that there were many great men able to shew me more courtesie, but they were proud & false wishing me to trust to none, for that if I had busines to the King of any weight, either concerning the Portugals or any other, they would never deliver truth who were my Interpreters, but only what either please themselves or would content in the relation. That therefore I should never be rightly understood, nor effect my businesse without abuse, nor never cleerely know my estate untill I had an Englishman that could speake Persian, and that might deliver my minde without passing the tongue of another, which the King would grant me if I could find any: for that hee had conceived a good opinion of me, and the last night at the Gussel Chan, having brought before him the Jewels of Sheck Ferid, Governour of Lahor lately dead, he remembred me of himselfe, and seeing a Picture of his owne that pleased him, he delivered it to Asaph Chan, commanding him to send it me to weare for his sake, with many words of favour

Entertainement at a house of pleasure.

Censure of his fellow Nobles.

The Kings respect to Sir T. Roe.

towards me, which would make all the great men respect me.

[I. iv. 549.] *Rites of entertainment.* In this time came in Dinner. So sitting on Carpetting, a cloth was layd and divers banquetting set before us, and the like a little apart for the Gentlemen that companied him, to whom hee went to eat, they holding it a kind of uncleanenesse to mingle with us. Whereat I told him, hee promised we should eate bread and salt together, that without his company I had little appetite so he rose and sate by me, and we fell roundly to our victuals. *The provision.* The substance was made dishes of divers sorts, Raisons, *Chesse-play.* Almonds, Pistachees and Fruit. Dinner ended, he played at Chesse, and I walked, returning after some discourse I offered to take my leave, he answered he had intreated me to come to eate, that what was passed was but a collation, that I must not depart till I had supped, which I easily granted to.

About an houre after came to visit him, the Ambassadour of one of the Decan Kings whom he presented to me, using him with civilitie, but in a much inferiour manner, in respect of his fashion toward me: he asked *Purposes to send one into England.* me if his Majestie my Master would not take in scorne the offer of service from so poore a man, and if hee would vouchsafe, to accept of a Present from a stranger, for that he would send a Gentleman with me to kisse his Majesties hands, and to see our Countrey. I answered him as became civilitie and good manners; so hee sent for one presently, and questioned him if he would venture the journey, who seeming willing hee presented to mee, and said he would provide some Toyes of the Countrey for his Majestie, and send him in my companie. By the manner, this seemed to me to be earnest.

Supper served in. While we thus spent time, our Supper came, two clothes being spread, as in the morning and before me and my Chaplaine, and one Merchant were set divers dishes of Sallets and meate rost, fryed, boyled, and divers Rices: he desired to be excused, that it was their manner to eate among themselves, his Countrimen would take it

ill, if he eate not with them; so hee and his guests, I and my Company solaced our selves with a good refreshing. The meate was not amisse, but the attendance and order much better, his servants being very diligent and respectfull. Hee gave mee for a present, as is the manner, when one is invited, five cases of Sugar Candie dressed with Muske, and one Loafe of most fine Sugar white as Snow, about fiftie pound weight, desiring me to accept of one hundred such against my going, which said he, you refuse of me thinking I am poore, but it costs me nothing, it is made in my Government, and comes gratis to me. I answered, hee had too farre alreadie obliged me, that I would not refuse his courtesie when I was readie to depart. He replyed, he might bee then unfurnished, and therefore desired I would now speake, that hee might not lose his offer and labour too. Thus professing himselfe my father and I his sonne, with complements I tooke my leave.

They give Presents to their Ghests.

The sixteenth, I went to visit the King, who assoone as I came in, called to his women and reached out a Picture of himselfe set in Gold, hanging at a Wire Gold Chaine with one pendant foule Pearle, which he delivered to Asaph Chan, warning him not to demand any reverence of me, other then such as I would willingly give; it being the custome whensoever hee bestowes any thing, the receiver kneeles downe and puts his head to the ground, which hath beene exacted of the Ambassadors of Persia. So Asaph Chan came to mee, and I offered to take it in my hand, but he made signe to put off my hat, and then put it about my necke, leading me right before the King. I understood not his purpose, but doubted he would require the custome of the Countrey, called Sizeda. But I was resolved rather to deliver up my Present: He made signe to give the King thankes, which I did after my owne custome, whereat some Officers called mee to Sizeda: but the King answered no, no, in Persian; so with many gracious words sent me, I returned to my place, you may now judge the Kings liberalitie;

The Kings favour.

this gift was not worth in all thirtie pounds, yet it was five times as good as any he gives in that kind, and held for an especiall favour, for that all the great men that weare the Kings Image, which none may doe but to whom it is given, receive no other then a meddall of Gold as bigge as sixe pence, with a little Chaine of foure inches to fasten it on their heads, which at their owne proper charge, some set with stones, or garnish with pendant Pearles.

Superstitious Cautele.

The nineteenth, Gemal-din-ussin, who invited me to Havaz Gemall, being newly made Governour of Sindu, came to me to dinner with two sonnes and two other Gentlemen, and about one hundred servants: hee ate some Banqueting stuffe made in my house by a Moore Cooke, but would not touch such meate as I had provided of my owne fashion, though his appetite was very good, a kind of superstition forbidding him. But hee desired me that foure or five dishes might be sent to his house, such as he would choose, being all baked meates which hee had never seene, and that he would dine on them in private, which was accordingly done, and so offering us the Towne of Sindu, and all other courtesies in his power, he made haste to fill his belly. I gave him a small Present according to custome. This day suddenly dyed to my great griefe, and discomfort my Minister Master Hall, a man of most gentle and milde nature, religious, and of unspotted life.

Huge raine called the Oliphant.

The twentieth day, and the night past fell a storm of raine called the Oliphant, usuall at going out of the raines, but for the greatnesse very extraordinary, whereby there ran such streames into the Tanke whose head is made of stone, in shew extremely strong, but the water was so growne that it brake over in one place, and there [I. iv. 550.] came an alarme and sudden feare, that it would give way and drowne all that part of the Towne where I dwelt, insomuch that the Prince and all his women forsooke their house; my next Neighbour carried away his goods and his wife on his Elephants and Camels to

flye to the hils side. All men had their Horses ready at their doores to save their lives, so that we were much frighted and sat up till mid-night for that we had no help, but to flye our selves and loose all our goods, for it was reported that it would run higher then the top of my house by three foot, and carry all away being poore muddy buildings, foureteene yeeres past, a terrible experience having shewed the violence, the foot of the Tanke being levell with our dwelling, and the water extreame great and deepe, so that the top was much higher then my house which stood in the bottome in the course of the water, every ordinary rain making such a Current at my doore, that it runne not swifter in the Arches of London Bridge, and is for some houres impassible by Horse or man. But God otherwise disposed it in his mercy, the King caused a sluice to be cut in the night to ease the water another way, yet the very raine had washed downe a great part of the wals of my house, and so weakened it by divers breaches, in that I feared the fall more then the floud: and was so moyled with dirt and water, that I could scarce lye dry or safe, for that I must be enforced to bee at new charge in reparation. Thus were we every way afflicted; fires, smokes, flouds, stormes, heats, dust, flyes, and no temperate or quiet season.

The nine and twentieth, the King went to Havaz Jemal and so to hunting, there was taken a resolution to remoove to Mandoe, a Castle neere Bramport where *Mandoe.* is no Towne, for that Sultan Parvis being come from the warre in disgrace, and being with his traine neere Asmere the King commanded him to Bengala, excusing himselfe to be seene, and so having dispatched him without such incommoditie as was feared would arise if the two brothers met, hee intended himselfe to settle Sultan Caronne in the warres of Decan, to which all the chiefest were so contrary, that the King feared to send him downe as was the resolution some monethes past, and therefore dissembled it, until the other Prince were withdrawne &

he established by his owne countenance, comming so neere as Mandoa, which remove if it proceed will put us to extreame trouble and cost, for that we must build a new house both for our selves and goods, the Castle standing on a hill without any other buildings neere it.

A wild Bore sent by the King.

The thirtieth, the King returned in the night, and about eleven a clocke sent mee a very fat wild Boare, and so great, that he desired the Tusks backe, with this message, that he kild it with his owne hand, and that therefore I should eat it merrily, and make good cheare. This occasion Jaddowe that was sent for to the King to bring it, tooke to tell Asaph Chan, that I desired to visit him on the morrow, and hoped to receive from his hands the Priviledges granted by the King. He answered, hee could not dispatch them so soone, but that they should on Sunday bee sealed, and that he was loth to see me, untill he had given me content.

§. IIII.

The Kings birthday, and manner of the observation, with other accidents in September.

Rites of the Kings Birthday.

THe second of September, was the birth day of the King, and solemnized as a great Feast, wherein the King is weighed against some Jewels, Gold, Silver, stuffes of Gold, Silver, Silke, Butter, Rice, Fruit, and many other things of every sort a little, which is given to the Bramini. To this solemnitie the King commanded Asaph Chan to send for me, who so doing, appointed me to come to the place where the King sits out at Durbar, and there I should be sent for in; but the Messenger mistaking, I went not until Durbar time, and so missed the sight, but being there before the King came out, as soone as he espyed me, hee sent to know the reason why I came not in, he having given order? I answered according to the error; but he was extreame angry, and chid Asaph Chan publiquely. He was so rich in Jewels, that I must confesse I never saw together so unvallewable

The Kings riches in Jewels, &c.

wealth. The time was spent in bringing of his greatest Elephants before him, some of which being lord-Elephants, had their chaines, bels, and furniture of Gold and Silver, attended with many gilt banners and flags, and eight or tenne Elephants waiting on him, clothed in Gold, Silke, and Silver. Thus passed about twelve Companies most richly furnished, the first having all the Plates on his head and breast set with Rubies and Emeraulds, being a beast of a wonderfull stature and beautie. They all bowed downe before the King, making a reverence very handsomely, and was a shew as worthy as ever I saw any of beasts onely. The Keepers of every chiefe Elephant gave a Present. So with some gracious complements to me, he rose and went in.

Another curiositie about Pictures.

At night about tenne of the clocke, he sent for me, I was a bed. The Message was, hee heard I had a picture which I had not shewed him, desiring me to come to him and bring it, & if I would not give it him, yet that he might see it, and take copies for his Wives. I rose and carryed it with me: when I came in, I found him sitting crosse-leged on a little Throne, all clad in Diamonds, Pearles, [I. iv. 551.] and Rubies, before him a table of Gold, in it about fiftie pieces of Gold plate, set all with stones, some very great and extreamely rich, some of lesse value, but all of them almost covered with small stones, his Nobilitie about him in their best equipage, whom he commanded to drinke froliquely, severall wines standing by in great flagons. When I came neere him, he asked for the Picture: I shewed him two; he seemed astonished at one of them, and demanded whose it was. I answered, a friends of mine that was dead. He asked me if I would give it him. I replyed, that I esteemed it more then any thing I possessed, because it was the image of one that I loved dearely, and could never recover; but that if his Majestie would pardon me my fancie, and accept of the other, which was a French Picture, but excellent worke, I would most willingly give it him. He sent me thankes, but that it was that onely Picture he desired, and loved as

well as I, and that if I would give it him, he would better esteeme of it, then the richest Jewell in his house. I answered, I was not so in love with any thing, that I would refuse to content his Majestie; I was extreame glad to doe him service, and if I could give him a better demonstration of my affection, which was my heart to doe him service, I was ready to present it to him. At which he bowed to me, and replyed, it was sufficient that I had given it, that hee confessed hee never saw so much Art, so much Beauty; and conjured me to tell him truely, whether ever such a woman lived. I answered, there did one live that this did resemble in all things but perfection, and was now dead. He returned me, that he tooke my willingnesse very kindly; but seeing I had so freely given him that that I esteemed so much, he would not rob me of it, onely he would shew it his Ladies, and cause his Workemen to make him five Copies, and if I knew my owne I should have it. I answered, I had freely and willingly given it, and was extreamely glad of his Majesties acceptance. He replyed, that he would not take it, that he loved me the better for loving the remembrance of my friend, and knew what an injury it was to take it from me, by no meanes hee would not keep it, but onely take Copies, and with his owne hand he would returne it, and his Wives should weare them: for indeed in that art of limming his Painters worke miracles, the other beein in oyle he liked not.

Then he sent me word, it was his birth day, and that all men did make merry, and to aske if I would drinke with them. I answered, whatsoever his Majestie commanded; I wished him many prosperous dayes, and that this Ceremonie might be renewed an hundred yeeres: he asked mee what wine, whether of the Grape, or made; whether strong or small. I replied, what he commanded, hoping he would not command too much, nor too strong: so hee called for a Cuppe of Gold of mingled Wine, halfe of the Grape, halfe artificiall, and dranke, causing it to bee filled, and sent by one of his Nobles to me with this

Message, That I should drinke it, twice, thrice, foure or five times off for his sake, and accept of the Cup and appurtenances as a Present. I dranke a little, but it was more strong then ever I tasted, so that it made me sneeze, whereat he laughed, and called for Raisons, Almonds, and sliced Limons, which were brought mee on a Plate of Gold, and he bad me eat and drinke what I would, and no more. So then I made reverence for my Present after mine owne manner, though Asaph Chan would have caused me to kneele, and knocke my head against the ground, but his Majestie best accepted what I did. The cup was of Gold, set all over with small Turkies and Rubyes, the Cover of the same set with great Turkies, Rubies, and Emeralds in workes; and a dish sutable to set the Cup upon: the value I know not, because the stones are many of them small, and the greater (which are also many), are not all cleane, but they are in number about two thousand, and in gold about twenty Ounces. Thus hee made frolicke, and sent me word, he more esteemed me then ever any Franke: and demanded if I were merry at eating the wild Boare sent me a few daies before; how I drest it, what I dranke, and such complements; That I should want nothing in his land: which his publique, and many graces I found presently in the fashion of all his Nobilitie.

The King gave Sir Thom. Roe a cup of Gold.

Strong Wine.

Franke a name common to Europæan Christians.

Then he threw about to those that stood below, two Chardgers of new Rubies, and among us two Chardgers of hollow Almonds of Gold and Silver mingled; but I could not scramble as did his great men: for I saw his sonne take up none; then he gave Shashes of Gold, and Girdles to all the Musitians and Wayters, and to many others. So drinking, and commanding others, his Majestie; and all his Lords became the finest men I ever saw, of a thousand humors; but his sonne Asaph Chan, and two old men, and the late King of Candahar, and my selfe forbare. When hee could not hold up his head, he lay downe to sleepe, and we all departed. At going out, I mooved Asaph Chan for dispatch of my priviledges;

Scrambling of the Nobles for Golded Almonds.

assuring him his Majesty could give me no Present so acceptable; if he pleased not to dispatch me, which I doubted not, if it lay in his power, but that some other hinderance was in my way, I would on the morrow moove the King, he desired mee not to doe so: for the King loved mee, and had given order for it, that the preparation of this Feast had hindered him, but that now hee would send it mee, and doe me all service.

The fourth of September, I found it easie to judge what vexation it is to traffique with those faithlesse people. Seven moneths I had promise from weeke to weeke, from day to day, and no exception, but finding I had so drawne them, that I should not much need the Prince, and if we disliked, we might refuse his governement. He utterly renounced his word in choller and rage. I durst not yet leave him, nor take notice of his falshood. He that first tooke him for our Solicitor, engaged us into this miserie, knowing him to bee the Protector of our enemies, and a Slave to bribes, which they multiply upon him. But now I had a Wolfe by the eares: I seemed onely to apprehend his dislike of the length and phrase, and sent him a Letter to interpret me, and a Briefe of the substance of all required on their parts, contained in generall words, touching onely such particulars as he liked, and left out quite all the Conditions demanded formerly by him of mee, desiring him to put it in forme, and procure the Seale, or to give me leave to receive mine owne deniall from the King, and so to depart the Countrey. These I finished in Persian the same day, and sent them to him, they are recorded in their order.

Faithlesse people.

[I. iv. 552.]

The eighth, Asaph Chan sent to me that answer, That absolutely, he would procure nothing sealed, that any way concerned the Princes governement; that I should onely expect from him what we desired, whose Firmans were sufficient. And so revealed that purpose which he had long in practice, to make us wholly depend on the Prince. Now I had just cause to looke out, and was

blamelesse if I sought new friends when he had forsaken me. I resolved to trie the Prince, and to seeme to depend wholly on him, having sent formerly to his Secretary foure clauses, to which I demaunded his Firman for our present use at Surat, for the Fleete expected, which his Highnesse had agreed to.

The tenth, I went to the Prince, who cast downe to the Secretary his Firman by mee desired and promised; so that I hoped I had been at rest. The eleventh, I received it, but when I read it, it was in two of the foure clauses demanded and promised, much different, and one whole branch left out; so I returned it with a round answer, I would not accept it, nor suffer any goods to come ashoare. Never any man had to doe with so much Pride, Covetousnesse, and falshood. At night, I rode to Merze Socorolla, the Princes Secretary, to expostulate the businesse, and to declare my resolution of departure, but I found the Firman not such as I was enformed, but containing all the clauses required by me, though in phrase, to my judgement, somewhat restrained, which he expounded in the best sence, declaring that it was the Princes intent to satisfie my desire fully, and that it was sufficient. I urged the obscurity of some points; desiring him as he had cleared his Highnesse meaning to me, so he would by his Letter to the Governour of Surat, which hee graunted, principally commanding that the Customer should pay for fiftie clothes, which hee had many moneths bought, and now would returne them unto the Factors, to their extreame losse. In the ende, he opened the old point of the Princes desire, that I should rely on him, and not crosse him in businesses of his Government with the King, and I should find him a better friend then I expected: and finally gave me such satisfaction in all points, that I was both pleased, and in some hope of good successe, the rather because he is no briber, reputed honest, and did undertake on his credit, to whom the Prince had referred all businesses, that we should not sustaine the losse of one piece, nor

any the least injury: so I accepted the Firman, which upon translating I found verie effectual.

The sixteenth, I visited the Prince, purposing yet to runne on in a way of seeming dependance on him, untill I heard from our ships, and what entertainment they were like to receive this yeare. I found him sad, fearing the comming of Sultan Parvis to Court, being within eight course, and importuned to kisse his Fathers hands; who had graunted him, but by the power of Normall was after diswaded, and a command sent, that the Prince should take his journey right to Benga, yea although the King had fallen downe, and taken his Mother by the feet to obtaine her leave to see his Sonne. The Kings remoove continued, but whether, no man could certainely resolve.

§. V.

The broiles about Abdala Chan, and Chan Channa; Sultan Caroones ambition, his policies to subvert his elder Brother: fight with a Portugall Carricke: distast about the Prince: Persian Embassage, Presents and entertainement.

October 10. Abdala Chan in disgrace.

THe tenth of October, Abdala Chan the great Governour of Amadavas, beeing sent for to Court in disgrace for many insolencies and neglects of the Kings authority, and thought he would stand on his guard, and refuse; yet the Prince Sultan Coronne (whose ambition wrought on every advantage) desirous to oblige so great a man (beeing one of the chiefe Captaines in these Kingdomes) prevailed with him on his word to submit; so that comming in Pilgrims Clothes with fortie servants on foote, about sixtie mile in counterfeit humiliation, finished the rest in his Palankee, untill he arrived neere the Court, but one dayes journey behind he had two thousand horse attending. This day he was brought to the Jarruco (the publike sitting of the King to see Games, and to heare complaints) chained by the feete,

Manner of humiliation.

barefoot between two Noble men, he puld his Turbant in his eyes, before hee had the happinesse to behold the Kings face. After reverence made, and some fewe questions, the King forgave him, caused his yrons to be loosed, and clothed in a new Vest of Cloth of Gold, Turbant and Girdle according to the custome. The Prince [I. iv. 553.] who intended to build his honour on the warres of Decan, which his elder brother had left with disgrace, and the great Commander Chan Channa did not prosper in (which doubtlesse was a practiser with the Decans, from whom he received pension) caused his Father to recall Chan Channa, who refusing to come, desired the King not to send Sultan Caronne to that warre, but one of his yongest sonnes about fifteene yeares of age. This Coronne tooke to heart, but prosecuting his purpose of the warre, promised to Abdela Chan the Command of the armie under him, by displacing Chan Channa.

Sultan Coroone his purpose.

The King fearing troubles, and knowing all the ambitions and factions of this sonne, the discontent of his two elder, the power of Chan Channa, was desirous to accommodate all by accepting a peace, and confirming Chan Channa in the Government hee held, and closely to that end wrote a letter of favour, and purposed to send a Vest, according to the Ceremony of reconciliation, to Chan Channa; but before he dispatched it, he acquainted a kinswoman of his, living in the Zereglia, of his purpose. Shee, whether false to her friend (wrought by Sultan Caronne) or out of greatnesse of heart, to see the top of her family so dealt with, after so many merits; answered plainly, that she did not beleeve Chan Channa would weare any thing sent from the King, knowing his Majesty hated him, and had once or twice offered him poyson, which hee putting in his bosome (in stead of his mouth) had made triall of. Therefore shee was confident hee would not dare to put on his body any thing that came from his Majesty. The King offered to weare it himselfe before her an houre, and that she should write to testifie it: shee replyed, hee would trust neither of them

Zereglia or Saralia, the place where the Kings women are kept.

The Kings dealing with Chan Channa.

both with his life, but if he might live quietly in his command, would doe his Majesty true service. Whereupon the King altered his purpose, and resolved to proceed in the sending of Sultan Caronne, and to countenance his reception, would follow after with another armie.

Chan Channa that discovered the storme, practised with the Decans, who were at his service, to offer termes of peace for a season, finding no other way to dissolve this cloud that hung over them both, untill the King and Prince were departed and setled further off. To this end came two Ambassadors this day from the Princes of Decan. They brought horses bar'd, richly furnished for Presents. At first the King refused to heare them and their gift, but turned them over to his sonne with this answere; If he would have peace or warre, it was in his brest. The Prince advanced by this favour, and swelling with pride, resolved (though I was informed the conditions were very honorable, and such as the King would have accepted) to goe on the journey, answering he would treat of no peace, untill he were in the field with his Armie; Chan Channa should not so beguile him of the honor of finishing that warre.

Decans offer peace.

The ambitions of this yong Prince are open, the common talke of the people, yet his Father suffers all, but intends him not the Kingdome. For Sultan Corsoronne, the eldest brother, is both extreamely beloved, and honored of all men (almost adored) and very justly for his Noble parts, and this the King knowes and loves, but thinkes his liberty would diminish his owne glory, and sees not that this slie youth doth more darken him by ambitious practises, then the other could by vertuous actions.

Thus he nourisheth division and emulation betweene the brethren, and putteth such power in the hand of the yonger (supposing hee can undoe it at his pleasure) that the wisest foresee a rending and tearing of these Kingdomes by division, when the King shall pay the debt to Nature, and that all parts will be torne and destroyed by a civill warre.

Feare of future broiles.

The history of this Countrey, for the variety of subject, and the many practises in the time of Ecbarsha, Father of this King, by him then Prince; and these later troubles, were not unworthy committing to writing; but because they are of so remote parts, many will despise them: and because the people are esteemed barbarous, few will beleeve them. Therefore I content my selfe with the contemplation, but I could deliver as many rare and cunning passages of State, subtill evasions, policies, answers, and adages, as I beleeve, for one age would not be easily equalled.

Only one that passed lately I cannot omit, to shew wisdome and patience in a father, faith in a servant, falshood in a brother, impudent boldnesse in a faction that dare attempt any thing, when the highest Majesty gives them liberty, either beyond the law of their owne condition, or the limits of policie and reason.

The parties of the faction.

The Prince Sultan Carronne, Narmahel the deare Queene, Aunt to his wife, Asaph Chan his father in law, brother to the Queene, and Etiman Dowlet, father to them both (being they that now governe all, and dare attempt any thing) resolved it was not possible for them to stand, if the Prince Sultan Corseronne lived, whom the Nobility loved, and whose delivery or life would punish their ambitions in time; therefore practised how to bring him into their power, that poyson might end him. Narmahel attempts the King with the false teares of womens bewitching flattery, that Sultan Corseronne was not safe, nor his aspiring thoughts deposed: the King heares her say it, but would not understand more than shee delivered plainly.

Drifts to take away Sultan Corsoroone.

This failing, they tooke opportunity of the Kings being drunke, the Prince, Etiman Dowlet and Asaph Chan, moved the King, that for the safety of Sultan Corseronne, and for his honour, it were fitter he were in the company of his brother, whose companies would be pleasing one to the other, and his safetie more regarded, then in the hands of a Rashboote Gentile, to whom the King had committed [I. iv. 554.]

him. Therefore they humbly desired his Majesty, that he might be delivered into the hands of his deare brother, which the King granted, and so fell asleepe.

They thought their owne greatnesse such, as bringing the Kings authority no man durst refuse, and being once in their possession, they would dispute the redelivery: so the same night Asaph Chan in the name of the King, sent by the Prince, came with a guard to demand and receive Sultan Corseronne, at the hand of Anna Rah, a * Rajah Rashboote, to whom the King had intrusted him. He refused to deliver his charge, with this answere, That he was Sultan Caronnes humble servant, but that he had received the Prince his brother from the hands of the King, and to no other would deliver him, but he should have patience till the morning, when he would discharge himselfe to his Majesty, and leave it to his pleasure to dispose. This answere cooled all. In the morning Anna Rah came to the King, and acquainted him with the demand of the Prince, his refusall and answere, and added his Majesty had given him the charge of his sonne, and made him the Commander of foure thousand horse, with all which hee would dye at the gate, rather then deliver his Prince into the hands of his enemes: If his Majesty required him, hee was ready to obey his will, but he would provide for his owne innocency. The King replyed, You have done honestly, faithfully, you have answered discreetly: continue your purpose, and take no knowledge of any commands: I will not seeme to know this, neither do you stirre further; hold your faith, and let us see how farre they will prosecute it.

** A prince.*

Anna Rah his fidelity.

The Kings answere.

The Prince and the Faction, the next day finding the King silent, hoping hee might forget what passed in wine, tooke no notice of the grant, nor of the refusall, but it fell (not without suspicion) on both parts. This I insert to this end, that you may beware scattering your goods in divers parts, and engaging your stocke and servants farre into the Countrey: for the time will come, when all in these Kingdomes will be in combustion, and a few yeares

warre will not decide the inveterate malice laid up on all parts against a day of vengeance, wherein if Sultan Corseronne prevaile in his right, this Kingdome will be a Sanctuary for Christians, whom he loves and honours, favouring learning, valour, the discipline of warre, and abhorring all covetousnesse, and discerning the base customes of taking, used by his Ancestors and the Nobility. If the other winne, we shall be losers: for he is most earnest in his Superstition, a hater of all Christians, proud, subtill, false, and barbarously tyrannous. There is daily expected an Ambassadour from the Shabas King of Persia.

Sultan Corsoroone, a lover of Christians.

The thirteenth of October at night, the King returned and sent me a wilde Pigge. I received advice of the arrivall of foure shippes safe at the Port of Swally, with Letters from England, that they departed the Coast the ninth of March 1615. with sixe ships, losing company of the Rose about the North Cape by foule weather.

October 13.

Foure English ships arrive at Swally.

The twelfth of June 1616. the other five came safely to the Bay of Soldania, where the Lyon homeward bound, was ready for a wind; her Commanders and people in health, staying dayes at the Road, without newes of the small ship. They dispeeded the Swan to Bantam, for effecting the businesse, and set saile for Surat the nine and twentieth with foure shippes, and came to anchor to their Port, the foure and twentieth of September 1616. In their passage the sixt of August, neare the Ilands of Comora, about twelve degrees, fiftie minutes, they had sight of a Carrick burthen fifteene hundred tunne, manned with sixe hundred, being Admirall of the Fleet sent for Goa, bearing the Flagge: the Globe fetcht her up to wind-ward, and after salutations of the Sea, the Carricke commanded her to Lee-ward, and seconded it with five shot thorow her Hull, which shee requited with eighteene, and so fell off. The Admirall and English Fleet comming up, demanded satisfaction for the injury; which was replied to with scorne: so began a fresh fight in few shot, the Commander Benjamin Joseph was slaine, and the new

Of this fight, see more in Master Childs Journall following.

established continued it: at the evening shee ranne her selfe ashoare among the rockes of Angazesia. The Fleet anchored short of her, to attend the issue, and sent a Boat to offer faire warres: but about midnight shee fired her selfe, and burned all the next morning. The English sending their Boats could not approach, but beleeve that not one man was saved, by circumstances very probable: the new Vice-Roy for Goa was in this shippe, whose resolution was the death of all the others.

After it was knowne that some few escaped with life and poverty.

The next day, I imparted the King, with his Majesties remembred salutations, which were with much courtesie received: but he began with the Presents. I first mentioned our late fight and victory, which he seemed to rejoyce in, and to applaud the valour of our Nation: but fell off to What hath the King sent me? I answered, Many tokens of his love and affection: That my Master knew he was Lord of the best part of Asia, the richest Prince of the East. That to send his Majestie rich Presents, were to cast Pearles into the Sea, the mother and store-house of them, that therefore his Majesty thought it unnecessary; but had presented him with his love, with many curious toyes, which I hoped would give him content. He urged mee to some particulars, which I named: he asked me for French Muffe or Velvet. I answered, my letters were not arrived: some other was come, which he desired. He enquired for Dogges: I told him, some had their fortune in the fight, some dyed, two were preserved for him, at which hee rejoyced, and continued if I could procure him a Horse of our great size, such as I described, being a Rone or Dutch Horse, he would accept it better then a Crowne. I replyed, I would doe my endeavour for his Majesties satisfaction, but I feared it could not be effected: he answered, if I would procure one, he would give me a Leck of Rupias. I desired his Majesties Letter for the comming of these Presents without search, and for the good usage of our people: he replyed, the Port was his Sonnes, but sent for him and publikely gave expresse order for what I would

Complements with the King.

[I. iv. 555.]

His desire of Dogges and a Horse.

A Horse prized above 10000. pounds.

require, and take on me, that it should not be searched, nor pay custome, but be dispeeded with expedition safe to my hands, that I might distribute it at my discretion, that he should command the good reception of our people, and finally, that he should give me content in all my desires. This generally extended not to the grant of a Fort, for that cause Asaph Chan refused to deliver. This charge was very round and hearty in the King, and a grace to me. The Prince called Asaph Chan to me, and there professed and promised before his Father and all the Court, to give mee all reasonable content. This is the strength of new Presents.

The fifteenth, I received from Masulipatan, that Captaine Keeling had taken two Portugall Barkes and a ship, one on the Coast of Cochin, laden with Tinne, the other fraighted from Bengala, which he carried to Bantam: that Sir Robert Sherley was dismist with disgrace from Goa, and that he was on his way over land to Masulipatan to seeke passage: unprobable, and I beleeve untrue.

The seventeenth, the Prince pursuing his purpose of finishing the Decan Warres by his owne person, and undertaking to give answere to the Ambassadors, gives none; but detaines them untill his approach. But being to depart, he and his partie thought not themselves secure if Sultan Corseronne remained in the hands of Annarah, that in his absence the King might bee reconciled, and by his libertie all the glory and hopes of their faction would vanish, and the injurie and ambition hardly be pardoned. They newly assaile the Kings constancie to deliver up his sonne into the hands of Asaph Chan, as his Guard under Sultan Coronne. They pretend that it will fright Chan Channa, and the Decans, when they shal heare that this Prince is so favoured, who now comes to make warre upon them, that the King hath delivered up his eldest sonne; in that as it were his whole Kingdome, and hope of succession, and the present power thereof.

A.D. 1616.

Anna Rah discharged and S. Cors. delivered to the faction to the griefe of the Court and Comminalty.

This day he was delivered up, the Souldiers of Anna Rah discharged, and the Souldiers of Asaph Chan planted about him with assistance of two hundred of the Princes Horse. His Sister and divers women in the Seraglia mourne, refuse their meate, cry out of the Kings dotage and crueltie, and professe, that if he dye, there will an hundred of his Kindred burne for him in memorie of the Kings bloudinesse to his worthiest sonne. The King gives faire words, protesteth no intent of ill towards the Prince, and promiseth his delivery, and sends Normahell to appease these enraged Ladies: but they curse, threaten, and refuse to see her. The common people all murmure, they say the King hath not delivered his sonnes, but his owne life into the hands of an ambitious Prince, and a treacherous faction, that Corsoronne cannot perish without scandall to the Father, or revenge from him; therefore he must goe first, and after him his Sonne, and so through their blouds this youth must mount the Royall seat. New hopes are spread of his redeliverie, and soone allaid, every man tels newes according to his feares or desires. But the poore Prince remaynes in the Tygres power, refuseth meate, and requires his Father to take his life, and not to let it be the triumph and delight of his Enemies. The whole Court is in a whisper, the Nobility sad, the multitude like it selfe, full of tumour and noyse, without head or foot; onely it rages, but bends it selfe upon no direct ends. The issue is very dangerous, principally for us: for among them it matters not who winnes. Though one have right and much more honour, yet he is still a Moore, and cannot be a better Prince then his Father, who is of so good disposition that he suffers all men to governe, which is worse then to be ill: for wee were better beare injuries of Princes, then of their Ministers.

Ill through goodnesse.

Persian Embassadour.

The nineteenth, the Persian Ambassadour Mahomet Rosa Beag about noone came into the Towne with a great troupe, which were partly sent out by the King to meete him with one hundred Elephants and Musique,

but no man of greater qualitie then the ordinary receivers of all strangers: his owne traine were about fiftie Horse well fitted in coats of cloth of Gold, their Bowes, Quivers and Targets richly garnished, fortie shot, and some two hundred ordinary Peons, and attenders on baggage; he was carried to rest in a Roome within the Kings outward Court till evening. When he came to the Durbar before the King (to which Ceremony I sent my Secretary to observe the fashion) when hee approched, hee made at the first raile three Tessilims and one Sizeda, which is prostrating himselfe and knocking his head against the ground: at the entrance in the like, and so presented the Shabas his Letter: which the King tooke with a little motion of his bodie, asking onely, How doth my Brother? without any title of Majesty. And after some few words, he was placed in the seventh ranke, against the raile by the doore, below so many of the Kings Servants, on both sides; which in my judgement was almost inferiour place for his Masters Ambassadour, but that he well deserved it for doing that reverence which his predecessors refused to the dishonour of his Prince, and the murmure of many of his Nation. It is said he had order from the Sophie to give content, and thereby it is gathered, his Message is for some aide in money against the Turke, in which kind he often sends liberall succour, though it bee pretended he comes onely to treat a peace for the Decans, whose protection the Shabas taketh to heart, envying the increase of this Empire. The King according to custome gave him a handsome Turbant, a Vest of Gold and a Girdle, for which againe hee made three Tessilims, and one Sizeda or ground courtesie: he brought for Presents three times, nine Horses of Persia and Arabia, this being a ceremonious number among them. Nine Mules very faire and large, seven Camels laden with Velvet, two Sutes of Europe Arras, which I suppose was Venetian, Hangings of Velvet with Gold, and not Arras, two Chests of Persian Hangings, one Cabinet rich, foure Muskets, five Clockes, one Camell laden with

His submissenesse.

[I. iv. 556.]

Mogols assistance of the Persian against the Turke.

Persian Presents.

Persian cloth of Gold, eight Carpets of Silke, two Rubies balast, one and twentie Camels of Wine of the Grape, fourteene Camels of distilled Sweet Waters, seven of Rose Waters, seven Daggers set with stones, five Swords set with stones, seven Venetian Looking Glasses, but those so faire, so rich, that I was ashamed of the relation. These Presents were not delivered now; onely a Bill of them. His owne Furniture was rich, leading nine spare Horses, trapped in Gold and Silver; about his Turbant was wreathed a chaine of Pearles, Rubies, and Turquesses, and three Pipes of Gold, answerable for three spridges of Feathers. Yet I caused diligent observance to be made of his reception, and compared it with mine owne, and find he had in nothing more grace, in many things not so much, in ranke farre inferiour to that allowed me, except onely his meeting without the Towne; which by reason of my sicknesse was omitted to be demanded; neither did the King receive the Shabas his Letter with such respect as my Masters, whom he called the King of England his Brother, the Persian barely Brother without any addition, which was an observation of the Jesuite, that understood the Language.

§. VI.

The Princes braverie; the Persian Ambassadours behaviour, the manner and effects of Drinking, of the King and his Nobles; the Kings remove, his super-exceeding pompe, wealth, magnificence therein: Portugall fray: relations of Sultan Corsoroone: Persian newes.

THe one and twentieth of October, I went to the Prince and opened my desire, to have a certaine * clause in his Letter expounded, at which his highnesse stucke a little, and I perceived his Highnesse to be as hollow as I imagined. Hee demanded then how hee should have his Presents, or see such toyes

**A certaine clause in his Letter to Surat, ambiguous like the old oracles, &c.*

as came up, and moved mee to goe with him. I replyed, I could not doe so untill I had delivered my Masters Message, and Tokens to the King, but that finished, I would my selfe attend his Highnesse with his Presents, and all such raritie as came to my hands, should be sent after him: he prest me to passe my word, and so I obtayned order for the Firman to my content. His Highnesse looking on a white Feather in my Hat, demanded if I would give it him, I replyed, I would not offer that I had worne, but if he please to command it, that or any thing in my power was to serve him. He asked if I had any more, I answered three or foure of other colours; hee replyed, if I would give them all, for that hee was to shew his Horses and Servants to the King within two dayes, and that he wanted some, being very rare in those parts. I promised to bring all I had on the morrow that his Highnesse might take his pleasure.

Feathers in request.

Abdala Chan in a gallant Equipage both of his person and Attendants, in apparell, strange and antike, but in these parts Alla Soldado presented the Prince a white Horse, the Saddle and Furniture of Gold enamelled, a Beast of delicate shape, life and courage, who returned him a Sword plaine with a belt of Leather. There were brought before him many others, the Hilts of Silver, Chapes set with small Stones, and Targets covered with Gold Velvets, some painted and bossed with Gold and Silver, which he gave to his Servants. Against this Muster many Saddles and Furniture of Gold, rich set with stones, of his owne, were shewed for spare Horses, his Boots imbrothered, and all other ingredients of bravery. I confesse, the expence is wonderfull, and the riches daily seene invaluable.

A rich Present.

Pompous braverie.

This night past, it is reported sixe of the Princes Servants came to murther Sultan Corsoronne, but were refused the Key by the Porter; that the Queene Mother is gone to the King with an overture of all the practice, the truth is uncertaine, and it is dangerous to aske.

At evening, I went to the Durbar to visit the King, where I met the Persian Ambassador with the first Muster of his Presents, he appeared rather a Jester or Jugler, then a person of any gravity, running up and downe and acting all his words like a Mimicke Player (now indeed the Atachikanne was become a right Stagge) hee delivered the Presents with his owne hands; which the King with smiles and cheerefull countenance, and many words of contentment received; his tongue was a great advantage to deliver his owne businesse, which he did with so much flattery and obsequiousnesse, that it pleased asmuch as his gift, ever calling his Majesty King and Commander of the World (forgetting his owne Master had a share in it) and on every little occasion of good acceptation hee made his Tessilims. When all was delivered for that day, hee prostrated himselfe on the ground, and knocked with his head, as if hee would enter in. The gifts were a faire Quiver for Bow and Arrowes delicately imbroydered, all sorts of Europæan Fruits artificiall in dishes, many other folding Purses and Knackes of Leather wrought with Needle-worke in coloured Silkes, Shooes imbroydered and sticht, great Glasses in-layed in frames, one square piece of Velvet, imbroydered high with Gold in paynes, betweene which were Italian Pictures wrought in the stuffe, which he said was the King and Queene of Venice, (which, as I suppose, was the Hangings called Arras) of these sixe were given, one onely shewed; many other Tricanados of small value. After, the three Nines of Horses and Mules, which were faire ones, the Horses either had lost their flesh or beauty, for except one or two I judged them unfit for to bee sent or taken by Princes. So he returned with many antike trickes to his place farre inferiour to that allowed me, which was alone and above all Subjects which at first Asaph Chan would have put me by, but I maintayned it as my due. This is but the first act of his presenting, the Play will not be finished in ten dayes. At night I sent to the Princes Secretary for my promised writing:

Behaviour of the Persian.

[I. iv. 557.]

Nine a remarkable number.

but his Highnesse was loth to let the Presents passe without ransacking, and had changed his mind refusing to seale the Letter.

The two and twentieth, at my comming, I delivered him two Pluriaes, and two Birds of Paradice; he accepted them easily, and my businesse being moved, and my resolution made knowne not to consent to open, nor to send them up, but by the hands of my Servants, at last he yeelded and gave command to the Secretary to dispatch me.

At night I went to the Durbar to observe the Ambassadour of Persia, I found him standing in his ranke, and often removed and set lower as great men came in. The King once spake to him, and he danced to the tune thereof, but gave no present: onely the King commanded that hee should be seated by the Nobles; The time was spent in seeing Saddles and Furniture for the remove, of which his Majestie gave some to his Followers, it beeing daily expected to rise: the Kings Tents were out foure dayes since. I sent to the Secretary for my Firma, but hee delayed it with excuses.

The foure and twentieth, the King removed to Havaz Gemall, and called the Persian Ambassadour, where at night hee ate and dranke before the King with the Nobilities, in the same fashion that I did the Birth-day; the difference onely was, the King gave him for expence twenty thousand Rupias, for which he made innumerable Tessilims and Sizedaes, not rising from the ground a good space, which extreamely pleased the King, and was base, but profitable Idolatry. The Prince attending his Father, I could get no dispatch in my businesse. *The Kings gift to the Persian.*

The five and twentieth, the King returned at Evening, having been over-night farre gone in Wine: some by chance or malice spake of the merry night past, and that many of the Nobilitie dranke wine, which none may doe but by leave. The King forgetting his order, demaunded who gave it? It was answered the Buxie (for no man dares say it was the King, when he would onely doubt

it.) The Custome is, that when the King drinkes (which is alone) sometime he will command, that the Nobilitie shall drinke after, which if they doe not, it is an offence too, and so every man that takes the Cup of wine of the Officer, his name is written, and he makes Teselem, though perhaps the Kings eies are mystie. The King not remembring his owne command, called the Buxie; and demanded if he gave the order? He replyed, No, (falsly: for he received it, and by name called such as did drinke with the Embassadour) whereat the King called for the list, and the Persons, and fined some one, some two, some three thousand Rupias, some lesse, and some that were neerer his person, he caused to be whipped before him, receiving one hundred and thirtie stripes with a most terrible instrument, having at each end of foure cords, irons like Spur-rowels, so that every stroke made foure wounds. When they lay for dead on the ground, he commanded the standers by to foot them, and after the Porters to breake their staves upon them. Thus most cruelly mangled and bruised, they were carryed out, of which one dyed in the place. Some would have excused it on the Embassadour; but the King replyed, hee onely bad give him a Cup or two. Though drunkennesse be a common and a glorious vice, and an exercise of the Kings, yet it is so strictly forbidden, that no man can enter into the Gusel-Chan, where the King sits, but the Porters smell his breath: and if hee have but tasted wine, is not suffered to come in; and if the reason be knowne of his absence, he shall with difficultie escape the whip: for if the King once take offence, the Father will not speake for the Sonne. So the King made the Company pay the Persian Embassadours reward.

Strange dealing with Nobles.

Terrible whipping.

Drunkennesse prevented.

Awe of the King.

The sixe and twentieth, I sent to Sorocolla for the Firman. He sent me a copy as ambiguous and fraudulent as the former, which I refused, and drew the misliked clause my selfe, which I sent backe, and was promised that on the morrow it should be sealed.

The eight and twentieth, the Kings day of remoove at hand, I sent to Asaph Chan for a warrant for carriages: [I. iv. 558.] the Merchants having sought all the Towne to remoove their goods to Agra, could find none, so I received order being enrolled by his Majesty upon my offer for twenty Camels, foure Carts, and two Coaches at the Kings price: whereof I disposed as many as the Factors needed to their use. But it were an extreame errour to omit a passage, either of wonderfull basenesse in this great Monarch, or a tryall of me. The King had condemned divers Theeves, among which were some boyes: there was no way to save their lives, but to sell them for slaves: his Majesty commanded Asaph Chan to offer two of them for money, which hee appointed the Cutwall (that is the Marshall) to doe. My Interpreter made answere without my knowledge, that Christians keepe no slaves, that those the King had given I had freed, and that it was in vaine to propound it to me. But after I suspected it might be a tryall of me, whether I would give a little money to save the lives of two children: or else I supposed, if it were in earnest, it were no great losse to do a good deed. And to try the basenesse or scope of this offer, I commanded my Interpreter to returne to Asaph Chan, to tell him that he had acquainted me with the motion and his answere: that I reprehended him for presuming in any case to give my resolution, that my owne reply was, if there were any money to save the life of two Children, to those whom they had robbed, or to redeeme them from the Law; both for respect of the Kings command, and for charitie I was ready to give it, but I would not buy them as slaves, onely pay their ransome and free them; that if he pleased to know the Kings pleasure that I might give them libertie without offence, I was very willing to doe it. Asaph Chan replyed, I might at my owne will dispose them, that it was an extraordinary goodnesse; with many prayses accepted the money, desiring mee to send it to the Cuttwall, and to use my discretion to the boyes, not once offering to

informe the King, which was one end of my liberality. I was loth to be coozened, and knew not whether this might be the profit of Officers or no, resolved to pay the money, but so as the King should not be ignorant I had more mercy then he, and that a Christian esteemed the life of a Moore above money. So I sent a Factor and my Interpreter to the Cuttwall, to acquaint him with the communication with Asaph Chan, and to let him know, if at night he would enforme the King, that I had offered to redeeme the Prisoners for charities sake, if after his Majesty would consent to their liberty, I was ready to send him money; but to buy them as slaves, though for an houre, I would not, they should never come nor be manumised by mee, but that I desired his Majesty to pardon them upon my redemption, so I put them to the test of their base offer. This money exceeded not ten pound, a poore summe to impose on a stranger, or to bee gained by a King. The Cuttwall returned answere, hee would know the Kings pleasure, and accordingly advise mee. Some would perswade me this is one of the Mogols signall favours to choose out such great men, as he will give occasion to doe good and honourable workes, to redeeme Prisoners, and that the money gives satisfaction to the Plaintiffe robbed, and that those so appointed by the King to ransome others, make Sizeda as for some benefit received. Yet I find not any honour in a Prince to impose it on a stranger, to whom hee gives neither maintenance nor liberality; I went to the Durbar to see if his Majesty would of himselfe speake to me, that I might deliver my owne offer. The Cuttwall made many motions, brought in the Executioner who received some command, but I understood it not, but expected my answere.

An old custome.

The first of November, Sultan Corronne tooke his leave and went to his Tents. The King at noone sat out at the Durbar, where the Prince brought his Elephants about sixe hundred richly trapped and furnished, and his fellowes by estimation ten thousand Horse, many in cloth

Sixe hundred rich Elephants and other bravery of the Prince.

of gold, with Hearne top-feathers in their Turbants, all in gallantry; Himselfe in cloth of Silver imbroydered with great Pearle and shining in Diamonds like a Firmament. The King imbraced him and kissed him, and shewed much affection: at his departure he gave him a Sword, the Scabberd all of Gold set with stones, valued at an hundred thousand Rupias: a Dagger at forty thousand, an Elephant and two Horses with all the Furniture of Gold set with stones, and for a close one of the new Caroches (made in imitation, of that sent by his Majesty my Master) and commanded the English Coachman to drive him to his Tents, into which he ascended and sate in the middle, the sides open, his chiefest Nobles a foot walking by him to his Tents about foure mile. All the way he threw quarters of Rupias being followed with a multitude of people, he reached his hand to the Coachman, and put into his Hat about one hundred Rupias.

Rich Sword.

The second, the King removed to his Tents with his women, and all the Court about three mile. I went to attend him comming to the Pallace. I found him at the Farraco window, and went up on the Scaffold under him; which place not having seene before, I was glad of the occasion. On two Tressels stood two Eunuches with long Poles headed with Feathers, fanning him; hee gave many favours and received many Presents, what hee bestowed hee let downe by a Silke, rould on a turning Instrument; what was given him, a venerable fatte deformed olde Matrone hung with Gymbals like an Image pluckt up at a hole with such another Clue; at one side in a window were his two principall Wives, whose curiositie made them breake little holes in a grate of Reed that hung before it, to gaze on me. I saw first their fingers, and after laying their faces close, now one eye now another sometime I could discerne the full proportion, they were indifferently white, blacke haire smooth up, but if I had had no other light, their Diamonds and Pearles had sufficed to shew them: when I looked up

The Kings remove..

[I. iv. 559.]

they retyred and were so merry, that I supposed they laughed at me. Suddenly the King rose, and wee retyred to the Durbar, and sate on the Carpets attending his comming out: not long after he came and sate about halfe an houre, untill his Ladies at their doore were ascended their Elephants, which were about fifty, all most richly furnished, principally three with Turrets of Gold, grates of Gold-wyre every way to looke out, and Canopies over the cloath of Silver. Then the King descended the staires with such an acclamation of Health to the King, as would have out-cryed Cannons. At the staires foote, where I met him, and shuffled to be next, one brought a mighty Carpe, another a dish of white stuffe like Starch, into which he put his finger, and touched the fish, and so rubbed it on his fore-head; a ceremony used presaging good fortune. Then another came and buckled on his sword and buckler, set all over with great Diamonds and Rubies, the belts of gold sutable: another hung on his quiver with thirty arrowes, and his bow in a case (the same that was presented by the Persian Ambassadour) on his head he wore a rich Turbant, with a Plumbe of horne tops, not many, but long: on one side hung a Rubie unset, as bigge as a Walnut; on the other side a Diamond as great; in the middle an Emerald like a heart, much bigger. His Shash was wreathed about with a chaine of great Pearle, Rubies and Diamonds drild: about his necke he caryed a chaine of most excellent Pearle thrice double, so great as I never saw: at his elbowes armelets set with Diamonds; and on his wrists three rowes of Diamonds of severall sorts: his hands bare, but almost on every finger a Ring; his gloves were English, stucke under his girdle; his coat of cloath of Gold, without sleeves, upon a fine Semian as thinne as Lawne: on his feet a paire of embroydered buskins with Pearle, the toes sharpe and turning up. Thus armed and accommodated he went to the Coach, which attended him with his new English servant, who was cloathed as rich as any Player, and more gaudy, and

Superstitious rite.

Huge Gems.

had trained foure horses, which were trapped and harnished in Gold Velvets. This was the first he ever sate in, and was made by that sent from England, so like, that I knew it not but by the cover, which was a Gold Persian Velvet. He got into the end, on each side went two Eunuches, that caried small Maces of Gold, set all over with Rubies, with a long bunch of white-horse-taile to drive away flyes: before him went Drummes, ill Trumpets, and loude musicke, and many Canopies, Quittusols and other strange ensignes of Majesty of cloath of Gold set in many places with great Rubies: nine spare horses, the furniture some garnished with Rubies, some with Pearles and Emeralds, some onely with studs enamelled.

The Persian Ambassadour presented him a horse; next behind him came three Palankees, the carriages, and feet of one plated with Gold, set at the ends with Pearle, and a fringe of great Pearle hanging in ropes a foot deepe: a border about, set with Rubies and Emeralds. A footman caryed a foot-stoole of Gold, set with stones, the other two were covered and lined with cloath of Gold. Next followed the English Coach, new covered and trimmed rich, which hee had given the Queene Normahell, who rode in it: after them a third of this Countrey fashion, which me thought was out of countenance: in it sate his yonger sonnes: after followed about twenty Elephants Royall, spare, for his owne ascendings, so rich, that in stones and furniture they braved the Sunne. Every Elephant had divers flagges of cloath of Silver, gilt Satin and taffata. His Noble-men hee suffered to walke afoote, which I did to the gate, and left him. His wives on their Elephants were caryed like Parakitoes halfe a mile behind him. When he came before the doore where his eldest sonne is prisoner, he stayed the Coach, and called for him: hee came and made reverence with a sword and buckler in his hand, his beard growne to his middle, a signe of dis-favour. The King commanded him to ascend one of the spare Elephants, and so rode

Sultan Corsoroone delivered.

next to him, to the extreame applause and joy of all men, who now are filled with new hopes. The King gave him one thousand Rupias to cast to the people, his Gaoler Asaph Chan and all the Monsters yet a foot.

I tooke horse to avoyd presse and other inconvenience, and crossed out of the Leskar before him, and attended untill he came neare his Tents. He passed all the way betweene a guard of Elephants, having every one a Turret on his backe; on the foure corners foure banners of yellow Taffaty; right before a sling mounted, that carried a bullet as big as a great tennis ball, the Gunner behind it; in number about three hundred: other Elephants of honor that went before and after about sixe hundred, all which were covered with Velvet or cloath of Gold, and had two or three gilded banners carried: in the way ranne divers foot-men with skinnes of water that made a continuall showre before him: no horse nor man might be suffered to approach the Coach by two furlongs, except those that walked a foot by, so that I hasted to his Tents, to attend his alighting.

Bravery of Elephants.

Stately Tents. They were walled halfe a mile in compasse, in forme of a fort, with divers Coynes and Bulwarkes, with high Cannats of a course stuffe made like Arras, red on the out-side, within which figures in panes with a handsome gate-house. Every post that bare up these, was headed with a top of brasse. The throng was great: I desired to go in, but no man was suffered, the greatest of the Land sate at the doore; but I made an offer, and they admitted me, but refused the Persian Embassador and all the Noble men. Heere first the Persian Em-

[I. iv. 560.] bassador saluted mee with a silent complement only. In the middest of this Court was a throne of mother of Pearle, borne on two pillars raised on earth, covered over with an high Tent, the pole headed with a knob of gold, under it Canopies of Cloath of gold, under-foot Carpets. When the King came neare the doore, some Noble-men came in, and the Persian Embassador: we stood one of the one side, the other of the other,

making a little lane: the King entring cast his eye on me, and I made a reverence; he laid his hand on his brest and bowed, and turning to the other side, nodded to the Persian. I followed at his heeles till he ascended, and every man cryed good, joy, and fortune, and so tooke our places. He called for water, washed his hands and departed. His women entred some other Port to their quarter: and his sonne I saw not. Within this whole raile was about thirty divisions with Tents. All the Noble-men retired to theirs, which were in excellent formes, some all white, some greene, some mingled, all incompassed as orderly as any house, one of the greatest rarities and magnificences I ever saw. The whole vale shewed like a beautifull Citie, for that the ragges nor baggage were not mingled. I was unfitted with carriage, and ashamed of my position, but five yeeres allowance could not have furnished me with one indifferent sute sortable to others; and which addes to the greatnesse, every man hath a double, for that one goes afore to the next Remove, and is set a day before the King riseth from these. So I returned to my poore house.

The fift of November, the Prince sate in the same magnificence, order and greatnesse that I mentioned of the King; his throne being plated over with silver, inlaid with flowers of gold, and the Canopie over it square, borne on foure pillars covered with silver; his armes, sword, buckler, bowes, arrowes, and launce on a table before him. The watch was set, for it was evening when he came abroad. I observed now he was absolute and curious in his fashion and actions: he received two letters, read them standing, before he ascended his Throne. I never saw so setled a countenance, nor any man keepe so constant a gravitie, never smiling, nor in face shewing any respect or difference of men; but mingled with extreame pride and contempt of all, yet I found some inward trouble now and then assaile him, and a kind of brokennesse and distraction *November* 5.

in his thoughts, unprovidedly and amazedly answering sutors, or not hearing; If I can judge any thing, he hath left his heart among his Fathers women, with whom hee hath liberty of conversation. Normahell in the English Coach the day before visited him, and tooke leave, shee gave him a cloak all imbroydered with Pearle, Diamonds and Rubies, and carried away, if I erre not, his attention to all other businesse.

Fray betwixt the Portugals and English.

The sixt, I received a letter from Master Browne, from Amadavas, who certified me of a fray begun by the Portugalls; five of them setting on a English Boy in Cambaya, and disarming him, upon rumours whereof John Browne and James Bickeford went to his rescue, and were assailed by seven of them. One shooting a Pistoll, hurt John Browne in the hand, but his heart lay not there: they defended themselves honestly, bravely, like Englishmen, killed one, hurt some others, and chased them up and downe the Towne like beasts, to the great shame of such villaines, and reputation of our Nation. To revenge this, the Portugalls being arriven in their Frigats, divers came ashoare, no more English in Towne but the three mentioned. The Governour understood the occasion, and sent the Cutwall with a guard to our house, and shut the water ports, expelling the Portugalls, by commanding upon paine of chastisement not to meddle with the English: and so delivered them safe out of Towne, who are returned to Amadavas.

Card-play.

The ninth, I found the Prince earnest at Cards, but he excused himselfe of forgetfulnesse, and blamed the Officers formally; but in shew used me with more courtesie then ordinary, calling me to see his Cards, and asking many questions. I expected he would speake of my going with him; but finding no such discourse, I told him I was come only to obey him, and to take my leave, that I desired his pardon, that I hasted away, for that I was to returne to Adsmere, being unprovided to stay all night. He answered, he sent for me to see me before his going, that I should presently be dispatched.

Then he sent in an Eunuch, and divers of his Captaines came smiling, saying the Prince would give me a great Present, and if I feared to ride late, I should have ten horse to guard me, and made such a businesse, as if I should have received his best chaine of Pearle. By and by came a Cloath of gold Cloake of his owne, once or twice worne, which hee caused to be put on my backe, and I made reverence very unwillingly. When his Ancestor Tamerlane was represented at the Theater, the garment would well have become: but it is heere reputed the highest favour to give a garment worne by a Prince, or being new, once laid on his shoulder.

Order to fire the Leskar at Adsmere.

The sixteenth, the King gave order to fire all the Leskar at Adsmere, to compell the people to follow, which was daily executed. I was left almost desolate, and the Persian Embassadour (who had fought, chid, brauld, complained, but could not get remedy) in the same estate; wee sent to bemone one another, and by his example I began to resolve to buy (for many would sell, which at the Kings price could not hire) and I cast it at the best hand I could, almost to save the hire, though the carts were deare, for in three moneths the price was eaten; necessity enforced me, for the Towne was burnt and desolate. I was in danger of theeves, that from the armie came and robbed in the night. I could not find bread to eate, yet I sent anew to Court, and resolved to abide all the inconveniences of a hard siege.

[I. iv. 561.] *Newes from Goa.*

The seventeenth, I received from Goa for truth, that Don Emanuell de Menesses, with about three hundred of those saved ashoare from out the Admirall, were arrived poore, robd and rifled by the Inhabitants of Angazesia, who had slaine many, and forced some to Circumcision. On the foure and twentieth of October, not one of the Fleet sent out from Lisbon arrived, to their great wonder. The Gallion of Mosambique was fought with by the Hollander that lately departed from Surat, who lay off and on before Goa as shee came in to meet the Ships expected; she was rich in Gold and

other Commodities, but she escaped by meanes of the Port. Observe the boldnesse of the Hollanders, to attempt with one ship, and to brave the head of the Indies. I received a promise for Camels to remove.

The eighteenth, I could not procure carriages, but was so daily delaied, that I feared to stay. Two Carts I was inforced to buy, and Camels I was constantly promised. M. Biddolph remained in the Princes Leskar to get mony, the King was yet but twelve course from Adsmere. The Jesuite tooke his leave of me, being forced to buy carriage, notwithstanding his order for it out of the Kings store, but scarcitie punished all men. This emptie time offering no discourse of my owne affaires, I shall digresse conveniently to mention the state of Sultan Corsoroone, of whose new delivery into the hands of his enemies, every mans heart and mouth was full. The King notwithstanding he had so farre agreed to satisfie his proud sonne at his departure, yet it seemes meant not to winke at an injurie offered to the Elder, and partly to secure him in the hands of Asaph Chan, partly to satisfie the people that murmured, and feared the practise of some treachery against him, he tooke occasion to declare himselfe publiquely. Asaph Chan had visited his newe Prisoner, and in his fashion did not acknowledge him as his Prince, but rudely prest upon him against his will, and with no reverence. Some are of opinion, he pickt a quarrell, and knowing the brave nature of the Prince, that would not beare indignitie, tempted him to draw his Sword, or to use some violence, which the guard should suddenly revenge; or else it should bee declared to the King, as an attempt to kill his Keeper, and to escape: but the Prince was patienter; onely he got a friend to acquaint the King with the manners of his Jaylor. The King called Asaph Chan at the Durbar, and asked when he saw his charge; he answered two dayes past; his Majestie replyed, what did you with him? he sayes, onely visit him: but the King pressed to knowe what reverence and fashion he carried towards him? Asaph Chan found his

Relations of Sultan Corsoroon.

Majestie knew what had passed, and confessed he went to see him in affection, and offer his service; but that the Prince refused him admittance into his Chamber; which because he had charge of his safetie, hee thought it both necessary for him to doe, and discourtesie for the other to deny, therefore he prest in. The King returnes quicke, When you were in, what said you, and what did you? what duty shewed you toward my Sonne? He stands blancke, and confesseth he did not any reverence: whereat the King told him, he would make his proud heart know him to bee his eldest and beloved Heire, his Prince and Lord, and if he once heare of any the least want of reverence, or dutie toward him, he would command his sonne to set his feet on his necke, and trample on him: that he loved Sultan Coronne well, but he would make the world know, he did not intrust his Sonne among them for his ruine.

Newes from Persia.

The three and twentieth, and foure and twentieth, I stayed for the Merchants, and received an answer from Spahan that my Letters were dispeeded for Aleppo, that our comming into Persia, was expected, but on conditions to fit the Shabas, so that it might advance his designe of diverting his Silkes from the way of Turkie: that the Generall of the Grand-signior lay with a mighty army at Argerone sixe dayes march short of Tauris, uncertaine, whether to assaile the Citie, or to enter Gorgeston and Gilan (the Countreys of Silks) to win that by conquest which he was prohibited by commerce. To meet both attempts, the Shabas was incamped at Salmas, a Village indifferently seated in the way; but if in two moneths the armies incounter not, winter approaching, and the wants which attend such multitudes, will dissolve them both, without any honourable action: or if they meete, the Persian though by report one hundred and eightie thousand, will not adventure battell, but being light and able to march easily, without Cannon and Baggage, will fall on and off on every side so on the Turkes armie, as he will breake, and wast him without hazard.

§. VII.

Sir Thomas Roes following the Court in this Progresse, description of the Kings Leskar, and some places which they passed: the Kings Superstition, drinke, and dealing about the Present.

Decemb. 1. THe first of December, I remooved foure course to Ramfor where the King had left the bodies of an hundred naked men, slaine in the fields for robbery, and the Caravan at midnight departed Adsmere.

The fourth five course, I overtooke in the way a [I. iv. 562.] Camell laden with three hundred mens heads, sent from Candahar, by the Governour in Present to the King, that were out in rebellion.

The sixth, foure course, where I overtooke the King at *Description of Godah.* a walled Towne called Godah, in the best Countrey I saw since my landing being a faire Champion, at every course a Village, the soyle fruitfull in Corne, Cotton, and Cattell.

The seventh, the King passed onely from one side of the Towne to the other, which was one of the best built I ever saw in India, for that there were some houses two stories high, and most such as a Pedler might not scorne to keepe shop in, all covered with tyle. It had beene the seat of a Raza Rashboote, before the Conquest of Ecbarsha, and stood at the foot of a great Rocke very strong, had many excellent workes of hewed stone about it, excellently cut, many Tankes arched, vaulted, and descents made large, and of great depths. By it stood a delicate Grove of two mile large, a quarter broad, planted by industry, with Manges, Tamerins, and other fruits, divided with walkes, and full of little Temples and Altars of Pagods, and Gentilitial Idolatry, many Fountaines, Wels, Tankes, and Summer-houses of carved stone curiously arched, so that I must confesse, a banished

Englishman might have been content to dwell there, but this observation is generall, that ruine and destruction eates up all: for since the proprietie of all is come to the King, no man takes care for particulars; so that in every place appeares the vastations and spoiles of warre, without reparation.

Inconvenience which followeth the slavery of Subjects, and the Kings onely proprietie.

The ninth, returning, I viewed the Lescar, which is one of the wonders of my little experience, that I had seene it finished, and set up in foure houres, except some of great men that have a double provision, the circuit being little lesse then twenty English miles, the length some waies three course, comprehending the skirts, and the middle, wherein the streets are orderly, and Tents joyned; there are all sorts of shops, distinguished so by rule, that every man knowes readily where to seeke his wants, every man of qualitie, and every trade being limited how farre from the Kings Tents he shall pitch, what ground he shall use, and on what side without alteration, which as it lies together, may equall almost any Towne in Europe for greatnesse; onely a Musket shot every way no man approacheth the Atasykanha royall, which is now kept so strict, that none are admitted but by name, and the time of the Durbar in the Evening is omitted and spent in hunting or hawking on Tanks by Boat, in which the King takes wonderfull delight, and his Barges are remooved on Carts with him, and he sits not but on the side of one, which are many times a mile or two over. At the Jarruco in the morning he is seene, but businesse or speech prohibited: all is concluded at night at the Guzelchan, when often the time is prevented by the drowsinesse which possesseth the King from the fumes of Bacchus. There is now a great whisper in Court, about a new affinitie of Sultan Corsoroone and Asaph Chan, and great hope of his libertie. I will finde occasion to discourse it, for that the passages are very worthy, and the wisdome and goodnesse of the King appeares, above the malice of others, and Noomahel fulfill the observation, that in all actions of consequence in

The Kings Lescar admirable.

Court, a woman is not onely alwaies an ingredient, but commonly a principall drug of most vertue, and she shewes that they are not incapable of conducting businesse, nor her selfe void of wit and subtilitie. It will discover a Noble Prince, an excellent Wife, a faithfull Counsellour, a craftie Step-mother, an ambitious Sonne, a cunning Favourite, all reconciled by a patient King, whose heart was not understood by any of all these. But this will require a place alone, and not to be mingled among businesse.

Humilitie and Charity superstitious, and therefore blind.

The sixteenth, I visited the King, who having been at his sports, and his quarry of fowle and fish lying before him, he desired me to take my choice, and so distributed the remainder to his Nobilitie. I found him sitting on his Throne, and a Begger at his feet, a poore silly old man all asht, ragd, and patcht, with a young roague attending on him. With these kind of professed poore holy men, the Countrey abounds, and are held in great reverence, but for workes of chasticement of their bodies, and voluntary sufferings, they exceed the brags of all heretiques or Idolaters. This miserable wretch cloathed in rags, crowned with feathers, covered with ashes, his Majestie talked with about an houre, with such familiaritie and shew of kindnesse, that it must needs argue an humilitie not found easily among Kings. The Begger sate, which his sonne dares not doe: he gave the King a Present, a Cake, asht, burnt on the coales, made by himselfe of course graine, which the King accepted most willingly, and brake one bit and eate it, which a daintie mouth could scarce have done. After he tooke the clout, and wrapt it up, and put in the poore mans bosome, and sent for one hundred Rupias, and with his owne hands powred them into the poore mans lap, and what fell besides, gathered up for him; when his collation of banquetting and drinke came, whatsoever he tooke to eate, he brake and gave the Begger halfe, and after many strange humiliations and charities, rising, the old Wretch not being nimble, he tooke him up in his armes, which no

cleanly body durst have touched, imbracing him, and three times laying his hand on his heart, calling him father, he left him, and all us and me in admiration ot such a vertue in a heathen Prince.

The sixe and twentieth, we passed through Woods, and over Mountaines, torne with bushes, tired with the incommodiousnesse of an impassible way, where many Camels perished, many departed for Agra, and all complained. I lost my Tents and Carts, but by midnight we met, the King rested two dayes, for that the Leskar [I. iv. 563.] could not in lesse time recover their order, many of the Kings women, and thousands of Coaches, Carts, and Camels, lying in the woody mountaines, without meat and water, himselfe got by on a small Elephant, which beast will climbe up rockes and passe such straits, as no horse nor beast that I know can follow him.

The twenty fourth of January, newes arrived at Court, *January 24. Decans resist the Mogolls power.* that the Decans would not be frighted out of their Dominion, which Asaph Chan and Normahal had pretended, to procure this Voyage, but that they had sent their impediments into the heart, and attended in the borders, with fiftie thousand horse, resolved to fight, and that Sultan Caronne was yet advanced no further then Mandoa, afraid both of the enemie and Chan Channa. *Mandoa.* These Counsellers changed their advice, and declaring to the King that they conceived the Decan, before his passage over the last hills, would have yeelded by the terrour of his approach, but finding the contrary, perswaded him to convert it to a hunting journey, and to turne his face toward Agra, for that the other was not an enemie worthy his person. He replyed this consideration came too late, his honour was ingaged seeing he had so farre past, hee would prosecute their first counsells and his purpose, and adventure the hazard of both. But hee daily dispeeded fresh troopes towards his sonne, partly from his owne, the rest commanded from governments, according to reports, thirty thousand horse, but not by muster.

The third of February, departing out of the Roade *February 3.*

Conference with Sultan Corsoroone.

of the Leskar for ease and shade, and resting under a tree for the same commodities, came upon me Sultan Corsoroone, the Kings eldest restrained sonne, riding upon an Elephant, with no great guard nor attendance: his people desired me to give him roome, which I did, but attended to see him, who called for mee, and with some gentle and familiar questions, full of courtesie and affabilitie hee departed: his person is good, and countenance chearefull, his beard growne to his girdle; this only I noted, that his questions shewed ignorance of all passages in Court, in so much hee never heard of any Ambassadour nor English.

Sepra. Mulwa. Calleada. King drunken, drowned.

The sixt at night, we came to a little Tower newly repaired, where the King pitched in a pleasant place upon the River of Sepra, short of Ugen, the chiefe City of Mulwa, one Course. This place called Calleada, was anciently a Seat of the Gentile Kings of Mandoa, one whereof was there drowned in his drinke, having once before fallen into the River, and was taken up by the haire of the head, by a slave that dived: and being come to himselfe it was related to him to procure a reward: he called for the instrument of his safety, and demanding how he durst put his hands on his Soveraignes head, caused them to be strucke off. Not long after, sitting alone with his wife in drunkennesse, hee had the same mischance to slip into the water, but so that shee might easily have saved him, which shee did not: and being demanded why, shee replyed, shee knew not whether he would also cut off her hands for her recompence.

Old Dervis.

The eleventh, the King rode to Ugen to speake with a Dervis or Saint, living on a hill, who is reported to be three hundred yeares old: I thought this miracle not worth my examination. At noone by a foot-post I

Princes incivilitie.

received a letter, that the Prince, notwithstanding all Firmans and Commands of his Father, had intercepted the Presents and goods sent up, to fulfill his base and greedie desire, and that notwithstanding any gift nor entreaty, or perswasions of Master Terry, to whose

charge they were committed, would not part with them, but by force compelled them to returne with him toward Brampore: yet did he forbeare to breake any thing open, but pressed the English to consent, which they refusing by my order, he thought to winne them by vexations; such is the custome to see all Merchants goods even before the King, that he may first choose, but I resolved to breake that in our behalfe.

The Prince to satisfie his desire, before I could have knowledge, he sent a Post to the King to certifie him, that such goods he had stayed without mention of Presents, and prayed leave to open them, and to buy what he fancied. So soone as I heard of this faithlesse uncivill usage, I resolved I was justifiable before all the world, if I used the extremitie of complaints, that I had practised all meanes to win and purchase favour, and had suffered beyond the patience of a freeman, my former courses will witnesse, and leave me without blame in ill successes, though I found it in a rougher way, seeing I could find no better in the smoothest. Briefely I resolved to appeale to Justice by complaint, but as calmely and warily as I could, to expresse my whole griefe, extreame injuries, and long patience. To go to Asaph Chan (though to neglect him would displease him) yet to trie him I feared would prevent my purpose: to send to him that I desired to visite the King at the Glutel-chand, I doubted what I intended might be suspected, if hee had heard of the injury: so I practised first to prevent, and avoid prevention.

The Prophet, whom the King visited, offered me occasion, and my new Linguist was readie. I rode and met his Majestie on his Elephant, and alighted making signe to speake: he turned his monster to mee, and prevented mee. My sonne hath taken your goods and my Presents: bee not sad, he shall not touch nor open a seale, nor locke; at night I will send him a command to free them, with other very gracious speeches, that he knew I came full of complaint, to ease mee he beganne

first. Upon the way I could doe no more, but at night, without further seeking to Asaph Chan, I went to the Guzel Chan, resolved to prosecute the complaint of
[I. iv. 564.] forcing backe our goods, in respect of the charge and trouble, of the abuses of Surat, and all our other grievances. So soone as I came in, the King called my Interpreter, and delivered by his, that he had written and sent his command very effectually, that not a haire should be diminished: I replyed, the injury was such, and the charge and abuses of our liberty by the Princes officers, that I desired redresse, for that we could not longer suffer. It was answered, what was past I must remit to his sonne, but by Asaph Chans mediation I could procure nothing but very good words, for he smoothed on both sides; so that I was forced to seeme content, and to seeke an opportunitie in the absence of my false friend and procurator. The good King fell to dispute of the Lawes of Moses, Jesus and Mahomet, and in drinke was so kind, that he turned to me, and said: I am a King, you shall be welcome Christians, Moores, Jewes, he medled not with their faith; they came all in love, and he would protect them from wrong, they lived under his
The Mogull in drinke. safety, and none should oppresse them; and this often repeated, but in extreame drunkennesse he fell to weeping, and to divers passions, and so kept us till midnight.

Judge all men what travell I endured, by reason the Factors kept my Presents foure moneths, and sent them even in the mouth of the Prince, arrived within two dayes of Brampore, and hereby every way our charge doubled, that I rested not satisfied; but seeing I had begun, and that the Prince was, as I feared, enough exasperated with a little, I thought as good lose him to some purpose, as to none, at least to trie the King what hee would doe. So I waited advantage, but sent backe the messenger to Master Terry, to stand out and attend the Kings answere, which I would speedily send him. And so resolved to dissemble that I hope to repay, when I came, with base

flattery worse then the theft, or at least to give me some satisfaction, because trouble was in my face, for otherwise it is no injury heere to bee so used: he beganne to tell me he had taken divers things, that please him extreamely well, naming two Cushions embroydered, a folding Glasse, and the Dogges, and desired mee not to bee discontent, for whatsoever I would not give him, I should receive backe: I answered, there were few things that I entended not to present him, but that I tooke it a great discourtesie to my Soveraigne, which I could not answere, to have that was freely given seazed, and not delivered by my hands to whom they were directed: and that some of them were entended for the Prince and Normahall, some to lye by me, on occasions, to prepare his Majesties favour to protect us from injuries that strangers were daily offered, and some for my friends or private use, and some that were the Merchants, which I had not to doe withall: he answered, that I should not be sad nor grieved, that hee had his choyce, for that hee had not patience to forbeare seeing them, hee did mee no wrong in it, for hee thought I wished him first served, and to my Lord the King of England hee would make satisfaction, and my excuse: the Prince, Normahall and he were all one; and for any to bring with me to procure his favour, it was a ceremony, and unnecessary, for he would at all times heare me; that I should be welcome emptie handed, for that was not my fault, and I should receive right from him; and to go to his sonne, he would returne me somewhat for him, and for the Merchants goods pay to their content; concluding I should not be angry for this freedome; he entended well: I made no reply. Then hee pressed me whether I was pleased or no. I answered his Majesties content pleased me: so seeing Master Terry, whom I brought in with me, he called to him, Padre you are very welcome, and this house is yours, esteeme it so, whensoever you desire to come to me, it shall bee free for you, and whatsoever you will require of mee, I will grant you.

Master Terry the minister welcommed.

Then he converted himselfe with this cunning unto me, naming all particulars in order: The Dogges, Cushions, Barbers case, you will not desire to have backe, for that I am delighted in them: I answered no. Then said he there were two Glasse chestes, for they were very meane and ordinary, for whom came they? I replyed, I entended one for his Majestie, the other to Normahall. Why then, said hee, you will not aske that I have, being contented with one? I was forced to yeeld. Next he demanded whose the Hats were, for that his women liked them. I answered, three were sent to his Majesty, the fourth was mine to weare. Then said he, you will not take them from me, for I like them, and yours I will returne if you need it, and will not bestow that on me, which I could not refuse. Then next he demanded whose the Pictures were. I answered, sent to me to use on occasions, and dispose as my businesse required: so hee called for them, and caused them to be opened, examined me of the women, and other little questions, requiring many judgements of them, of the third Picture of Venus and a Satyre: he commanded my Interpreter not to tell me what he said: But asked his Lords what they conceived should be the interpretation or morall of that, he shewed the Satyres hornes, his skinne which was swart, and pointed to many particulars: every man replyed according to his fancie; but in the end hee concluded they were all deceived: and seeing they could judge no better, hee would keepe his conceit to himselfe, iterating his command to conceale this passage from me: But bade him aske me what it meant: I answered, an Invention of the Painter to shew his arte, which was Poeticall, but the interpretation was new to mee that had not seene it. Then he called Master Terry, to give his judgement, who replying, hee knew not. The King demanded why hee brought up to him an invention wherein hee was ignorant; at which I enterposed that he was a Preacher, and medled not with such matters, nor had charge of them, onely comming in their com-

Notable question about the Picture of a Satyre.

[I. iv. 565.]

pany, hee was more noted, and so named as their conductor.

This I repeate for instruction, to warne the company and him that shall succeed me to be very wary what they send, may be subject to ill Interpretation: for in that point this King and people are very pregnant and scrupulous, full of jealousie and trickes, for that notwithstanding the King conceited himselfe, yet by the passages I will deliver my opinion of this conceit, which (knowing, I had never seene the Picture, and by Ignorance was guiltlesse) hee would not presse hard upon me. But, I suppose, he understood the Morall to be a scorne of Asiatiques whom the naked Satyre represented, and was of the same complexion and not unlike; who being held by Venus a white woman by the Nose, it seemed that shee led him Captive. Yet he revealed no discontent, but rould them up, and told me he would accept him also as a Present. For the Saddle and some other small Toyes, he would fit me with a gift to his Sonne, to whom he would write according to promise, so effectually that I should need no Sollicitor, in many businesses with as many complements, excuses, professions & protestations as could come from any very Noble, or very base minde in either extreame. Yet he left not, but enquired what meant the figures of the beasts, and whether they were sent me to give to him: I had understood they were very ridiculous and ill shaped ordinary creatures, the varnish off, and no beauty other then a lumpe of wood; I was really ashamed and answered, it was not my fault, those that seized them must beare the affront, but that they were not entended to him, but sent to shew the formes of certaine beasts with us. He replyed quickly, did you thinke in England that a Horse and a Bull was strange to mee? I replyed, I thought not of so meane a matter, The sender was an ordinary man in good will to mee for Toyes, and what he thought, I knew not: well said the King, I will keepe them, and onely desire you to helpe me to a horse of the greatest size. It is

The Kings requests.

all I will expect, and a Male and Female of Mastiffes, and the tall Irish Grey-hounds, and such other Dogges as hunt in your lands, and if you will promise me this, I will give you the word of a King, I will fully recompence you, and grant you all your desires.

I answered, I would promise to provide them, but could not warrant their lives, and if they dyed by the way, onely for my discharge, their skinnes and bones should bee preserved, hee gave extraordinary Bowes, layd his hand on his heart, and such kind of gestures as all men will witnesse, he never used to any man, nor such familiarity, nor freedome, nor profession of love. This was all my recompence, that he often desired my content to be merry, that the wrong he had done me, he would royally requite, and send me home to my Countrey with grace and reward like a Gentleman. But seeing nothing returned of what was seized, but words, I desired his Majesty to deliver backe the Velvets and Silkes being Merchants goods, that they were sent up among mine by his Majesties command, for that by that pretence, they escaped the ravine of the Princes Officers: so hee gave order to call Master Biddolph to agree with him, and to pay for them to content. Then I delivered a Letter I had ready written contayning my desire for Priviledges and Justice otherwise I should returne as a Fayzneane and disgraced to my Soveraigne, and desired some Justice for Sulpheckarkons Debt lately dead: he replyed he would take such order with his Sonne for Surat, as I should have no cause to complaine, and that he should cleere it for which he gave instant order. For other places, he would give me his commands, and every way shew how much he loved me, and to the end I might returne to my Master with honour, Hee would send by me a rich and worthy Present with his Letter of my behaviour filled with many prayses, and commanded me to name what I thought would be most acceptable, I answered, I durst not crave, it was not our custome, nor stood with my Masters honour, but what-

soever he sent, I doubted not, would be acceptable from so potent a King, and so much loved of my Lord. He replyed, that I thought he asked in jest, to please mee, and that he saw I was yet discontent, but he conjured me to beleeve he was my friend, and would at conclusion prove so, and vowed by his head hee spake heartily concerning Presents, but I must not refuse for his instruction to name somewhat. This earnestnesse enforced mee to say, if his Majesty pleased, I thought large Persian Carpets, would be fittest; for gifts of cost and value my Master expected not.

He answered, he would provide of all sorts and sizes, and added to them what hee thought was fit, that your King may know I respect him: next, having Venison of divers sorts before him, he gave me halfe a Stagge, with these words, hee killed it himselfe, and the other halfe I should see bestowed on his wives, which was presently cut out, in small pieces of foure pound and sent in by his third sonne, and two women that were called out to divers such Mammockes, as if it had beene a dole to the poore, and carryed by the Prince bare in his hands. Now I had as much satisfaction, and so abundant grace as might have flattered me into content, but the injury was above words, though I were glad of these and of colour to dissemble, for hee sent as a conclusion to know if I were pleased, and did not depart discontent. I answered his Majesties favour was sufficient to make mee any amends. Then, said he, I have onely one question to aske you; which is, I wonder much now I have seene your Presents two yeares, what was the reason why your King sent a Merchant, a meane man before you with five times as many, and more curious Toyes that contented all, and after to send you his Ambassadour with a Commission and his Letter mentioning Presents, and yet what you brought was little, meane and inferiour to the other. I acknowledge you an Ambassadour, I have found you a Gentleman in your usage, and I am amazed why you were so slightly set out. [I. iv. 566.]

I would have replyed, but he cut me off, I know it is not the Kings fault, nor yours, but I will let you see I esteeme you better then they employed you. At your returne, I will send you home with honour, with reward, and according to your qualitie; and not respecting what you brought me, will like a King present your Lord and Master: onely this I will require from you, and not expect it from the Merchants, to take with you a patterne of a Quiver, and Case for my Bow, a Coat to weare, a Cushion to sleepe on of my fashion, which was at his head, and a paire of Boots, which you shall cause to bee embroydered in England, of the richest manner, and I will expect and receive them from you, for I know in your Countrey they can worke better then any I have seene, and if you send them mee, I am a King, you shall not lose by it, which I most thankfully undertooke, and he commanded Asaph Chan to send me the patternes. Then he demanded if I had any Grape Wine. I could not denie it; he desired a taste next night, and if hee liked it he would be bold, if not, he desired me to make merrie with it. So spending this night onely on me, he rose.

The third of March, wee came to Mandoa, into which the King entred in state, but no man was suffered to goe in before hee was set, by the advice of his Astrologers, so that wee all sate without, attending a good houre.

Mandoa. The sixth, I came into Mandoa, having sent before, and found a faire Court well walled, and in that a good Church, one great Tombe: it was taken up by one of the Kings Servants, but I got possession and kept it, being the best within all the wall, but two mile from the Kings house, yet so sufficient that a little charge would make it defensible against raines, and save one thousand Rupias, and for Aire very pleasant upon the edge of the hill.

Ill proforecast. The eleventh, at night I went toward the Court, but the King upon newes of a Lion that had killed some Horses, was gone to hunt, so that I had leisure to seeke

some water: for we were brought to a hill with a multitude of people (so great is the foresight, and so good the Policie) where was no water, that men and Castle were like to perish, that little that was in Pooles some great men possessed, and kept by force, I could get none, the poore forsooke the Citie, and by Proclamation many were commanded away, all Horses and Cattel forbid, and so those who were now in hope to rest, were forced to seeke new Dwellings, who departed some two, three and foure Course off, to the extreame trouble of all men, and the terrible rising of provisions. I knew not what to doe: my Roome and House was good, and though I were farre from Markets, yet it was a lesse inconvenience then to sit in the fields without house or shelter, onely I wanted water, so I rode my selfe to seeke some, and found a great Poole possessed by Chan, which was given by the King. I sent to desire him leave to draw, who granted me foure load a day, which satisfied me in such sort, that with selling away some of those Jades that were put upon me from Surat, and putting off my Cattell, I had hope to live, to which purpose I sent two with them to lye out of Towne. There was not a misery, nor punishment, which either the want of Government, or the naturall disposition of the Clime gave us not.

§. VIII.

The New-yeares Feast: Suspicions of the English: Trade of Dabul, distaste of the Persian, Englishmen of Warre in the Indian Seas.

THe twelfth, I went to the King, and carried a New-yeares gift, a paire of very faire Knives of my owne, and sixe Glasses of yours; the excuse I made was well received, and the King used mee with all grace, this onely was my comfort. He said whatsoever came from my hands was present sufficient, he accepted my love, and it was his part now to give me. I found a gainer by him, who had so farre performed his promise that I

perceived the King instructed in my desire, and gave present order to an Officer to send for Master Bidolph to pay him to his content for such things as he claymed, and all the others were acknowledged to be received by name, and that when I went to the Prince, the King would write; but was loth to part with any thing, of which the best sweet bagge lay before him. I replyed, I was as loth to goe emptie handed: so it rested, the King commanded I should come up and stand within, on the degrees of his Throne by him, where I found on one side the Persian Ambassadour, on the other the old King Candahar with whom I ranked, and he presently fell to begge a Knife which next day I sent. The King called for the Persian to come downe, to whom he gave a Jewell, and a young Elephant, for which he kneeled and saluted the ground with his head. The Throne was the same used the last yeare, and all the other furniture: at the upper end was set the King my Soveraignes Picture, the Queenes, my Lady Elizabeths, Sir Thomas Smiths and some others, two pieces of good and fine Tapistrie below them, that came from Persia, a Throne of Gold set all over with Rubies, Emeralds and Turqueis, and the old Musicke of singing Whores. This day I dispatched to Surat my advice of the Persian businesse and the new Ambassadour, and some remembrance to Abram Chan the Governour from whom I received a Letter, that in his absence our Nation had beene wronged against his knowledge, but that his power being augmented by the Prince, he desired me to be confident in him, that while he lived in authoritie we should never suffer any such abuses, but we should live in all freedome.

English Pictures.

[I. iv. 567.]

The thirteenth, I sent a Complement to Asaph Chan, a faire wrought Night-cap of mine owne, and a rich paire of Gloves which he returned as uselesse in this Countrey; the Cap he received and desired some Alegant Wine, which I sent the next day at night. Aganor (whose diligence now gave me great hope and ease) sent a Bannian his Secretary to tell mee hee had order for the

dispatch of the Merchants goods, and that his man should attend Master Biddolph to finish it, that the patternes should be sent me home, and that the King would give me a Coat and money to beare my charges to the Prince. I returned answere, that I had no use of a Babylonish Garment, nor needed money; if his Majestie were pleased to consider the injuries offered, of which the Paper testified remayned in his hands, and to give me his Letter to the Prince with some Presents or else to write in my excuse, it was all I would desire, but for his gifts I expected none but Justice.

Suspitions of the English.

The one and twentieth: I yet could not at instant presse it further, only I discovered the Kings doubts, for he suspected my stealing out of his Countrey, and breach with our Nation for the Prince, either out of guiltinesse or feare, or perhaps cunning to make us the pretence of his owne dessignes, had newly enformed the King, that next yeare, the English purposed the taking of Surat, and keeping it, of which our owne folly gave some colour; for lately upon one of their ordinary brabbles they caused two hundred Musketers to land and march toward Surat, and being met by divers the joyfull Mariners gave out they went to take it. This absurde bravado for a handful of men to passe twelve mile to a walled Towne able to put out a thousand horse armed, and as many shot, a River to passe which a few men would defend against a good Armie, gave just occasion of scorne and offence: and which the Prince apprehended for some other his owne ends, to refortifie the Castle and Towne, and to send downe Ordnance for the defence: a good provision to keepe a doore open to flie out, if his Brother live to correct his ambition. But this information occurring with my discontents heere, and some free language, my pressure to goe to Brampore, and flying newes that we had taken Goa, and were preparing a great Fleet in England, did cause some suspition in the King, which though he concealed it, yet hee thought to discover by the former Discourse, with which hee rested fully satisfied,

but I did not: I had beene long fed with words, and knew as well as the heart that trembled, that feare of us only preserved our residence.

A.D. 1617. Tyranny of Officers.

The nine and twentieth of March: this complaining of Officers is a tune so new, so odious in Court, that it troubleth all great men, it beeing their owne case, who living upon farming Governments in which they use all tyrannie to the Naturals, are loth to suffer a way open to the Kings understanding of their practice, who ordinarily hang men by the heeles, to confesse money, or to ransome themselves from no fault: this made all men envie my employment, and avoid me as an Informer.

Letter from Captaine Pepwell at Dabull.

The five and twentieth of April, I received from Dabull road from Cap. Pepwell, that according to advise he had stayed the Juncke bound for Mocha, but weighing the caution given by mee to consider well what correspondence were betweene that Prince and Mozolapatan, in whose Territorie the Solomon was and could not get to Sea, finding both alliance and friendship, he freed her without spoile, alleaging the refusall of Trade to Middleton, which courtesie procured him so good entertainment as the Indies affoords seldome, free Trade and promise to take three hundred Clothes yearely: a good quantitie of Lead sold for money, and some Ordnance (which I like not to arme the Indians, and the Portugals friends, enemies to the Mogoll) and all other courtesies, which if this kindnesse proceeded not, for that the Juncke was yet under command, gives me good hope of some Trade in sale yearely at the Port, however the freeing of the Juncke assures me the Commander will doe nothing by catching, prejudicall to the Company, and deliver himselfe honestly from the jealousies cast upon him from Dabul, hee signifies his intent to proceed to Callicute, and if that Factorie be not worth supplyes to transmit it to Dabul.

The seven and twentieth, by the Foot-post, I receiued from Mesolapatan, that the Salomon was got to

Sea, and the Hosiander from Bantam arrived, who brought the ill newes of the losse of the Hector and Concord, careening in the Roade of Jacatra, on Java, in recompence that the Dragon, Clove and Defence, were homeward laden from Bantam. I tooke this occasion to convey a letter to the Governour of Dabul over-land, to apprehend the overture newly made by him of the trade: though I had little opinion of the place, yet I would not neglect that, nor encourage the next Fleet to proceed, but upon better assurance then a forced friendship, and offers made while their Juncke was in our power. The effect was to signifie the causes of our staying their goods for refusing trade to Sir Henry Middleton, but now finding in him a better inclination and a desire to receive us, & to establish a friendship and league, a promise to take cloth in good quantitie. I required if these motions were hearty, and such as befitted a man of honour, that he would write to the King his Master, to procure his Firman with such priviledges as were fit for Merchants, and his promise to buy our goods, and to fulfill all the friendly offers made by him, his Officer, under his Seale, and with expedition to send it mee to the Court of the great Mogoll: whereby I might receive assurance and encouragement that they entended faith, and on such reception I did undertake on the behalfe of the King of England, a good and firme Peace toward his Master, his subjects free passage in the seas, from any oppression by our Fleets: and that yearely I would either send a ship to his Port for trade, or if it so required, leave & establish a residence in his Government. I doubt not, but yearely for feare or love, some good trade by sales may bee made, but for envestments, it will not be worth it: only I proceeded as I would have wished all men, not with too seeming eager a desire, nor to swallow any offers and conditions hungerly, for strict care in the first setling is the best advantage: and for misery of ensuing times, it being a generall rule never to mend your first

Overture of Trade at Dabull.

[I. iv. 568.]

estate, often to empaire it, every mans best houre is when he is new, a stranger, and at first seene: after, the naturall lenitie of these Barbarians, finds all that brings not change, fastidious. This dispatch I committed to Master Bangham, and desired him to make diligent enquiry of the commodities, advantages, inconveniences, humours and affections of these Decannies towards us.

Distaste of the Persian Ambassadour.

The thirtieth, the time that he brought me the excuses of the Persian Ambassadour, for failing in taking his leave of me, which he would not send by a servant, but uttered the truth that the Ambassadour was not sicke, as he pretended, but receiving no content from the King in his businesse he suddenly tooke leave, and having given thirty faire horses at his departure: the King gave in recompence three thousand Rupias which he tooke in great scorne; whereupon the King prized all that the Ambassadour had given him at meane rates, and likewise all that the King had returned since his arrivall, even to slaves, Drinke, Mellons, Pines, Plantanes, Hawkes, Plumes, the Eliphant and whatsoever at extreme high rates, and sending both Bils made it up in money. This base usage and scorne caused him to excuse his not seeing Asaph Chan and Etimon Dowlet on a Fever, which having done hee could not come through the Towne to mee without discoverie, but desired him to acquaint me with the truth, and to make all excuse and profession that hee would recompence this discourtesie by double friendship to my Countrimen in Persia: with some bitternesse against the King, which Aganor as freely delivered, and I seemed as unwilling to heare. I presented them with some Aligant and Knives and we parted.

The twelfth of May, I received newes of a great blow given the Persian by the Turkes Army, so that Tanris was rased, and the Shabas not able to keepe the field.

The five and twentieth, a Lion and a Woolfe used my house, and nightly put us in alarume, fetching away Sheepe and Goats out of my Court, and leaping a high

wall with them. I sent to aske leave to kill it, for that no man may meddle with Lions but the King, and it was granted: I ranne out into the Court upon the noyse, and the beast missing his prey, seized on a little Island Dogge before me, that I had long kept, but the Woolfe one of my servants killed, and I sent it the King.

The fourteenth of June, certaine goods of the Jesuites were sent from Cambaya in a Cabinet, Phisicke and necessaries, and a Letter, which were betrayed by the bringer, and delivered the King: which he opened and sent for the Padre to reade the Letter, and to see all in the Boxes, of which nothing liking him, he returned all; which I observe as a warning to all that deale in this Kingdome, to bee wary of what they write or send, for such is the custome and humour of the King, that he will seize and see all, lest any Toy should escape his appetite.

The eighteenth, I received Letters from Amadavar of the Hope of the fall of Indico, by the failing of the Goa Caffila, and that there was plentie to be bought but deare. That the Unicornes Horne was returned as without vertue, concerning which I gave him new advice; many complaints against Surat and others, which I meddle not with. I received from Brampoore two Letters, how doubtfull the debt of Ralph stood, and newes of the returne of Spragge from the Leskar of Decan. The Generall Melickamber with much shew of honour, gave instant order for privie search in all his Campe for the Persian fled, and by me remanded; but finding him departed to Vizeapoore, by testimony that businesse was pursued no further, but by a Letter to a Dutch their resident. The Generall desired Spragge to be a meanes to bring him English cloth and swords to his Campe for the supply of his Souldiers which lye within sixe dayes of Brampoore. In my opinion, that had beene a good employment of some idle men, and a way to vent our dead commodities.

The thirtieth of July, I received from Surat, of the casting away of two Dutch ships on the Coast of Damon, that having come from the Southward with Spices and China Silkes, were bound for the Red Sea, but losing their season with much extremitie of weather beating many weekes about the entrance for harbour, attempted the like at Socatra, and upon the Coast of Arabia, but being not able to get in any way, they resolved for Surat, hoping by the last yeares good successe to be able to ride safely: but the yeares differ, and beeing forced to [I. iv. 569.] anchor in extremitie their greater ship cut her Masts by boord, and after her Cables breaking, shee went ashore upon the coast ozie ground within musket shot. The ship kept upright, but having lost their long Boat, and their Skiffe not able to live by rafters, foure men got ashore, and the Tydes heaving her in upon the Spring, they saved much goods and all their people: her Pinnasse of sixtie Tunne was beaten to pieces.

The one and twentieth of August, the King of Candahor, came to visit me, and brought wine and fruit, sate halfe an houre, and for one jest of his begged a bottle of wine.

The Prince Sultan Corseroone had his first day of hoped libertie, and came to take ayre and pleasure at the banquetting house by me. The Prince at Brampoore had made a marriage without the Kings consent, and gotten displeasure: besides some practice of his was discovered against his brothers life, but this as a secret: he was called for to Court. Normahal and Asaph Chan by their fathers advice, came about to make a peace with Corsoroone and Alliance, and with infinite joy his libertie is expected.

The two and twentieth, the King feasted at Asaph Chans. I received from Aleppo and Persia, passages of the warre, the Turkes retrait, but no word of our English: onely, that the Captaine of Grinins, had written to practise their disgrace.

The five and twentieth, I advised to Agra my pro-

ceeding in the Armenians businesse backe to Surat, and Brampoore of all occurrents. This day Asaph Chan feasted Normahal, the Prince Sultan Corsoroone, as is reported, to make a firme alliance, and that he will bring away a wife by his fathers importunitie, this will beget his full libertie, and our proud Masters ruine.

The first of September, was the Kings birth-day, and the solemnitie of his weighing, to which I went, and was carried into a very large and beautifull Garden, the square within all water, on the sides flowres and trees, in the midst a pinacle, where was prepared the scales, being hung in large tressels, and a crosse beame plated on with gold thinne: the scales of massie gold, the borders set with small stones, Rubies and Turkey, the chaines of gold large and massie, but strengthened with silke Cords. Here attended the Nobilitie all sitting about it on Carpets untill the King came; who at last appeared clothed, or rather loden with Diamonds, Rubies, Pearles, and other precious vanities, so great, so glorious! his Sword, Target, Throne to rest on correspondent; his head, necke, breast, armes, above the elbowes at the wrists, his fingers every one, with at least two or three rings; fettered with chaines, or dialled Diamonds; Rubies as great as Wall-nuts, some greater; and Pearles, such as mine eyes were amazed at. Suddenly he entered into the scales, sate like a woman on his legs, and there was put in against him, many bagges to fit his weight which were changed sixe times, and they say was silver, and that I understood his weight to be nine thousand Rupias, which was almost one thousand pound sterling: after with gold and jewels, and precious stones, but I saw none, it being in bagges might bee Pibles; then against cloth of Gold, Silke, Stuffes, Linnen, Spices, and all sorts of goods, but I must beleeve, for they were in fardles. Lastly, against Meale, Butter, Corne, which is said to be given to the Beniani, and all the rest of the Stuffe: but I saw it carefully carryed in, and none distributed. Onely the silver is reserved for the poore, and serves the

ensuing yeere, the King using in the night to call for some before him, and with his owne hands in great familiaritie, and humilitie to distribute that money. The scale he sate in by one side, he gazed on me, and turned me his stones and wealth, and smiled, but spake nothing, for my Interpreter could not bee admitted in. After he was weighed, he ascended his Throne, and had Basons of Nuts, Almonds, Fruits, Spices, of all sort made in thin silver, which hee cast about, and his great men scrambled prostrate upon their bellies, which seeing I did not, hee reached one bason almost full, and powred into my Cloke, his Noblemen were so bold as to put in their hands, so thicke, that they had left me none, if I had not put a remayner up. I heard he threw gold till I came in, but found it silver so thinne, that all I had at first being thousands of severall pieces had not weighed sixtie Rupias. I saved about twentie Rupias weight, yet a good dishfull, which I keepe to shew the ostentation, for by my proportion he could not that day cast away above one hundred pound sterling. At night he drinketh with all his Nobilitie in rich plate. I was invited to that, but told, I must not refuse to drinke, and their waters are fire. I was sicke and in a little fluxe of bloud, and durst not stay to venture my health.

The Kings weighing.

The ninth of September, the King rode to the River of Darbadath, five course on pleasure, and comming by my house I rode out to meete him. The custome is, that all men by whom hee passeth neere their gate, make him some Present, which is taken as a good signe, and is called Mombareck, good Newes, or good Successe. I had nothing to give, nor might fitly goe with nothing, nor stay at home without discourtesie, which made mee venture upon a faire Booke well bound filleted and gilt, Mercators last Edition of the Maps of the World, which I presented with an excuse that I had nothing worthy, but to a great King I offered the World in which he had so great and rich a part. The King tooke it in great courtesie, often laying his hand on his breast, and answer-

Mercators Atlas presented to the Mogoll.

ing every thing that came from mee was welcome. He asked after the ships arrivall, which I told him I daily expected: he told me he had some fat wilde Hogs sent him from Goa, and if I would eate any at his returne he would send me some. I made him due reverence, and answered any thing from his Majestie was a feast to me: [I. iv. 570.] he rode on his Elephant, and the way was stonie, and I offering to bring him toward the gate, hee bade God keepe mee, and returne to my house, demanding which it was, and praysing it: indeed it was one of the best in the Leskar, yet but an old Church and large Tombe inclosed: iterating his fare-well, he said the way was ill, and desired me to goe home, and with much shew of courtesie tooke leave.

Prince of Candahars uncivilitie.

The sixteenth, I rode to repay the visit of Marre Rustam the Prince of Candahor, who at my arrivall sent word he durst not see mee, except hee asked leave of the King or acquainted Etimon Dowlet or Asaph Chan, which at the Durbar he would. I answered he should not need, for I never meant to trouble my selfe with a man so uncivill, nor to come a second time. I knew well it was a shift out of ill manners; that the King would bee no more angrie for his bidding mee welcome to his house, then for his comming to mine, but that I cared not to see him, but came in civilitie to requite that I tooke so in him. His man desired me to stay untill he told his Master my answere, but I would not, and returned: at night, I rode to Court to visit the King, who questioned about the Booke of Maps, but I did forbeare any speech of my debts.

The five and twentieth, I rode to the Court very weake, to make triall of the King about our debts, for that Muckshud had also newly answered he had mist his Priganie, and knew not how to pay, but by his house. I delivered the King the Merchants Petition, which hee caused to bee read aloud, and the names of the debtors, and sureties, and summes distinctly, by Asaph Chan: which done, he called Araddan Chan, the chiefe of his

officers of Household, and the Cutwall, and gave them order, but what I understood not; reading the names, hee questioned their abilities and qualities, and what goods they received, finding some dead, some strangers: concerning Rulph, Asaph Chan offered to speake to the Prince at his arrivall to finish it. My Interpreter was now called in, and the King converted to mee, giving this answere: That the Merchants had made debts at their owne wills, and not brought a note of their goods to him, therefore if the men were insufficient, it was at their perill, for that it was no reason to expect the money from him, which, I suppose, hee spake of his servant Hergonen, who being dead, his goods were seazed for the Kings use: but seeing it was the first time, he would now assist mee, and cause our money to bee payed: but if hereafter the English would deliver their goods to his servants without money or acquainting him, they should stand to the hazard; but if when their commodities came to the Court, they would bring a Bill to him of all, he would first serve himselfe, and after distribute the rest to such as should buy that, and if any of them fayled, he would pay the money himselfe: this is indeed the custome of Persia Merchants, to bring all to the King, which I have often seene, who takes his choice, and delivers the rest to his Nobilitie, his Scrivanoes writing to whom, and his Officer cutting price; a Copy of which is given the Merchant, and hee goes to their houses for money; if they pay not, there is an expresse Officer that hath order by currant course to force them. Then was it told my Interpreter what command the King had given, that Arad Chan should call the debtors before him, and cause them to pay: but this pleased not our Merchants, I thought it both a just and gracious answere, better then in such cases private men can get of great Princes.

The King hearing I had been sicke, and wished for wine, gave me five bottles, and commanded when I had ended those, to send for five more, and so as I

wanted; and a fat Hogge, the fattest I ever saw, sent up by Mochreb Chan, that came from Goa, which at midnight was brought home by a Haddy with this message; since it came to the King it had eaten nothing but Sugar and Butter. I tooke this as a signe of favour, and I am sure in that Court it is a great one. Then hee sent for the Map-booke, and told me he had shewed it his Mulaies, and no man could reade nor understand it, therefore if I would, I should have it againe: I answered, at his pleasure, and so it was returned. *Mercator returned.*

The sixe and twentieth, there being a Raja in rebellion in the Hils, not past twentie Course from the Laskar, the King lately sent out two Umbras with Horse to fetch him in, but he defended his quarter, slew one of them, and twelve Maancipdares, and in all of both sides about five hundred, returning scornefull messages to the King to send his Sonne, for hee was no prey for ordinary forces. *A Raja withstood the Kings forces.*

The second of October, the Prince entred the Towne, and all the Great men in wondrous triumph: the King received him, as if he had no other, contrary to our expectation. Brampore left almost emptie under Chan Channa. I had sent to Asaph Chan, to excuse my not meeting him, for I was not able to stirre, nor had no Present. All the great men, and the Kings Mother, received him foure Course off. I sent also some of my servants with my just excuse, which his pride onely nodded at. *October 2.*

The fifth, I received from Surat newes of our Ships arrivall, the Admirall missing, and her Prize of Mosambique; the rest well, who had taken two English Ships, who were found in chase of the Queene Mothers ship returned from the Red-sea, which they fortunately rescued and brought safe in; if she had been taken, we had all beene in trouble: with these the Companies Letter, invoyce, instructions for Persia, and divers other notes of advise, that by reason of the Admirals absence: they knew not what course to take with the men of *English ships taken by the English.*

[I. iv. 571.] Warre. I dispeeded to Surat orders, about all businesse, as appeares in my Letters.

The sixt, I rode to visite the Prince, at his usuall houre, to give him welcome, and to acquaint him with our businesse, determining to make offer of all respect to him, and to that end not to come emptie handed, and bought a fine Chaine of gold, China worke. I sent in word; he returned that I should come next morning at Sunne rise, when he sate to be worshipped, or stay till his riding to Court, which I must have done at his doore. This I tooke in extreame scorne, his Father never denying me accesse; and his Pride is such, as may teach Lucifer: which made me answere roundly, I was not his Slave, but a free Ambassadour of a King, and that I would never more visite him, nor attend him, hee had refused me Justice; but at night I would see him with the King, to whom only I would addresse my selfe, and so departed.

The Princes pride.

At night I went to the King, who received me graciously. I made a reverence to the Prince, but he would not once stirre his head. Then I acquainted the King, that according to his order, I had brought an abstract of our ladings, desiring his command: after his manner he asked what and what, and was so wonderfully satisfied, especially with Arras, that he promised mee all favour, all priviledges, all that I would desire. He enquired for Dogges, which I could not answere, and for Jewels, which I told him they were dearer in England then in India, at which hee rested satisfied. I durst not name the Pearles for many reasons; if I had, our people had beene waylaid for by the Prince, and such snatching, as I could not avoyd infinite trouble: I knew I could bring them ashoare, and to Court by stealth, that the lesser expected, the better welcome; but my maine reason was, I would make a friend by them. Therefore when Asaph Chan pressed me to know, I desired him to make that answere of dearenesse, and that I would speake with him alone; he soone understood me, and made excuse.

The King being well pleased, I thought it good time to moove againe for the debts; and having my Petition ready, opened it, and offered it up: the King not marking, others discovered what it was, and knew the King would bee enraged that his order was neglected: whereat one stept to me, and clapt downe my hand gently, desiring me not to doe so. I answered, Aradake Chan had absolutely refused me Justice: at which he being by, came in, in much feare, calling Asaph Chan, desiring him to hinder me from complaint. I answered, our ships were arrived, and we could not forbeare nor endure such delayes: so they consulted together, and called the Cutwall, giving order to execute the Kings command: who that night at midnight beset their Tents, and catched some of them, so that now we shall have reason.

I had great thanks of all the Umreies for protecting the Queenes ship, and our courtesie to their passengers, which they enformed the King, who tooke it kindly, and they all promised that they were obliged to love our Nation, and would doe them all service: but they wondered we could not governe our people, but that theeves could come out, without the Kings leave.

At the Kings rising, Asaph Chan carryed me with him to his retyring place, and there first we translated the Abstract into Persian, to shew the King an houre after: in which I inserted the money with some addition, because the King might perceive was brought profit to his Dominions; next the cloath and sorts, then the fine wares in generall: lastly the grosse commodities, desiring his Majestie to order what he would buy, and to give us liberty for the rest. This finished, Asaph Chan renewed the reason why I would speake alone, bad me be free, vowed and protested such friendship as I never could expect. I replyed, The reason why I desired it, was to aske his counsell: for it was true I had somewhat, but my usage last yeare was so bad, that I durst not trust any, but that he might see how I replyed on him, I was willing on his oath to reveale it, which he presently gave.

I told him I had a rich Pearle, and some other ropes faire: I knew not whether it was fit to tell the King, lest the Prince were displeased; I told him how in the morning I had been to visite him, and his discourtesie, and my resolution: but that I knew his favour was so necessary for us, that I hoped I might recover it, by this one respect that I kept the Pearle for him. This I said was my purpose and reason I concealed it; he was father in law to him, and favorite of the King; I was ready to please both, and desired his advice. He embraced me, and began: I had done discreetly, but I should acquaint neither: if I did, I should never want trouble: the King would use me well, but keepe such a stirre to see it, and get it into his hand, according to custome, and then I must sue for mine owne. The Prince was ravenous and tyrannicall, and wearied all Nations. He bade mee steale all ashoare, trust none, and shewed mee many conveyances; bade me observe the usage of the Portugalls, how they were ransacked, and desired to buy it, which if I would grant it, I should have money in deposito, what I should aske, and he would for this trust of him, sollicite all my desires, that without him I could doe nothing. Now was an oportunitie to make a friend. I answered, I was willing, but I feared hee would reveale it; which having received his oath, and a ceremony of covenant by crossing thumbes, we embraced: I promised to be directed by him, and he to doe all that I required for the comming up of the rest; he would take order to give me Firmans, no man should touch any thing, but all come to me, to dispose of at pleasure. The Prince he would reconcile to me, and the next time he visited him, he would take me, and make him use me with all grace, and for other businesse it should not be in his power to crosse me, but if he did, he would assigne us a Syndic, which [I. iv. 572.] was in his government, or procure any other Port at my desire, and whatsoever I demanded should be performed faithfully. He also advised me to give his sister Normahall some toy; he said he would make the King give

me money: to which I answered, I desire you to convert it into the well usage of my countrey-men, I asked no more.

Thus we rose, and he carryed me in to the King, with the Note translated, who gave mee all good usage; asked if the Arras were a Present: I answered yes, lest it should be seazed, for the Prince was by. In conclusion, hee said hee would buy all the parcell of cloath, and many other things, appointing me to send for it speedily; Asaph Chan to take order for a Firman from the Prince.

Thus I had a good night, and I knew though they are all ( ) yet in this he would deale truely, because it was to helpe himselfe, and durst not betray me till he had the Pearle, for feare to misse it, nor after, for having himselfe betrayed the Prince.

§. IX.

Asaph Chan seeketh to further us for hope of gaine, so also Normahal: Master Steeles arrivall: Danger to the publike, by private trade: Stirres about a Fort.

THe twelfth, according to promise, Asaph Chan carryed mee to the Prince, into his private roome, where I presented him with a small China Gold-chaine, in a China Cup, he used me indifferently: Asaph Chan perswaded him to alter his course towards us, telling him hee gained yearely by us a Lecke of Rupias at his Port: that it appeared we yearely encreased our trade, and it would in time bring profit; that if the hard measure were continued, we would quit both that and the Countrey, of which inconvenience would ensue. That we were his Subjects (such words he must use) if for desire of toyes he gave us discontent, we would practise to conceale all from him; but if hee gave us that libertie which was fit, wee would strive to bring all before him, for that I only studyed his content and favour for my particular; that he should receive mee, when I came to

Asaph Chans friendship for hope of gaine.

visite him with honour, and according to my qualitie, it would encourage mee to doe him service, and content my Nation. Finally, hee moved him for a Firman for our present ease, and obtained it, promising all manner of content, and at instant gave order to Asaph Chan his Secretary, to draw it in every point according to my owne desires, and to write a Letter to the Governour in recommendations of it: and that I should at all times have any other Letter, when I called for it. It is easily seene with how base and unworthy men I traffique. Asaph Chan for a sordid hope only of buying some toyes, was so reconciled, as to betray his sonne, and to me obsequious, even to flattery: for the ground of all this friendship was, that he might buy the Gold taken in the prize, and some other knackes: to which end he desired to send downe a servant, which I could not deny without losing him, I had so long laboured to get: neither was it ill for us, for his payment is good, and it will save us much charge and trouble to sell aboord, especially wine and luggish that spoiles in cariage; and he obtained leave under false colours, and wrote to the Governour in our behalfes, with all manner of kindnesse. There is a necessitie of his friendship, his word is law, and therefore I durst not see his unworthinesse, and hope by this course to winne him, at least to make present good use of him. Upon this occasion I moved for a Firman for Bengala, which he promised, and would never before hearken to: and this effect of his greatnesse I found, that hee prosecuted our debters, as if his owne: and passing by the Cutwalls on his Elephant, called to command dispatch, which was an unusuall favour; upon which Groo was imprisoned, and Muckshu had two dayes libertie only to pay us; and I doubt not, but to end that in ten dayes, the summe being foure and forty thousand Rupias, and the debters most shifting false knaves in India.

The one and twentieth, at this instant, came in to me from Asaph Chan, a servant, in the name of Normahal, that shee had moved the Prince for another Firman, that

all our goods might bee in her protection, and that shee had obtained it, and was readie to send down her servant with that, to see and take order for our good establishment, that shee would see that wee should not bee wronged. That Asaph Chan had done this for feare of the Princes violence, and because of his delayes; that now hee was sure that his sister had desired to bee our Protectresse, that the Prince would not meddle, that upon his honour I should receive all things consigned to mee; that shee had written such a command, and charged her servant to assist our Factors, so that we should have never more cause to complaine of Surat. Therefore hee desired of mee two or three words to the Captaine and Factors to use him kindly, and to let him buy for her some toyes, such as I would spare. This I durst not deny, though I saw the greedinesse; and gave him a note on condition to see the Copy of the Firman which was sealed, and I could not without leave, and so he was dispeeded: but you may by this judge this place, how easie it were to raise a stocke: last yeare, wee were not [I. iv. 573.] looked after. Now because I translated the Cargazon of fine wares (yet concealed the Pearle) and gave it the King; every one is ready to runne downe to buy; Normahall and Asaph Chan studying to doe me good offices; many great men desiring a letter to send their servants downe, so that if you had treble this stocke, it would be bought up aboord, and save you custome, and carriage, and spoile: for which purpose out of this I have ordered your Factory to sell to the servants of Normahall and her brother, whatsoever may bee spared, so that I may bee fitted at Court in any proportion. Thus I shall save trouble and you charge, the Prince prevented, and our friends confirmed, and yet I hope sufficient for to please the King and his sonne: at the delivery of which Asaph Chan hath undertaken the Firman for Bengala, or any Port, and a generall command and grant of free Priviledges in all his Dominions.

The foure and twentieth, the King departed Mandoa

foure Course, and wandering in the hills, left us irresolute what way to take, no man knowing his purpose. The six and twentieth, I got a warrant for ten Camels at the Kings price. The nine and twentieth, I removed after: forced away by the desolations of the place.

The one and thirtieth, I arrived at the Kings Tents, but found him gone with few company for ten dayes a hunting, no man to follow without leave, the Leskar divided and scattered into many parts, ill water, deare provisions, sicknesse and all sorts of calamitie accompanying so infinite a multitude; yet nothing remooves him from following this monstrous appetite. Heere I understood the Kings purpose was uncertaine, whether for Agra or Guzerat; the latter given out; the former more probable, because his Councell desired to be at rest: but that how ever for the dispatch of my businesse, seeing hee would linger heere about a moneth, I was advised, and thought it as fit to send for the goods and Presents, as to deferre it upon uncertainties, being that dispatched, I had hope of some quiet in this course: I wore out my body, being very weake, and not like to recover upon daily travell in the fields, with cold raw muddie water.

November 2. Master Steeles projects questioned.

The second of November, arrived Richard Steele and Master Jackson, with the Pearle and some other small matters stollen ashoare, according to my order, which I received and gave quittance for: with him I had conference about his projects, which because I would not rashly reject them, as he had set them afoot, after having made him see his fancies, and understand the qualitie of these people, how for the water-worke, if to bee effected, it must bee begunne at our charge, and after triall, we shall not enjoy the profit, but the Naturalls taught, and our people rejected; neither our commoditie vented by it, for that the Lead will treble his price by portage overland; and cannot bee delivered at Agra so cheape as found there: yet I was content hee should make triall for satisfaction by carrying his work-men to Amadavas, to meete mee there, where by assistance of Mocrib Chan,

who only is a friend to new inventions I would make offer to the King of their industry, and make proofe what conditions may be obtained; but in my judgement it is all money and labour cast away. The Company must shut their eares against these projectors, who have their owne employments more in their ends, then their Masters profits: many things hold well in discourse, and in the theorique satisfie curious imaginations, but in practice and execution are found difficult and ayrie, especially to alter the constant received customes of Kingdomes, where some drinke only raine-water, some of a holy River, some none but what is fetched by their owne cost: his second of reducing the Caffilaes and Merchants of Lahor and Agra, by the River Indus, that used to passe by Candahor into Persia, to transport by sea in our shipping for Jasques or the Gulph, is a meere dreame, some man in conference may wish it, but none ever practise it. The River is indifferently navigable downe, but the mouth is the residence of the Portugalls, returnes backe against the streame very difficult. Finally, wee must warrant their goods, which a Fleet will not doe, neither did the Portugall ever lade or noise such goods but only for those of Sindie and Tatta, that traded by their owne Junckes, they gave a Cartas or Passe to secure them from their Frigats, and traded with them, for which they payed a small matter, and that onely which came to the purses of the Grand of Diu, Damon and Ormus, or if all other difficulties were taken away, yet will the Lahornes never bee drawne downe, being that Caffila consists most of returning Persians and Armenians that knew the passage from Jasques almost as bad, as from Candahor, and for that little on the Confines of Sinde not worth mentioning. Notwithstanding for his better satisfaction, I was content hee should by experience learne his owne errours, so it were not at the Companies charge, but I suppose hee will let it fall, not knowing at which end to beginne.

A third project for to joyne the Trade of the Red Sea with this, I recommended to him, for that it was alreadie

in use, and the perill for the Guzurats very apparant, therefore I doubted not some Merchants might be drawne to lade in our ships at freight, whereby wee should make our selves necessary friends to these people, supply our owne defects, save export of monies, and finally, for this yeare employ one ship of the olde account that should returne in September: and receive the proceed of the remaynes of this joynt stocke, which will be sufficient to re-lade a great ship, otherwise to transport it over will be extreame losse. This I opened and urged the consequence shewed which way to effect it, and commended by him to the Commander, the Cape Merchant, and your Factors with all earnestnesse, as by my Letters appeares. The [I. iv. 574.] consequence I will make evident in your profit, if they follow it, for were the goods and estate all my owne, if I could not procure somewhat towards charge by freight from the Guzurats, yet having so many emptie vessels for so small a stocke, and two fallen into your hands of men of warre, I had rather goe emptie, and for company with them, then to omit that: there are many chances in that Sea, and in the way her returne onely of our owne remaynes, shall requite all forbearance; and be readie in time, for employed she must be if we intend to send the rest upon this account, for that here is no harbourage at his arrivall. I found him high in his conceits, having somewhat forgotten me, Master Kerridge and him at warres, which I endeavoured to temper on all parts, *His Wife.* but for his Wife I dealt with him cleerely, she could not stay with our safety, nor his Masters content; that he had ruined his fortunes, if by amends hee repayred it not; that shee should not travell nor live on the Companies *Danger by bringing Wives.* Purse; I know the charge of women, that if he were content to live himselfe like a Merchant, as others did frugally, and to be ordered for the Companies service and to send home his Wife, he was welcome: otherwise, I must take a course with both, against my nature. Having to this perswaded him, I likewise practised the discouragement of Captaine Towerson about his Wife,

(you know not the danger, the trouble, the inconvenience of granting these liberties) to effect this, I perswaded Abraham his Father in Law here to hold fast: I wrote to them the gripings of this Court, the small hope or reliefe from his alliance, who expected great matters from him. Finally I perswaded his returne quietly. To further this, I wrote to your chiefe Factor, that such things as hee had brought and were vendible, should bee brought to your use by Bill of exchange to such profit for him, as both might save; and this inconvenience you bring on your selves by liberties unreasonable. But to take tye of his trash to lye upon your hands, upon any condition I did prohibit.

Publike losse by private Trade.

I find by your Letter your strict command in private Trade, as well for your owne Servants as others, whereby I collect, you meane not that he shall have that libertie hee expects, for he is furnished for above one thousand pound sterling, first penny here, and Steele at least two hundred pound, which he presumes sending home his Wife, his credit and merit is so good towards you, that you will admit in this case to be rid of such cattell, I will not buy, but order that it be marked and consigned to you, that you may measure your owne hand. You discourage all your olde Servants, some may doe all things for faire words, some nothing for good actions: I could instance some gone home two yeares since, that onely employed their owne stocke, did no other businesse, and live now at home in pleasure, others that raise their fortunes upon your monies, from Port to Port, and returne rich and unquestioned. Last yeare a Mariner had sixe and twentie Churles of Indico, others many Fardles, a third seven thousand Mamudes, first pennie in Baroach, Bastaes, chosen apart, for hee invested your Monies, and it is probable hee chose not the worst for himselfe: a fourth, above one hundred and fiftie pound first pennie. These I mention not for spight, but to move you to equalitie, neither by their example these may escape, for they swallow you up, but that an indifferent restraint be executed upon all.

The names are omitted.

For the effecting of all these purposes, the sending home the woman and the prosecution of the Red Sea, I send backe Richard Steele with orders to Surat, having altered my purpose of the goods and Presents from the Leskar, it beeing declared that the King will for Guzurat, where I have appointed Richard Steele, after having dispatched other matters, to meet with them and his Ingeniers. I also sent my advice and directions to Captaine Pring, to take an Inventorie of all the Monies and goods in the two men of Warre, to make it over to your stocke and land it, to sell or dispose of the ships, as his occasion shall require, the monies, if sold, to be put to stocke, to grant passage to some of the Chiefes, to entertaine the rest and to referre it to you at home, whom you will deale with the Owners that set them out. My opinion is peremptory, that their surprize is just and justifiable, all their goods forfeited: if you will restore any thing, at your courtesie; but with the more rigour you deale with these, the better example you will leave for such barbarous Piracies: for if this course be practised, take your leave of all Trade about Surat, and the Red Sea, and let the Company of Turkie stand cleere of the Grand Signors revenge, and we heere must expect cold Irons.

Inventory of the goods in the men of Warre.

The sixth, I went to Asaph Chans, having received his Passe, unto whom I shewed the Pearle according to promise, though the sorts fit not the Countrey just as I was informed hereafter, yet their performance with him gave him such content, that I am confident, I may use Pharaohs words, The Land is before you, dwell where you will, you and your Servants: for the price wee talked not, but he vowed such secrecie: and for my sake, who have shewed this confidence in him, hee will give more then their worth, and not returne one, and pay readie mony, of which hee professeth not to want, and to lend mee what I want: his Sister I have promised to visit, whom hee hath made our protectresse, and briefly whatsoever contentment words can bring I receive, and some good effects.

Normahal a friend to the English.

When the Presents arrive, assure you I will not be liberall to your losse, little shall serve. Asaph Chan admonisheth mee himselfe, so they came with somewhat to induce them, as well accepted, bought as given: experience of others makes mee to approve of this doctrine.

Finishing these complements with him in his Bed-chamber, he rose to Dinner having invited me and my people: but me and friends dined without, appointing mee a messe with him apart, for they eate not willingly with us; where I had good cheere and well attended; the reversion for my servants. [I. iv. 575.]

After dinner, I moved Groos debt, told him the delayes. Hee answered, I should not open my lips, he had undertaken it, that Groo by his meanes was finishing accounts with a Jeweller; that hee had ordered, as money was paid, it should rest in the Cutwalls hand for us; which I found true: and the Cutwall promised to finish it in three dayes, desiring mee to send no more to Asaph Chan.

I cannot omit a basenesse or favour, according as you will interprete it. The King when his Prisons are full of condemned men, some he commands to be executed, some he sends to his Umraes to redeeme at a price: this he esteemes as a courtesie, to give meanes to exercise charitie, but he takes the money, and so sels the vertue.

Redeeming of Prisoners.

About a moneth before our remove he sent to mee, to buy three Abassines (for fortie Rupias a man) whom they suppose all Christians. I answered, I could not buy men as Slaves, as others did, and so had profit for their money, but in charity I would give twenty Rupias a piece to save their lives, and give them libertie. The King tooke my answere well, and bade them to be sent me. They expected money, and I was not hastie; hearing no more of it, I hoped it had beene forgotten: but his words are written Decrees. This night the Officers seeing I sent not, delivered the Prisoners into my Procuradors power, and tooke his Screete for

Dixit & edictum est: fatur & est fatum.

sixtie Rupias, which at my returne I payed, and freed the Slaves.

Causelesse jealousies touching a Fort.

The tenth, I visited Asaph Chan, having received advise from Surat of a new Firman, come downe to disarrive all the English, and some other restrictions of their libertie: upon a complaint made to the Prince, that we intended to build a Fort at Swally, and that our shippes were laden with Bricke and Lime for that end: which suspition arose only by bringing a few on shoare to sound the ships bell; yet the Alarum came to Court so hot, that I was called to answere; which when I made it appeare how absurd the feare was, how dishonorable for the King, how unfit the place for us, without water or harbourage: yet the jealousie was so strongly imprinted, because formerly I had demanded a River by Goya for that end, that I could hardly perswade the Prince we intended not some surprise. By this you may judge, how easie it were to get a Port for our selves, if you affected it, which I can, neither so profitable for you, nor a place tenable. Notwithstanding all remonstrances, this furnace must be demolished, and a Haddey of horse sent downe to see it effected. The disarming of our men, being all that our people stomacked, though it was only to leave their weapons in the Custome-house, and that only of the ships company, though it were quieter for us, except they were often more civill: yet I told Asaph Chan wee would not endure the slavery, nor I stay in the Countrey, that one day the Prince sent a Firman for our good usage and grant of Priviledges, the next day countermanded it; that there was no faith nor honour in such proceedings, neither could I answere my residence longer. He replyed, at night hee would moove the King, before the Prince, and give me answere.

The thirteenth, I revisited Asaph Chan: he told me wondrous matters of the Kings affection to my Sovereigne, to my Nation, and to mee; that hee had ventured the Princes disfavour for our sakes, and had full promise for a new reformation: but because he feared the Princes

dealing, he gave me this assurance, that he would take the Prigany of Surat, which the Prince must leave, being made Governour of Amadavas, Cambaya, and that Territorie: and to give me satisfaction that he had not dissembled with me, he desired me to come at night to Court, and bring the King my Masters Letter and the translation, the oportunitie was faire to deliver it: upon the occasion of which, he bade me persist in my complaints, and offer to take leave; I should then see what he would say for us, and so I should beleeve my selfe. At evening I went to the King, it beeing a very full Court, and presented my Letter, which (the King sitting on the ground) was layd before him; and he busie, tooke no great notice. Asaph Chan whispered his Father in the eare, desiring him to reade the Letter, and to assist us, for that he might better begin that then himselfe, Etimon Dowlet tooke up both Letters, gave the English to the King, and read the translated; to which when the King had answered many words of complaint, to that point of procuring our quiet Trade, by his authoritie among the Portugals, he demanded if he would make peace. I answered, his Majestie knew long since, I offered to be governed by him, and referred it to his wisdome, and had expected his pleasure: he replyed, hee would undertake absolutely to accord us, and to make agreement in his Seas, which he would by answere to my Masters Letters signifie, and therein give him content in all other his friendly desires. Notwithstanding, I demanded leave to goe before to Amadavas to meet the Kings Presents, and to prepare for my returne. Upon which motion, the question grew betweene the King and the Prince, who complayned that he had no profit by us, and that he was content to be rid of us. Asaph Chan tooke the turne, and very roundly told the King, that we brought both profit to the Port, to the Kingdome, and securitie; that we were used very rudely by the Princes servants, and that it was not possible for us to reside without amends; it were more honourable for his Majestie to

Etimon Dowlet for the English.

licence us, then to intreate us so discourteously, for it would be the end. The Prince replyed very cholerickly,
[I. iv. 576.] that he had never done us wrong, and had lately given mee a Firman at his entreatie. He replyes, It is true, you gave a Firman to his content, and in ten dayes sent another, in effect, to contradict it, that he stood surety between both, had undertaken from the Princes mouth our redresse, but now he had the shame and dishonour of it: that he ought me nothing, nor I him; he spake for no ends, but for the Kings Honor and Justice, in that which he said that he did us no wrong, he must appeale to me, who complayned that our goods were taken by force, that two yeeres past Rulph had begun it, would never pay us, and his Officers continued every shipping; that if the Prince were weary of us, he might turne us out, but then he must expect we would doe our owne Justice upon the Seas. He demanded if the King or Prince gave mee meanes to eate, or who did? That I was an Ambassadour and a stranger, that lived and followed the King at great charge; that if our goods were forced, and after we could get neither goods nor money, how should I live and maintayne my selfe.

This delivered with some heate, the King catched the word, Force, Force, redoubling it to his sonne, and gave him sharpe reprehension: the Prince promised to see me paid all; that he had taken nothing, but only caused the Presents to be sealed, because his Officers had no Custome, and desired to have them opened before him, I absolutely refused it: also I told the King, I would only doe my dutie to my Master, in delivering his Presents free, after I would give the Prince all content.

Etimon Dowlet, who is alway indifferent, and now by his sonne made our friend, whispered with the King, and read a clause or two in my Masters Letter; at which the King made his son rise and stand aside. Asaph Chan joyned in this private conference (which they told me was for my good) and in conclusion, the Prince was called, commanded to suffer all the goods to come to my

hands quietly, to give me such priviledges as were fit, which Asaph Chan should propound. The Prince would not yeeld the Presents, except Asaph Chan would stand surety that he should have a share, which he did; and then we all agreed upon that point. The King giving mee many good words, and two pieces of his Pawne out of his dish, to eate of the same he was eating. Then I tooke leave to goe to Amadavas, to meet the Presents, and so we parted. At night I set on my journey, leaving my Tents, supposing the next day to reach the Citie, but I rode two nights, a day and a halfe with one baite upon straw, and the fifteenth at noone arrived at Amadavas.

Januarie 8. *Words betwixt the Prince and the Ambassadour about Presents.*

The eight of Januarie, there was some question about Presents, the Prince asking for them: I answered, they were readie, if hee pleased to receive his. Then hee demanded, why I brake his seales? I told him, it was dishonorable for me to bring a Kings gifts in bonds, and great discourtesie to set seales upon them: I expected and attended his licence twentie daies, but seeing no hope, I was enforced to doe it. Some heate began: at which appeared a Gentleman of the Kings, who was sent to observe the passage, and to stickle, and told us both, the King commanded wee should come before him at a Garden, where he sate, a Course out of Towne, upon the River. So the Prince tooke his Palankee, and I a Coach, well attended by servants both of father and son. When I came to the gates the Women were entring, and then no man can but the Prince; who made within a bitter complaint against mee, that I had dared to cut his seales, and to take out what I list. Asaph Chan was called for, who was my suretie, and the Prince laid it on him: he, as the custome is, denyed it, excused himselfe, yet I had not accused him, but tooke it upon me, as knowing my selfe better able to beare it, and that he would denie it. Then I was sent for to the water-side, where the King sate privately, where I entered, with mee the Presents; but the King was within

Custome to disavow the Kings word, if he will not acknowledge it, Ait, aio; Negat, nego.

amongst his Women. Asaph Chan chafed at mee, for breaking his word, told mee, the Prince had shamed him: I replyed by Jaddow, You know I had your consent, this man is witnesse; he denyed it to us both: I replyed, Though I would not cast it upon him, it was true, for I had witnesse: Jaddow would not returne the answere, but told me he might not tell him he lyed to his face: and this is usuall, if any command come from the King that he forgets, he that brought the message will disavow it. I bore up as high as I could; the great men told me it was a great affront, no man durst doe such a thing; others smiled: I answered, Not so great as the Prince had done me often. Thus we spent the day, and the King appeared not, but privately stole away, leaving us all sitting in expectance.

At night word came the King was gone, and I offered to goe home, but was so well attended, I could not but by force: in the way new messengers came to seeke mee, and I arrived backe at the Kings Court, not having eaten or drunke; but the King was not come in, nor could I get loose of my attendants, but they used me very respectfully, we sate an houre. Suddenly newes came to put out all lights, the King was come, who entred on an open Waggon, with his Normahall, drawne by Bullocks, himselfe Carter, and no man neare. When hee and his Women were housed, the Prince came in a horse-backe, and entring in, called for me: I found them alone with two or three* Capons, and about mid-night the King set on it an angrie countenance, told mee I had broken my word, that he would trust me no more, (the Prince had desired him to doe so:) I answered as roundly, I held it fit to give freely, I had done nothing of offence in my owne judgement; if their customes were other, it was ignorance, and I must bee pardoned; wee had many disputes; at last, the Prince interposed, offered his friendship, and wee were all reconciled fully, and promises too large. Then I opened the Chests, gave the King his Presents, the Prince his, and sent in that

The Kings Chariot drawn by Bullocks.

**Eunuchs.*

[I. iv. 577.]

for Normahall: we were above two houres in viewing them. The Arras he tooke well, but said it was course, desired to have a Sute of such, as the sweet Bagge: and wee concluded that in the morning I should come to the Prince, that he should be my Protector and Procurator, the goods except. Three things more then Presents were there returned mee: for those three the Prince told me he would pay, seeing his father tooke them.

The tenth, I went to the Prince, was received with all favour, had order for a Firman for the man murthered, a declaration of his reconcilement in publike, command to all his Officers to take knowledge, and to his chiefe Raja to be my Procurator, and to draw what Firmans so ever I desired. I presented Captaine Towerson and some English, whom hee used with grace, and for a signe of this peace, gave me a Cloth of silver cloak, and promised to be the Protector of our Nation in all things. I told him of Master Steele and his Work-men: he desired me to bring a small Present to his father at night, hee would present them, which I did. Hee kept his word, and spake for us to him, who was willing enough. I presented Captaine Towerson to the King, who called for him up, and after a few questions rose. At the Gushel Choes, I presented Master Steele and his Work-men: the King sate in a Hat I gave him all night, called for Master Paynter, and after much Discourse, gave him ten pounds, and promised to entertayne the rest.

Present of the Dutch.

The thirteenth, the Dutch came to Court with a great Present of China ware, Sanders, Parrats and Cloaves; but were not suffered to come neere the third degree: at last the Prince asked me who they were: I replyed, The Hollanders, resident in Surat. Hee demanded if they were our friends: I replyed, they were a Nation depending on the King of England, but not welcome in all places; their businesse I knew not. He said, for being our friends, I should call them up, and so I was enforced to send for them to deliver their Present: they were placed by our Merchants, without any speech or

further conference. Finally, I had all granted I desired, I attend the performance and money: and thus I conclude, that without this contestation I had never gotten any thing: for I told the Princes Messenger in the presence of all the English, that if he used force to me or my goods, he might doe his pleasure, but it should cost bloud: that I would set my Chop upon his Masters ship, and send her for England.

Spragge and Howard accused.

The eighteenth, I received from Surat of the imprisonment of Spragge and Howard, at Brampoore, their house and goods seized, their lives in question, for drinking with the Cutwall in their house, that one of the Cutwalls men dyed that night; upon which they stand accused of Poyson: and the Cutwall to free himselfe of comming into the house, pretended that he came to fetch a mans wife away from Thomas Spragge. What the truth is I know not: Information is come to the King against them: and I went to the Prince, who undertooke all my causes: but could not speake with him: with the same came complaint of a force used to the Caffila upon the way, notwithstanding the Firman sent by the Raja of the Countrey, in both which to night I will make petition to the King. My toyle with barbarous unjust people is beyond patience: at the Princes I found the Firman promised, drawne, but halfe the conditions agreed on left out, upon which I refused it, and desired nothing but leave to depart to treat with these in the Sea.

The one and twentieth, a command to free the English, and their goods, and that if the Moore came into their house to drinke, if they killed him with a Dagger, hee had his just reward. The second to Raja Partapshaw, to repay us all exactions whatsoever, not to take hereafter any dutie upon the way towards his Port; and in case of failing, that he would deliver his sonne into my hands; he further ordered the delivery of the Firman for Surat, the Articles by mee demanded, and to pay us all our debts of Surat, and to cut it off upon his Mancipdaries, that had taken that, without delay, he called to

account his old Customers, charged the new to use us as his friends, shewed as much favour publikely as I could require. I mooved expedition; he replyed, To morrow by nine in the morning all should be delivered into my hands.

The two and twentieth, I went my selfe to receive them; and carryed the Merchants, with some Pearle, that the Prince had bin instant to see, pretended to be Master Towersons: but he had received some uncertaine information of Pearles, to the value of twentie or thirtie thousand pound, which he hoped to draw from us. When his Secretarie saw the small sorts, he replyed, the Prince had Mands of these: if we brought no better commoditie, wee might be gone, he cared not for our custome: how basely false, and covetous are those of Jewels, you may judge. I undertooke reply, that I had procured those from a Gentlewoman to satisfie them; if they liked them not, they could not be made better, it was incivility to be angry with Merchants for their good will, but told him I came for my Firmans, and expected them: I was answered, wee had deceived their hopes, and the Prince would deceive ours; Firman I should have none, I had asked leave to depart, I might come and take leave when I pleased. I answered, nothing contented mee more, but that I would visit their unjustice in an indifferent place; that I would speake with the King, and depend no more on them, for I saw all was covetousnesse and unworthinesse: so I rose and parted; but he recalled me to come to the King and Prince together the next day, I should have content.

AND now Reader, we are at a stand: some more idle, or more busie spirits, willing either to take their rest, or to exchange their labour; and some perhaps wishing they had the whole Journall, and not thus contracted into Extracts of those things out of it, which I conceived more fit for the publike. And for the whole, my selfe could have wished it, but neither with the Honourable Com- [I. iv. 578.]

pany, nor else-where could learne of it: the worthy Knight himselfe being now employed in like Honourable Embassage from his Majestie to the Great Turke. Yet to supply the defect of the Journall, I have given thee the Chorography of the Countrey. Certaine Letters of his, written thence to his Honourable Lords and friends in England, out of all which well wrought on by an understanding spirit, may bee hewed and framed a delightfull Commentary of the Mogoll and his Subjects. Take them therefore Reader, and use them as a Prospective Glasse, by which thou maist take easie and neere view of those remote Regions, People, Rites, Religions.

And first here followes a description of the Countrey both by Map and Writing, and after them the Letters passing mutually betwixt his Majestie and the Mogoll, and lastly, those of Sir Thomas Roe afore-said.

§. X.

The severall Kingdomes and Provinces subject to the Great Mogoll Sha Selim Gehangies, with the Principall Cities and Rivers, the scituation and borders, and extent in length and breadth, as neere as by description I could gather them. The names I tooke out of the Kings Register: I begin at the North-west.

CAndahar, the chiefe Citie so called, lyes from the heart of all his Territorie North-west, confines with the Shabas, and was a Province of Persia.

2. Tata, the chiefe Citie so called, is divided by the River Indus, which fals into the Sea at Sindu, and lyes from Candahar South, from the middle of which, I suppose Agra West, some-what Southerly.

3. Buckar, the chiefe Citie so called, Buckar Suckar, lyes upon the River Sindu or Indus, to the North-ward, some-what Easterly of Tata, and West Confines upon the Baloaches, a kind of rude Warlike people.

4. Multan, the chiefe Citie so called lying also upon Indus, East from Candahar, North from Buckar.

5. Haagickan, the Kingdome of the Boloaches, to the West of Tata and Bachar, and confines West upon the Kingdome of Lar, subject to the Shabas. Indus windeth it selfe into the Easter-side of it, it hath no renowned Citie.

6. Cabull, the Citie so called, a great Kingdome, the Northermost of this Emperours Dominions, and confineth with Tartaria.

7. Kyshmier, the chiefe Citie is called Sirivaker, the River of Bhat passeth through it, and findeth the Sea by Ganges, or some say of it selfe in the North part of the Bay of Bengala, it bordereth Cabul to the East Southerly, it is all Mountaines.

8. Bankish, the chiefe Citie is called Beishar.

9. Atack, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth on one side the River Nilab, which runneth the North-west into the River Indus.

10. The Kingdome of the Kataries, lyes at the foot of the Mountaines: it hath principall Cities, Dankely and Purhola, it bordereth North-east on Kishimer.

11. Pen-Jab, which signifieth five waters, for that it is seated within five Rivers. The chiefe Citie is called Lahor, it is a great Kingdome and most fruitfull, the Citie is the Mart of India for Traffique, it borders North-east on Multan.

12. Janba, the chiefe Citie so called: it lyeth East on Pen-Jab, it is very mountaynous.

13. Peitan, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth East of Jenba, and from the North-west Bengala it is full of Mountaines.

14. Nakarkut, the chiefe Citie so called, the North Eastermost confine of Mogor, it lyes to the North-east of the head of the Bay of Bengala, it is very mountaynous.

15. Siba, the chiefe Citie so called, it borders with Nakarkut Southerly, it is all Mountainous.

16. Jesuall, the chiefe Citie so called Ragepar, it bordereth with Bengala South-east North, and with Siba and Nakarkat, it is full of Mountaines.

17. Delly, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth on the [I. iv. 579.] North-west side of the River Jemvie, which falleth into Ganges, and runneth through Agra: it is an ancient Citie, and the seat of the Mogols Ancestors, it is ruined: some affirme it to have beene the seat of Porus conquered by Alexander, and that there stands a Pillar with a Greeke Inscription.

18. Meuat, the chiefe Citie called Narnol, it lyeth on the East of Ganges.

19. Sanball, the chiefe Citie so called: it lyeth between Ganges and Jemvi to the North-west of their meeting.

20. Bakar, the chiefe Citie is called Bikaneer, it bordereth North-west on Ganges.

21. Agra, a principall and great Kingdome, the Citie so called, the heart of the Mogolls Territorie, in North latitude about twentie eight degrees and an halfe: it lyeth most on the South-west side of Jemvi, the Citie upon the River, where one of the Emperours Treasuries are kept. From Agra to Lahor, being three hundred and twentie Course, which is not lesse then seven hundred miles, it is all a plaine, and the high-way planted on both sides with trees like a delicate walke: it is one of the great workes and wonders of the World.

22. Jenupar, the Citie so called, upon the River of Kaul, which I suppose to bee one of the five Rivers inclosing Lahor, and the Countrey lyeth betweene it and Agra, North-west from one, South-east from the other.

23. Banda, the chiefe Citie so called, it confineth Agra to the West.

24. Patna, the chiefe Citie so called, it is inclosed by foure great Rivers; Ganges, Jemna, Serseli, and Kanda, so that it lyeth from Agra South-east towards the Bay of Bengala, where all these pay Tribute.

25. Gor, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth toward the head of Ganges.

SIR THOMAS ROE'S MAP OF EAST INDIA

26. Bengala, A mightie Kingdome inclosing the West-side of the Bay on the North, and windeth South-westerly, it bordereth on Cormandell, and the chiefe Cities are Ragmehhell and Dekaka, there are many havens, as Port Grand, Port Pequina, traded by the Portugals, Philipatan, Satigam, it contayneth divers Provinces, as that of Purp and Patan.

27. Roch, It hath no Citie of note, and bordereth on the South-west, East of Bengala and the Bay.

28. Udeza, the chiefe Citie Jekanat, it is the utmost East of the Mogols Territorie beyond the Bay, and confined with the Kingdome of Maug, a savage people lying betweene Udeza and Pegu.

29. Candwana, the chiefe Citie is called Kerhakatenkah, it lyeth South-west of the South of Bengala.

30. Kualiar, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth to the South-east of Kanduana, and bordereth on Burhampur.

31. Chandes, the chiefe Citie called Burhampur, a great Kingdome, one of the ancient seats of Decan, and conquered from them, it lyeth East on Guzarat, South of Chitor, West of Decan, and it is watered with the River Tabeti, which falleth West into the Bay of Cambaya, it is now the seat of the Decan.

32. Malva, the chiefe Cities called Ugen, Narr, and Sering, it lyeth West of Chandes, betweene that and the Countrey of Ranna, on the East of the River Sapra, which fals into the Bay of Cambaya, not farre from Surat.

33. Berar, the chiefe Citie is called Shahpur, it bordereth on Guzerat, and the hils of Ranna.

34. Guzerat, A goodly Kingdome inclosing the Bay of Cambaya, the chiefe Citie is Amadavar, it containes the Citie and Government of Cambaya, the beautie of India, the Territorie and Citie of Surat, and Baroach: it is watred with many goodly Rivers, as that of Cambaya falsly supposed to be Indus, the River of Narbadah, falling into the Sea at Baroach, that of Surat, and divers others, it trades to the Red Sea, to Achin, and many places.

35. Soret, the chiefe Citie called Ganagar, it lyeth to the North-west of Guzeret.

36. Narvar, the chiefe Citie called Ghehud, lyeth South-west from Chitor.

37. Chitor, an ancient great Kingdome, the Citie so called on a mightie hill, walled about ten English miles. There stands yet above an hundred Churches, the Palace of the King, many brave Pillers of carved stone. There is but one ascent cut out of the Rocke, passing foure magnificent gates, there remayne the ruines of an hundred thousand houses of stone. It is un-habited, it was doubtlesse one of the seats of Porus, and was wonne from Ranna, his issue by Ecbarshaw the last Mogoll. Ranna flying into the strength of his Kingdome among the Mountaines, seated himselfe at Odepoore, who was brought to acknowledge the Mogol for his Superiour Lord, by Sultan Caronne, third sonne of the present Emperour, in the yeare 1614. This Kingdome lyeth North-west from Chandes, and North-east from the North-west of Guzerat, in the way betweene Agra and Surat: Ranna himselfe keeps the hils to the West, neere Amadavar.

The length * is North-west to South-east. From Chandahar to Lahor, three hundred and fiftie Courses, about eight hundred miles.

From Lahor to Agra, three hundred and twentie Courses, about seven hundred fiftie two miles.

From Agra to Hhagipurpatua three hundred Courses, about sixe hundred and eightie miles.

From Hhagipurpatua to Kirasunder, three hundred Courses, about sixe hundred and seventie miles.

In all, Courses one thousand two hundred and seventie. Miles, about two thousand, eight hundred seventie two.

The breadth in all is North-east to South-west from Hardvar to Duarsa, sixe hundred and fiftie Courses, about fifteene hundred miles.

*Let not the diversitie of names trouble any in so remote tongues and differing pronuntiations: if any other difficulties happen in comparing this discourse with the Map or Relations I confesse, I would have sought better to satisfie my selfe, if Sir T. Roe had bin at home. As for Courses they are diversly taken (as Southerne and Northerne miles with us) in some places longer, in others shorter, which causeth scruple in the computation.

[I. iv. 580.]

The Kings Letters sent to Selim Shagh the Great Mogar, in the yeare 1614. by Sir Thomas Roe.

JAmes, by the Grace of Almightie God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, Defendor of the Christian Faith, &c.

To the high and mightie Monarch the Great Mogor, King of the Orientall Indies, of Chandahar, of Chismer and Corazon, &c. Greeting.

We having notice of your great favour toward Us and Our Subjects, by Your Great Firma to all Your Captaines of Rivers, and Officers of Your Customes, for the entertaynment of Our loving Subjects the English Nation with all kind respect, at what time soever they shall arrive at any of the Ports within Your Dominions, and that they may have quiet Trade and Commerce without any kind of hinderance or molestation, &c. As by the Articles concluded by Suc Suff Governour of the Guzerats, in Your Name, with Our loving Subject Captaine Thomas Best appeareth: Have thought it meete to send unto You Our Ambassadour, which may more fully and at large handle and treate of such matters as are fit to be considered of, concerning that good and friendly correspondence, which is so lately begunne betweene Us: and which will without doubt redound to the honour and utilitie of both Nations. In which consideration, and for the furthering of such laudable Commerce, Wee have made choice of Sir Thomas Roe Knight,* one of the principall Gentlemen of Our Court, to whom Wee have given Commission under Our Great Seale of England, together with directions and instructions further to treate of such matters as may be for the continuance and increase of the utilitie and profit of each others Subjects: to whom We pray You to give favour and credit in whatsoever Hee shall moove or propound toward the establishing and enlarging of the same. And for confirmation of our good inclination, and wel-wishing toward You, We pray You to accept in good part the Present, which our said Ambassadour will deliver unto

You, And so doe commit You to the mercifull protection of Almightie God.

A Copie of the Grand Moghor his Letter to the King.

UNto a King rightly descended from his Ancestors, bred in Military Affaires, and clothed with Honour and Justice,

A Commander worthy of all command, strong and constant in Religion, which the great Prophet Christ did teach, King James, whose love hath bred such impression in my thoughts, as shall never be forgotten, but as the smell of Amber, or as a Garden of fragrant flowers whose beautie and odour is still increasing, so be assured my love shall grow and increase with yours.

YOur Letter which you sent me in the behalfe of your Merchants, I have received, whereby I rest satisfied in Your tender love towards me; and desire You not to take it ill, for not having writ unto You heretofore: for this my present Letter, I send to renew Our loves, & herewith do certifie You, that I have sent forth my Firmaunds thorow all my Countries to this effect, that if any English Ships or Merchants shall arrive in any of my Ports, my people shall permit and suffer them to doe what they will freely in their Merchandizing causes, aiding and assisting them in all occasions of injuries that shall bee offered them, and that the least cause of discourtesie be not done unto them, as also that they bee as free and freer then my owne people. And as now and formerly I have received from You divers Tokens of Your love: so I desire your mindfulnesse of me by some Novelties from Your Countrey, as an Argument of frienship betweene Us: for such is the custome of Princes heere.

As for your Merchants, I have given expresse order through all my Countrey, to suffer them to sell, buy, transport, and carry away at their pleasures, without the let or hinderance of any person whatsoever, all such Goods

and Merchandize, or other things, as they shall desire to buy, and let this my Letter as fully satisfie You in the desired peace and love, as if my owne sonne had beene the Messenger to ratifie the same. And if any in my Countrey not fearing God, nor obeying their King, or any other void of Religion, should indeavour, or be in Instrument to breake this league of friendship; I would send my sonne Sultan Coronne, a Souldier approved in the Warres, to cut him off, that no Obstacle may hinder the continuance, and increasing of Our affections.

[I. iv. 581.] *This Letter I found amongst Master Hak. his Papers, as the two former: the rest are transcribed from Sir T. Roes owne Booke.*

MY Lord, only for promise, which is an honest debt, I send your Lordship a Journall till my arrivall at Brampore, a Citie of houses made of mudde, where one of the Kings sonnes keepeth his Court. He is called Perveys. I had need to write an Apologie for it, there being nothing of worth, nothing memorable, and yet not my fault: but I had rather trust your Noblenesse, then trouble you with excuses, and so descend to a more universall description of the state and customes of the Land.

No law but the Kings word.

They have no written Law. The King by his owne word ruleth, and his Governours of Provinces by that authoritie.

See of these things Captaine Hawkins large relations.

Once a weeke he sitteth in judgement patiently, and giveth sentence for crimes Capitall and Civill. He is every mans heire when he dyeth, which maketh him rich, and the Countrey so evill builded. The great men about him are not borne Noble, but Favourites raised: to whom hee giveth (if it be true) wonderfull meanes. They are reckoned by Horses: that is to say, Coronels of twelve thousand Horses; which is the greatest, whereof are foure, besides his sonnes and wife: so descending to twentie Horses; not that any of these are bound to keepe, or raise any at all. But the King assigneth them so much land, as is bound to maintaine so many Horses as a rent, each horse at five and twentie pounds sterling by the yeere, which is an incredible Revenue given away: so many, (that is, almost all, but the Ploughmen, Artificers,

and Tradesmen in Townes) living upon it. But as they die, and must needs gather, so it returneth to the King like Rivers to the sea, both of those he gave to, and of those that have gained by their owne industry. But for the most part he leaveth the widowes and children their horses, stuffe, and some other stocke: and then putteth them into a Signiory (if the fathers were of sixe or seven thousand horses) perhaps of a thousand or five hundred: and so setteth them to begin the world anew, and advanceth them as they deserve of him. They all rise by presenting him, which they strive to doe both richly and rarely: some giving a hundred thousand pounds in jewels at a time.

Presents of an hundred thousand pounds.

He hath one beloved wife among foure, that wholly governeth him. He received lately a Present from the King of Bisampore, to obtaine peace, (whose Ambassadour knocked his head three times against the ground) of six and thirtie Elephants, of two whereof the chaines and all tackles were of beaten Gold, to the weight of foure hundred pounds, two of silver, of the same fashion; the rest of Copper: fiftie Horses richly furnished, and ten Leckes of Rupias in Jewels, great Pearles, and Balasse Rubies. Every Lecke is an hundred thousand Rupias; every Rupia two shillings sixe pence sterling; so tenne Leckes is a Million of Rupias.

Some say two shillings, some two shillings three pence.

His Territorie is farre greater then the Persians, and almost equall, if not as great as the Turkes. His meanes of money, by revenue, custome of Presents, and inheriting all mens goods, above both. His Countrey lyeth West to Sinde, and so stretcheth to Candahar, and to the Mountaines of Taurus North. To the East as farre as the utmost parts of Bengala, and the borders of Ganges: and South to Decan, it is two thousand miles square at the least, but hath many pettie Kings within, that are Tributaries.

The Mogolls greatnesse.

Heire of Porus.

The true descended heire of Porus, that was overcome by Alexander, called Ranna, is lately conquered, more by composition then force; the King having rather bought

him then wonne him, and hereby no way augmented his Revenue, but given a great Pension to him. His Countrey I crossed, betweene this Towne of Asmere and Brampore. Cetor having beene anciently the chiefe Towne, and surely standing on an hill, steepe as a Rocke, some fifteene miles about, that is all walled: the Citie within, but with one ascent, and five admirable gates in the ascent, all ruined and no person dwelling. But there stand an hundred Muschees, many Lanternes, and such reverend and brave Reliques of Imagerie and carved workes, that few or hardly any where can be equalled. In generall, all the old Cities are beaten downe; by what policie I understand not: but the King seeketh the ruine of any thing not begunne by his Ancestors: so that all the Land hath not an house fit for a Cottager, but in such Cities as hee favoureth. Surat is best builded of any: and in old time they in these parts made mightie workes, which every day decay. At Surat there is a Tanke for water of freestone, in a polygon forme, of above an hundred sides, every side eight and twenty yards: it hath staires on every side for men to descend, and many stopes for horses. It is a wonderous worke, both for the hugenesse, and for the brave building.

Cetor a great ruined Citie.

An hundred Muschees, or Mahumetan Temples.

I have now on the Court to touch, and mine entertainment. The King never used any Ambassadour with so much respect: without any dispute giving mee leave to use mine owne customes; not requiring that of me, which he useth of the Persian. He presented me with a welcome before I spake; and said the King and he were brothers, with many other courteous words. I having bin sicke, he offered me Physitians. He tooke the Presents in good part, and was so fond of the Coach, that at night in his Court he got into it, and made two or three of my men draw him a little in it. He is very affable, and of a cheerefull countenance, without pride. Three times a day hee sitteth out in three places: Once to see his Elephants and beasts fight, about noone: After, from foure to five or sixe, to entertaine all that visit him. At night

His entertainment at Court.

The Kings sitting three times a day.

from nine till mid-night, with all his great men, but none else, where he is below with them, in all familiaritie. I visited him in the second of these, where I found him in a Court, set above like a King in a Play, and all his Nobles and my selfe below on a stage covered with carpets; a just Theater: with no great state, but the Canopies over his head, and two standing on the heads of two wooden Elephants, to beat away flies. They weare nothing but Calicoes, but are ever attendant.

The Grandes. The great men ride in Traines, some two hundred, some five hundred Foot-men following them, and foure or five Banners carried before them; and an hundred or two hundred Horses after them. This is all their pride. They keepe their Horses most delicately, fed with Butter [I. iv. 582.] and Sugar: and though they be not very great, yet they are of delicate shape, both of Persia, Arabs, and of this Land.

Falshood of Maps. I have one Observation more to make of the falsenesse of our Maps, both of Mercator, and all others, and their ignorance in this Countrey. First, the famous River *Indus, chiefe mouth at Sinde.* Indus doth not emptie himselfe into the Sea at Cambaya, as his chiefe mouth, but at Sinde. My reason is, Lahor stands upon Indus: from whence to Sinde it is navigable; to Cambaya not so. Lahor in the Maps is also falsely set downe, it lying North from Surat above a thousand miles: the Citie where the Kings ordinarie residence is, Agra, not described at all; but it standeth North North-east from Surat on a River, that fals into Ganges. But the King *Asmere.* now resideth in a base old Citie, wherein is no house but of mudde, not so great as a Cottage on Hownslo-heath: only himselfe hath one of stone. His Lords live in Tents: and I have suddenly built to my mudde wals, upon canes, a doozen thatched roomes. This Towne is short of Agra ten daies journey, two hundred miles, which standeth from hence North North-east. This place is from Bramport North foure hundred and fiftie miles. Bramport from Surat East above two hundred miles. The latitude neere five and twentie degrees.

Thus, my Lord, I have said some-what, but to little

purpose, I forget not some Bookes for you: but Loadstones heere are none: They are in the farre East Countries: neither is there any correspondence with China. To Persia, and so to Aleppo there goe Caravans: to Cathaya none.

No correspondence with China.

Heere is no newes but of Persia. The King hath taken away water and reliefe from Ormus, and banished the Portugals his Territories. He hath lately over-runne the poore Georgians with fire and sword: and being of an unquiet nature intendeth the conquest of the Usbiques, a Nation betweene Samarchand and him, which he aymes at.' He lately strucke off his sonnes head with his owne hand. Hee is favoured and feared of the Mogoll, as being Lord of the more warlike Nation: for these are more then halfe Bramanes, whose Religion is not to kill a Louse byting them: and the Mogolls are an effeminate people. So that the Turke the last yeere sending on Ambassage, to entreate him not to assist the Persian, hee gave him very harsh entertainment, made him Salem to the ground, and as soone as he was dismissed, sent the Persian ten Leckes of Rupias.

Newes of Persia.

Usbec, Tartars.

I shall be glad to doe your Lordship service in England; for this is the dullest, basest place, that ever I saw, and maketh me weary of speaking of it. Therefore if you be also weary of reading, I am glad. I shall desire your lordship to let Master Hackwell reade the Journall: for I promised him one, but I had not leasure to write it.

And so with all respect, and little Ceremonie, I hope to returne to doe you better services: in the meane time to live a miserable life, though with abundance and state enough, yet I want the conversation and presence of those friends I love and honour: in which number your Lordship hath made me presume to esteeme you, and to account my selfe

Your Lordships humble friend, to doe you service,

THOMAS ROE.

Asmere, the Court of the Mogoll,
January 17. 1615.

[A Letter

A Letter of Sir Thomas Roe, to &c.

MAy it please your ( ) places farre remote, having some-what of wonder in the distance, cause much expectation in themselves of strange matters among the Vulgar, such as I, supposing they should have subject of worthy and large discourse. But these are unlike the Starres, that seeme lesse the further off: heere the remotenesse is the greatnesse, and to maintayne the ancient priviledge of Travellers, they have beene so farre Alchimists as multiplication; some ground, some spirit, to quicken the bodie of their monstrous Relations.

Where I shall begin, what I shall say worthy one of your ( ) vacancies from great Affaires, I know not: to undertake a Cosmographicall description were a labour not unworthy of time, but not proportionall to a Letter: Ortelius, Mercator, Atlas, nor any understanding any truth herein. Yet for the maynnesse of the error, I will observe, that the famous River Indus doth not powre himselfe into the Sea, by the Bay of Cambaya, but farre Westward at Sinde. For from Lahor standing a thousand mile North, in the Maine upon Indus, it is navigable to Sinde, to Cambaya not, but certaine by-streames begotten by the seasons of Raine make mightie inundations, which have cherished the error: all the rest is as false both in bearing, distance longitude and latitude, as that, but the correction heere incomprehensible; the true latitude of this place five and twentie degrees and a halfe.

Indus falsely described by our Geographers.

A description of the Land, customes and manners, which are incidents, are fitter for winter-nights; they are either ordinarie, or mingled with much Barbarisme.

Lawes. Lawes they have none written: the Kings judgement binds, who sits and gives audience with much patience, once weekely, both in capitall and criminall causes, where *Execution.* sometimes he sees the execution done by his Elephants, [I. iv. 583.] with too much delight in bloud.

Governours. His Governours of Provinces rule by his Firmans, which

is a briefe Letter authorizing them. They take life and goods at pleasure.

Many religious, and in them many Sects; Moores or Mahumetans adhering to Ally, such is the King; Banians or Pythagorians, for the transmigration (and therefore will not kill the Vermine that bites them) who often buy many dayes respite in charitie from killing any flesh at all, in such a Province or Citie. Gentiles of sundry Idolatries, their Wives adorning the Pile, and entring the Funerall fires with great joy and honour. *Religions and Sects.*

The extent of his Territorie is West to Sinde, North-west to Chandahor, North almost to Taurus, East to the borders of Ganges, and South-east all Bengala, the Land bordering the Gulph South to Decan, much greater then the Persian, almost equall (if not fully) to the Turke, if his Land were crusht together into a square, as this. Agra, the ordinary residence of the King, is a thousand miles from any border, farther from some. The right issue of Porus, is heere a King in the middest of the Mogols Kingdomes, never subdued till last yeere: and to say true, he is rather bought then conquered, wonne by gifts, not by Armes, to acknowledge a superior Lord. *Extent.* *Porus his issue.*

The Pillar erected by Alexander, is yet standing at Dely, the ancient seat of the Ancestors of Ranna the issue of Porus. *Alexanders Pillar.*

The buildings are all base, of mudde, one story high, except in Surat, where are some stone houses, but I know not by what policie, the King seekes the ruine of all the ancient Cities which were bravely built, and now lye desolate and ruined. His owne houses are of stone, both in good forme and faire, but his great men build not for want of inheritance, but as farre as I have yet seene, live in Tents, or houses worse then a Cottager; yet where the King affects, as at Agra, because it is a City erected by him, the buildings are (as is reported) faire and of carved stone. *Buildings publike and private.*

In Revenue, doubtlesse, he exceeds either Turke or Persian, or any Easterne Prince: the summes I dare not *Reason of his great Revenue and Wealth.*

name, but the reason; all the Land is his, no man hath a foot. He maintaynes by rents given of Signories, counted by Horses, all that are not Mechanique: and the Revenues given to some, are a Germane Princes estate. Secondly, all men rise to greater and greater Signiories as they rise in favour, which is only gotten by frequent Presents, both rich and rare. Lastly, he heires all mens goods that dye, as well those that gained by industry, as Merchants, as those that lived by him, and takes all their money; leaves the Widow and Daughters what he pleaseth; gives the sonnes some little Signiorie, and puts them anew to the World, whose Fathers die worth two or three Millions.

Inheritance.

But I am fallen by my purpose, not to interrupt your ( ) with these, presuming of your pardon, I will only say a little of the Court, and so passe to that is more necessarie.

Court Customes.

The King sits out in three severall places, thrice every day, except some occasion prevent him: an houre at noone to see his Elephants fight; at foure till five to entertayne all commers, to be seene and worshipped; nine till midnight, with his principall men in more familiaritie, being below among them.

I went to present my selfe at the second of these: I came into a Court full of base people, and at a raile which shut them out right against the King, I was stayed in his sight to demand audience (onely a ceremonie) so he sent his principall Officers to bring me up: he sate in a place like a Theatre above, where the King sits in a Play, and I was conducted foure steps up, just under him, like a stage, all on Carpets; my selfe and all his great men were Actors, the common people below gazing on. Hee prevented mee with speech, calling the King his Brother, and that I must consequently be welcome: for the barbarous custome of kneeling and knocking the ground with the head (which he never pardoned, neither the Turkes nor Persian Ambassadors) he required not, but at my first motion granted me all libertie of mine owne manner, and as all say, he never used such respect to a living man.

All the policy of his state is to keepe the greatest about him, or to pay them afarre off liberally. No Counsell, but every Officer answereth to the King apart, his dutie. *Policie and Politie.*

He is of countenance cheerefull, and not proud in nature, but by habite and custome; for at night he is very affable, and full of gentle conversation. *Disposition.*

I beleve your ( ) is weary of him, and would passe into Persia, from whence wee receive for truth, that the Sophie hath distressed Ormus, by taking away the water and provisions of the Maine. At Ormus they are in great necessitie, so that if the Sophie had any helpe of shipping to take it, hee might be perswaded to put it into our hands, to turne his silkes from the passage of his enemie the Turke; a matter of infinite consequence. For if I were to open these Trades, I would shew important differences for the Kingdome of England, but it would require large Discourse. He hath made lately a Road with fire and sword upon the poore Georgian Christians, and subdued them, and being of a spirit naturally unpeacefull, he prepares for the conquest of Samercand, as his end, but pretends the punishing of a valiant Race of Tartars, called Usbiques, betweene him and his desire. Hee smote off his eldest sonnes head with his owne hands, returning from Georgia, and hath by sharpe Edict banished all Portugalls all his Dominions. Never were such oportunities to discharge the Portugall from all these Coasts. Our Trade heere, and the Dutch Plantation below Goa, hath so shortned their returnes, that halfe their Gallions come not; those that doe come bring new supplies for the Garrisons, but returne so emptie, that the charge is but defraid. We have now twice beaten a great Armado with few ships, an Armado that was appointed por castigar los hereticos Ingleses (the words of one Father to another) and after to punish the Mogoll for entertayning us, so that he hath lost more in reputation (which was his strength) then in substance. But if his Majestie would condescend that we should assault them, as they doe us, it would utterly breake them, it being both the nobler and [I. iv. 584.]

Persian newes.

Usbiques.

Portugalls.

Jesuites termes.

safer part of a Warre, to which we are subject at their pleasures, then to defend alwayes: besides, they make this use in reports of us, that the King of England is so affraid of the King of Portugall, that he dares not warrant an assault, but only to defend: what they say of the King and our Nation is so slanderous, that perit sua mole.

Islanders.

Further East, the Dutch hath taken many Townes, and playes the Mole better then he, and hath beaten him in many Sea-conflicts; he is declining on all sides, and a little weight on his head now laid, would sinke him. It is a matter of great consequence for future times; and though I have no hope, I propound it to your ( ) to make what use seemes best to your wisdome. I have reward enough, if I have pardon for my talkativenesse, but it is obedience to your ( ) and not presumption, whose wisdome and sinceritie I did ever honour, to whom I shall be happy to be tyed

In all humble services,

THOMAS ROE.

Asmere, the seven and twentieth of January 1615.

Another Letter to the same Lord, dated the thirtieth of October, 1616.

MAy it please your ( ) &c. The frailtie of passage betweene this place and England, especially of my last Letter that wandred over Land, and rather went upon discovery then businesse, adviseth me to send your ( ) transcripts of them: not that there is contained any matter worthy your Honours leasure, but seeing you commanded mee to write, the relation of one to another, will somewhat cleare the whole discourse. For broken and undependant pieces and fragments, have little light in them, lesse pleasure and no profit: so that he that would doe any thing in this matter should write a history, and take it somewhat high, to shew the beginning and growth of this Empire, what

fortunes and what impediments it hath overcome, what friendship it hath needed and effected, the ambitions and divisions in the present state, that like impostumes lye now hid, but threaten to break out into the rending and ruine of the whole, by bloody war. The practises, subtilties and cariages of factions and Court-secrets, falsely called wisdome, wherein I assure your ( ) they are pregnant, and excell in all that arte which the Divell can teach them, and are behind none in wicked Craft, *Craft.* some passages whereof were not unworthy nor unpleasant to relate.

Their Religions suffered by the King, and practised with out envie or contention on any part; how the Portugals have crept into this Kingdome, and by what corners they got in; the entrance of the Jesuits their intertainment, *Jesuiticall beasts.* priviledges, practises, ends, and the growth of their Church, whereof they sing in Europe so loud praises and glorious successes. Lastly, the arrivall of our Nation on this Coast, their fortunate or blessed victories over their enemies, that not only sought how to possesse these quarters by themselves, and to forbid all others that which Nature had left free, as if God had created the world for them onely, but also to abuse this people, as if they alone were the sonnes of warre; they only triumph, and that all other Europeans strucke saile to their fortune and valour, which now is brought so low in value, that it is growne into a proverbe (one Portugall to three Moores, one *Proverb of English and Portugal.* Englishman to three Portugalls) so that the best foundation of their greatnesse is absolutely mined and blowne up. And our reception here stands on the same ground from which we have cast them downe, which is Feare, an honorable, but uncertaine Base of so great a charge. For if either the enemie once prevaile, or other misfortune happen to us, our welcome shall turne round with it, the profit and fitnesse of this trade for England, while it may stand, not only respecting the Company now intressed, but the state, whether the Common-wealth in generall lose or winne. For often in trafique private men prosper

by detriment of the Republike, as in all trades that maintaine vanitie and sinne.

This worke or method were worthy some paines, and as would require a good judgement and much time, both which are wanting to me; so it would not be unprofitable to reade, nor without some pleasure to view and meditate the divers operations and workes of God, the variable constitutions and dispositions of men, and all things under their government: but seeing nature and conveniencie have denyed me ability and leasure, to set upon so great a labour, I have chosen one branch only to treat of to your ( ) without other method, then by way of bare relation, which is the estate of the Church heere, as well Christians, as of all other diffused sects of Infidels.

But to continue, as in a Parenthesis, the advice I gave your Honour in my last, of our constitution heere, and the newes of Persia: Briefely I stand on very fickle termes, though in extraordinary grace with the King, who is gentle, soft, and good of disposition, yet on points and disputes with an insolent and proud sonne of his, into whose hands he hath remitted all power, which hee is neither worthy nor able to manage. He is Lord of the Port, and by his folly gives me much travell; so sordidly ambitious, that he would not have me acknowledge his father King, nor make any addresses, nor deliver any Presents nor complements of honour, but to himselfe; which I will never yeeld to, and so I maintaine my credit by confidence on the priviledges of my quality, and the Kings goodnesse. Yet an Ambassadour in this Court that knowes himselfe, and will not wrong his Master, shall oftner winne enemies then friends. Their pride endures no termes of equality, especially where there is no other honour nor title, but what is measured by expence; so that to maintaine one that shall in his equipage and life hold proportion with his quality, in this Court, will cost much more then the profit of the Trade can spare; and he that lives under it wrongs his degree, and slides into

The Princes ambition, [I. iv. 585.]

contempt. I doe my utmost to hold up with little poore meanes, but my opinion is, a meaner instrument would better effect businesse of traffique that might creepe, and shew, and suffer some affronts, which my ranke may not endure: And I find the King of Spaine would never send any Ambassadour hither out of Greatnesse, knowing they are not received with proportionable honour, and with my small experience I could doe the Company better service by my returne, in advise how to governe the whole.

Persian and Turkish warres.

Concerning Persia, the Turke hath only yet made a Bravado, and performed little, the passages are stopt, and the King drawing his armies into his Borders to defend himselfe, and finding no great worke, tooke occasion to take in by force a revolted Nation to the East of Babylon. The people are called Coords. How by the Ancients or the true Geographicall situation of their Countrey, I am yet ignorant in.

Sir Robert Sherley.

Sir Robert Sherley by an ill passage to Goa, lost the opportunitie of the Fleete for Lisbon, and is stayed there another yeare, so that negotiation will not be so speedily advanced, as I feared; we shall have breath to worke upon it, according as it shall be requisite in the judgement of your Honours in England, or at least of the Merchants whom it first regardeth.

Heere is arrived a Persian Ambassadour with little newes, it being nine moneths since his departure from Spahan. He brought many rich Presents, and did such obeysance, prostrating himselfe and knocking the ground with his head, that I beleeve his Master will not accept of it, except (as is supposed) hee bee commanded to use all obsequiousnesse, and to flatter this Mon.' of greatnesse, his errand being to procure money for ayde against the Turke: in which kind he findes often liberall supplyes and succours, which is not felt from this sea of treasure; although to mediate a peace for the Kings of Decan be the pretence, whose protection the Persian takes to heart, jealous of the encrease of this Empire; yet I doubt not he will be satisfied with silver, and suffer his Allyes to be

overcome: he is not allowed so good ranke nor presence in Court as I, which got it by dispute, and have kept it by contention to the displeasure of some; neither did the King do so much honour in reception of his Masters Letter, not vouchsafing once to give the Persian any title of Majesty, as of my Soveraigne Lords, which not a little contented me. Other advantages he hath of language, neighbour-hood and acquaintance, which are defects, but no faults of mine. The King is now ready to march towards Decan, whose Armie is commanded by his sonne, and wee with much toyle shall hang in the skirts.

Our Fleet arriving this yeere 1616. in the way met the Admirall Carrick of Lisbon, bound for Goa, about Molalia, an Iland in twelve degrees North latitude, and haling her after the courtesie of the Sea, was requited with disgracefull languages, and five great shot: which occasion apprehended, shee was fought with three dayes, at last put ashoare and fired her selfe: shee was of burthen fifteene hundred tunnes, and by pregnant circumstances, the expected Vice-Roy sent for Goa, perished in her: which is one of the greatest disgraces and losses that ever happened to the Portugals in these parts: The reward of their owne insolencie in this fight. The chiefe Commander of the English was slaine, and the new declared maimed, little other losse. Thus your ( ) hath some touch of our affaires, and I will fall upon my purpose of the Church, with your favour and patience.

Tamerlane. Before the inundation of Tamerlane the great, the ninth Ancestor of this King, these Countries were governed by divers petty Gentile Princes not knowing any Religion, but worshipped according to their severall Idolatries, all sorts of creatures. The Descendants of him brought in the knowledge of Mahomet, but imposed it upon none, by the Law of Conquest leaving consciences at libertie. *Religions.* So that these Naturals from the Circumcision (which came *Mogolls, why so called.* in with the Moores) called them Mogols or chiefe of the Circumcised. Among the Moores there are many strict Mahometants that follow Ally his Sonne-in-law, and other

new risen Prophets which have their Xeriffes, Mulas and Priests, their Mosques, Religious Votaries, Washings, Prayings, and Ceremonies infinite; and for Penetentiaries, no Heresie in the World can shew so strange Examples, nor bragge of such voluntarie poverties, punishments, sufferings and chastisements as these; all which are esteemed holy men, but of a mingled Religion, not upright with their great Prophet. The Gentiles are of more sorts, some valiant, good Souldiers, drinking Wine, eating Hogs-flesh, but worshipping the figure of a Beast: some that will not touch that flesh which is not holy by imputation: others that will not eate any thing wherein ever there was any bloud, nor kill the Vermine that assaulteth them, nor drinke in the Cup with those that doe; Superstitious in Washing, and most earnest in their Profession; but all of them ascribe a kind of Divinitie to the River of Ganges, at which at one Season of the yeare foure or five hundred thousand meete, and cast in Gold and Silver for Oblation.

In like manner, to a Pigs head in a Church neere this Citie, and to all living Cowes, and to some other beasts and kinds. These have their Synagogues, and Holy Men, Prophets, Witches, South-sayers, and all others the Devils Impostures. The Molaes of Mahomet know some-what in Philosophy, and the Mathematickes; are great Astrologers, and can talke of Aristotle, Euclyde, Averroes, and other Authors. The Learned Tongue is Arab.

In this Confusion they continued untill the time of Ecbarsha Father of this King, without any noyse of Christian profession, who being a Prince by nature just and good, inquisitive after Novelties, curious of new Opinions, and that excelled in many vertues, especially in pietie and reverence towards his Parents, called in three Jesuites from Goa, whose chiefe was Jeronimo Xavier a Navarrois. After their arrivall he heard them reason and dispute with much content on his, and hope on their parts, and caused Xavier to write a Booke in defence of his owne [I. iv. 586.] *Ecbarsha.*

profession against both Moores and Gentiles: which finished he read over nightly, causing some part to be discussed, and finally, granted them his Letters Pattents, to build, to preach, teach, convert, and to use all their Rites and Ceremonies, as freely and amply as in Rome, bestowing on them meanes to erect their Churches and places of Devotion: So that in some few Cities they have gotten rather Templum, then Ecclesiam. In this Grant he gave grant to all sorts of people to become Christians that would, even to his Court or owne bloud; professing that it should be no cause of disfavour from him. Heere was a faire beginning to a forward Spring of a leane and barren Harvest.

Templum sine Ecclesia.

Ecbar-sha himselfe continued a Mahometan, yet he beganne to make a breach into the Law, considering that Mahomet was but a man, a King as he was, and therefore reverenced; hee thought hee might prove as good a Prophet himselfe. This defection of the King spread not farre, a certain outward reverence detayned him, and so he dyed in the formall profession of his Sect.

Ghe-hangier-sha, his sonne, the present King, being the issue of this new fancie, and never circumcised, bred up without any Religion at all, continues so to this houre, and is an * Atheist: sometimes he will make profession of Moore, but alwayes observe the Holy-dayes, and doe all Ceremonies with the Gentiles too. He is content with all Religion, only he loves none that changeth: But falling into his Fathers conceit, hath dared to enter farther therein, and to professe himselfe for the maine of his religion, to be a greater Prophet then Mahomet, and hath formed to himselfe a new Law, mingled of all: which many have accepted with such superstition, that they will not eate till they have saluted him in the morning; for which purpose he comes at the Sunnes rising to a window open to a great plaine before his house, where multitudes attend him: and when the Moores about him speake of Mahomet, hee will sooth them, but is glad when any one will breake out against him. Of Christ he never utters

**Understand it in generall sense, for one not setled in any Religion, of all, and therefore of none.*

any word unreverently, nor any of those sects, which is a wonderfull secret working of Gods truth and worthy observation. Concerning the new planted Christian Church he confirmed, and enlarged all their priviledges, every night for one yeare spending two houres in hearing disputation, often casting out doubtfull words of his conversion, but to wicked purpose.

And the rather to give some hope, he delivered many Youthes into the hands of Francisco Corsie, now resident heere, to teach them to reade and write Portugall, and to instruct them in humane learning, and in the Law of Christ; and to that end he kept a Schoole some yeares, to which the King sent two Princes, his brothers sonnes, who being brought up in the knowledge of God and his sonne our blessed Saviour, were solemnely Baptised in the Church of Agra with great pompe, being carryed first up and downe all the Citie on Elephants in triumph, and this by the Kings expresse order, who often would examine them in their progression, and seemed much contented in them: this made many bend towards the same way, doubting his Majesties intention. Others that knew him better, supposed he suffered this in policie, to reduce these children into hate among the Moores for their conversion, of whom consisted the strength of his estate, but all men failing of his purpose which was thus discovered. When these and some other children were setled, as was thought, in Christian Religion, and had learned some principles thereof, as to marry but one wife, not to be coupled with Infidels, the King sets the boyes to demand some Portugalls wives of the Jesuits, who thinking it only an idle motion of their owne braines, chid them, and suspected no more. But that being the end of their conversion, to get a woman for the King and no care taken: the two Princes came to the Jesuits, and surrendred up their crosses and all other rights, professing that they would be no longer Christians, because the King of Portugall sent them no Presents nor wives, according as they expected. The Padre seeing this, began to doubt there was more in that then the boyes

Of this see before in the Journalls of Master Hawkins and Finch.

revealed, especially seeing their confidence that had cast off the awe of Pupills, and examining the matter, had it confessed, the King commanded them. They refused to accept the crosses, answering they had been given by his Majesties order, and they would not take notice from boyes of any such surrender, but bade them desire the King to send some of those, who by a kind of order are to deliver all his Majesties Commands, whose mouthes are by priviledges sufficient authority, and then they would accept them; hoping and knowing the Kings nature, that he would not discover himselfe to any of his Officers in this poore plot. The boyes returned with this message, which inraged the King; but hee being desirous to dissolve the Schoole, and to withdraw the youthes without noise, he bade them call the Jesuits to the womens doore, where by a Ladie he received the order, and without taking any notice since of any thing, his kinsmen recalled, who are now absolute Moores, without any taste of their first faith, and so the fruit of all these hopes are vanished. And I cannot find by good search that there is one Christian really and orderly converted, nor makes the profession, except some few that have been baptised for money, and are maintained by the Jesuits; of which sort there would be more, but that they find the deceit, and cannot endure the burthen. This is the truth of all their bragge and labour, and the full growth of their Church heere.

Converts how poore.

But that your ( ) may a little more understand the fashion of the King and the Jesuits proceedings, I will make you one or two merry and late relations, and either say he is the most impossible man in the world to be converted, or the most easie; for he loves to heare and hath so little religion, yet, that he can well abide to have any decided.

[I. iv. 587.] *Miracle.* Not many daies since the Jesuits house and Church being burned, the Crucifix remained safe, which underhand was given out for a miracle, and much talked of. I that would be content any use might be made of an accident to enlarge the name of Christ held my peace: but the

Jesuit suspecting I would not agree to the miracle, disavowed it to me, and made it a matter of reason, why it was not burned; insinuating that the Moores had caught up this opinion of miracle without his consent, or suggestion, though he confessed he was glad of the occasion.

But the King who never let slippe any opportunity of new talke or novelty, calls the Jesuit, and questioneth with him of it, he answereth ambiguously; whereupon his Majesty demanded, if he did not desire to convert him, and receiving full answere, replyed: You speake of your great miracles, and of many done by you, in the name of your Prophet: if yee will cast the Crucifix and Picture of Christ into a fire before me, if it burne not, I will become a Christian: The Jesuit refused the triall as unjust, answering, that God was not tyed to the call of men, that it was a sinne to tempt him, that he wrought miracles according to his owne Councell, but offered to enter the fire himselfe for proofe of his faith, which the King refused. Heere arose a great dispute, begunne by the Prince, a most stiffe Mahometan, and hater of all Christians, that it was reasonable to trie our Religion by this offer, but withall, if the Crucifix did burne, then that the Jesuit should be obliged to render Moore: he urged examples of miracles professed to be done for lesse purposes then the conversion of so mightie a King, and in case of refusall of the triall, spake scornefully of Christ Jesus. The King undertooke the argument, and defended our Saviour to be a Prophet, by comparison of his workes with those of their absurd Saints, instancing the raising of the dead, which never any of theirs did. The Prince replyed, To give sight to one naturally blind, was as great a miracle. This question being pressed hotly on both sides, a third man, to end the controversie, interposed that both the father and the sonne had reason for their opinions: for that to raise a dead body to life, must needs be confessed to be the greatest miracle ever done, but that to give sight to an eye naturally blind, was the same worke, for that a blind eye was dead, sight being the life thereof: therefore

Disputes of religion and miracles.

he that gave sight to a blind eye, did as it were raise it up from death.

Thus the discourse ended, and so in wisdome should I: But I cannot leave out an apish miracle which was acted before this King, which the Jesuites will not acknowledge, nor owne as their practise; onely of the truth de facto, there is no doubt. A Jugler of Bengala (of which craft there are many and rare) brought to the King a great Ape, that could, as he professed, divine and prophesie: and to this beast by some sects is much divinitie ascribed: The King tooke from his finger a Ring, and caused it to be hid under the girdle of one among a dozen other boyes, and bade the Ape divine, who went to the right child, and tooke it out. But his Majestie (somewhat more curious) caused in twelve severall papers in Persian letters, to be rewritten the names of twelve Lawgivers, as Moses, Christ, Mahomet, Ally, and others: and shuffling them in a bagge, bad the beast divine which was the true law: who putting in his foot tooke out the inscribed of Christ. This amazed the King, who suspecting that the Apes master could reade Persian, and might assist him, wrote them anew in Court Caracters,* and presented them the second time: the Ape was constant, found the right and kissed it. Whereat a principall Officer grew angry, telling the King it was some imposture, desiring he might have leave to make the lots anew, and offered himselfe to punishment if the Ape could beguile him; he wrote the names putting onely eleven into the bagge, and kept the other in his hand. The beast searched, but refused all; the King commanded to bring one, the beast tore them in fury, and made signes the true Law-givers name was not among them. The King demanded where it was, and he ran to the Noble-man and caught him by the hand, in which was the paper inscribed with the name of Christ Jesus. The King was troubled, and keepes the Ape yet. This was acted in publike before thousands: But where the abuse was, or whether there were any, I judge not; only one of the Jesuits schollers ran to him with open mouth, profes-

A strange story of an Ape.

**Court characters are such as he only and his nearer Ministers used in Mysteries of State unknowne to all others.*

sing the King had an Ape a good Christian. Of this accident the Jesuits make great account: to me they slight it, except the truth of the fact, which is not unlike one of their owne games.

Your ( ) will pardon me all this folly, to interrupt you with so much and so uselesse tattle; I should be glad to remove where I might learne and practise better matter: but I cannot repent my journey: it hath made me learne and know my God and my selfe better then ever I should have learned either among the pleasures of England; he hath wonderfully shewed me his mercy, and taught me his judgement: his goodnesse be glorified and magnified for ever. I humbly desire your ( ) to present my name (I dare not say my service) before his Majestie my Lord and Master: it is enough for me if I be not forgotten; I shall never merit nor aspire the employments of his favour, but I will pay my vowes, and pray for his Majesty that he may live a happie and glorious long life to the comfort of his Church, and enjoy the Crowne of Crownes, prepared by the King of Kings for those that love him; wherein I have failed to your Honour, or by mine owne weaknesse, your ( ) will measure by this rule, Exigit & postulat amicitia non quod cuique dabitur, sed quod quisque efficere potest, and you will pardon the assuming so high a word as friendship, with this interpretation, Servus est humilis amicus, which as I am bold to professe, I will be ready to demonstrate by obedience to your command,

THOMAS ROE.

Asmere, the thirtieth of October, 1616.

A Letter of Sir Thomas Roe, to another Right Honorable Councellor. [I. iv. 588.]

IF my last sent your Honour, by the way of Aleppo, be miscaried, this present discourse will be undependant and obscure, which causeth me to send a transcript that you may command from Sir Thomas Smith, how farre

that designe of bringing in the Spaniard by Sherley had proceeded, and my poore opinion, that will informe with the present estate of the warres there in preparation: what hath succeeded, your Honour shall receive, that Sherley was stayed at Goa, by falling short eight dayes of his passage this last yeare, where he was entertained with honours and maintenance, which makes mee judge his offers and negotiation is gratious. The Shabas yet so depends on that hope, that he continues the prohibition of exportation of Silkes thorow Turkie.

Some few dayes since I received advise from Spahan, that Sherley hath written to the King, that with much joy and ready embracement he hath so farre proceeded with the Vice-Roy of Goa, in a conclusion of the league, as his commission hath power, that he is ready to embarke for Spaine to accomplish it fully. If it proceed and take effect, I can make it evident, that it will revive and strengthen all the ruines and decayes of the Portugals in the Indies, and make all other wavering Princes accept them; only I will not presse the consequence where it will be so fully understood.

**The Persians Armie is 180000. strong, the Turkes double.*

The * Shabas is in the field at Salmas, a Village indifferent to the wayes to Tauris or Gordgeston, attending the Turkes Generall, who with a monstrous armie (if it be not encreased by fame) is incamped at Argerom, irresolute which of these two attempts he shall begin, being not above five dayes from the one, and ten from the other. But these great armies will dissolve of themselves, and I am of opinion there will be no great effect of them, the winter approaching: and that they will treat a peace, which the Turke will never embrace, but with the opening of the trade, & liberty of ancient commerce: which though the Persian yeeld unto, yet if the Spaniard accepts his offers, the liberty given the Turke will be uselesse, for that the Silkes shall come downe to Ormus; but I hope your Honour will prevent it, God hath provided you leasure.

The King of Persia lately enquired anew after the

English, for he is indifferent what Christian hath the trade, so that the Grand-Signior lose it: for his first offer to the Spaniard, will take his truce, and after we may have the leavings.

We have sent to Jasques a ship from our Port of Surat, with Cloath and English goods, to make the first offer of a residence, and to get a kind of a possession: For where it was free to refuse or accept us, it will be now an injury to turne us out, being come upon assurance of his Letter received by me. But though I did not consent to the going of this ship, because I knew both the Port unfit, the goods unvendible, and prejudiciall to the great expectation and promises, which makes me feare the Shabas will despise us, and judge us by this beginning, and so with the more roundnesse either conclude with the Spaniard, or make peace with the Turke (for his designe is either wholly to divert the trade or nothing) yet I will mend it as well as I can, by the helpe of an Ambassador lately arrived at this Court; who, as I suppose, is come to get ayde of money, in which kind he often findeth liberall reliefes, and this King of India may better spare then any Monarch of the East.

The advantage to bee made of it in England, is (if I may give my opinion) that when Sir Robert Sherley shall arrive in Spaine and negotiate his imployment, the Ambassadour of his Majestie resident may crave audience, and produce the Letters granted to us, and urge our possession of the Port; and therefore require in the name of his Majesty, that in this new contract either the English may be comprehended, or at least that nothing passe on the part of the King of Spaine, prejudiciall to the subjects of his Majestie, nor contrary to the amity of the two Nations: which if the Spaniard shall enterprise, to the expulsion of us, it is in my opinion (the trade being in a free Kingdome granted us) a just cause of such a breach, as may produce Letters of Mart and reprisall in all the Easterne parts to right our selves. I will in the meane time amaze the Persian with as many doubts

I have sent the Copies.

as I can infuse into him of the ( ) and hopes of us.

In this Court which is now in the field towards the conquest of Decan (with an effeminate armie fitter to be a spoile, then a terror to enemies) I shall so farre effect my imployment, as to confirme our trade and people on equall conditions to the inhabitants and borne subjects, who suffer themselves, abuses of Governours which can never be remedied, but by an whole change of the regiment and forme of dominion. For the constancy I will no farther give my word, then our owne prosperitie, and the others feare, and the Portugals feeblenesse shall confirme to us.

The trade is profitable and fit for England, but no way understood by the Company how to effect it at best advantage, and yet we have done little but discover errors. I have no power to meddle in that, but if I were at home ten dayes, I would doe them better service then heere in ten yeares. To proove and demonstrate every particular and circumstance, were rather the subject of a Booke then of a Letter, but I will doe my part every way, according to my ability, & judgment faithfully and honestly. Besides (though they may think I speak for mine own ends) I assure your honor it is not fit to keep an Ambassador in this Court. I have shuffled better out, and escaped and avoyded affronts and slavish customes clearer then ever any did. I am allowed ranke above the Per-
[I. iv. 589.] sian, but he out-strips me in rewards: his Master lyes neere us, but his Majestie commanded me to doe nothing unworthy the honour of a Christian King, and no reward can humble me to any basenesse. I see what the Persian does and suffers. I know one that would creepe and sue, might effect more businesses then I, for every little matter cannot trouble the King; and his great men are more proud, and expect that from me I cannot give them. The King of Spaine could never be drawne to send any, and their experience hath taught them, that besides he should not be received in honour correspondent to his quality, they knew an easier way to effect their ends. I shall not

returne a rich man, and then many will condemne me for want of providence or wit to get it, but they know not the Indies, it growes heere in as rough wayes as in Europe. I will trust to the Company, and to my merit. I could write your Honour many remarkeable accidents in this government and Kingdome: all the policy and wicked craft of the Divell is not practises alone in Europe, heere is enough to be learned or to be dispised, but you have not leasure to entertaine so forraigne discourses; that part which may be worth knowing: as the proceeding of the Jesuits, the growth of their Church, and the commixture of this Kingdome with Europe by trade, and the allyes it embraces, if I find not leasure to put them into method, I will weary your Honour with them by a fire-side in broken pieces.

The Portugall pursues us heere with virulent hatred, but God doth chastise him, and his pride sees it not. The Admirall Gallion bound for Goa, a vessell of fifteene hundred, armed with sixe hundred men falling among our Fleet, a small ship haled her after the custome of the Sea, which shee requited with silence, except of her Ordnance: the Commander of our Fleet, Benjamin Joseph, came up with her, and demanded reason, but was returned scorne, so that he began a fight, in which he lost his life. A new commission on being opened, Humfrey Pepwell succeeded him, to his place and resolution, with the losse of his eye and other hurts, fought untill the Gallion having her Masts shot, ran ashoare on Comara, an Iland inhabited by Moores, in the latitude of eleven degrees, one and fiftie minutes, where the Generall Don Emanuel de Meneses, with three hundred escaped, but fired the ship, shee was very rich, and the succour of India this yeere: her companions were lost at sea, and on the fourteenth of Octob. there was no newes of any of them which were three ships, this is the greatest disaster and disgrace ever befell them, for they never mist their Fleet in September, nor lost any Vessell as this, which was reported invincible, and without supplies they perish utterly. The Ilanders

M. Joseph slaine.

rifled the Generall and all his followers, and they are since arrived at Goa, naked and bare in the Gallion of Mosambiques, which had likewise beene dangered by a Hollander, but the neernesse of the Port saved her. All these considered, me thinkes, the Heavens conspire the fall of the Portugall in this quarter, if his Majestie would be pleased to bend onely his Royall countenance. But I shall (I hope) returne and not expect to see it effected in my time. I will intreate your Honour to preserve my name in the Kings memorie, not for any worthinesse, but an humble desire to serve him: and that you will be pleased to accept of my endevours, and esteeme me such as I am, one that loves and honours you; and that will pray to God as the best expression of my affection, to increase you in all worthy honour, and to blesse you with his holy spirit.

Your Honours humble, faithfull Servant,

THOMAS ROE.

I humbly desire your Honor to do me the favour to thanke Sir Thomas Smith, in my behalfe, that hee may find my gratitude to my Friends.

From the Campe of the Great Mogoll, Emperour of India,
November 30. 1616.

Part of a Letter to the Companie of the East-India; Dated the three and twentieth of November, 1616.

MY Honourable Friends, I received your Letter on the twelfth of October, 1616. from the Charles, safely arrived with foure ships at the barre of Surat, the six and twentieth of the former moneth. Of what past at Sea, I doubt not you will receive ample Relation, onely a little difference in the report of our Fleet, and the Portugals I will mention, that we began the fight, and that no Vice-Roy being sent this yeere, an ancient Soul-

dier, Don Emanuell de Meneses, that had twice beene Generall of their Forces, was in the Admirall, who being beaten ranne her selfe ashore at Mosambique, and are now arrived at Goa. This Tale hangs very ill together, for that I know they first made five shot, and that it is impossible they could passe from Aguzesia to Mosambique in a Canoa, or that the Inhabitants having robbed them, durst carrie them into their strength, or that all this could be effected, and newes of their arrivall came from Goa in so little time. So that my judgement is, they make their Relation as neere ours as they can, and are loth to confesse truth, that either all perished, or the Vice-Roy, which were the greatest losse and dishonour ever happened to them in India. *Reports of the fight.*

I shall not need to write you any long Discourse of your Affaires, nor my opinion, for that in a continued Journall I have set downe all passages, and send you the Copies of my Letters to your Factories, wherein many points are disputed and opened, from both which you may make best your owne collection and judgement: for in them casually all your businesse is handled and discussed at full, and it may bee collected into such a method as you may sit at home, and see it at once. [I. iv. 590.]

But because some points in my last Letters, I followed at my first comming at others reports, which since I find vaine and frivolous, and others perhaps are unresolved in my generall Discourse, I will runne over the materiall points with brevitie: for I extremely desire that you once understood the constitution of this Trade, how to governe and settle it, that by varietie of fond opinions you bee not counselled to unnecessary charge, nor fall into grosse errors and damage.

Concerning the aiding the Mogoll or coasting his subjects into the Red Sea, it is now uselesse, yet I made offer of your affections: but when they need not a courtesie, they regard it as a Dogge doth dry bread when his belly is full. The King hath peace with the Portugals, and will never make a constant warre, except first we displant them.

Then his greatnesse will step in for a share of the benefit, that dares not partake of the perill: when they have peace, they scorne our assistance, and speake as loud as our Canon: if Warre oppresse them, they dare not put out under any protection, nor will pay for it. You must remove from you all thought of any other then a Trade at their Port, wherein if you can defend your selves leave them to their fortune; you can never oblige them by any benefit, and they will sooner feare you then love you. Your residence you need not doubt so long as you tame the Portugall; therefore avoyde all other charge as unnecessary, that resists * not him; he onely can prejudice you. For a Fort at my first arrivall, I received it as very necessary, but experience teacheth me, we are refused it to our advantage. If he would offer me ten, I would not accept one; first where the River is commodious, the Countrey is barren and untraded, the passages to parts better planted so full of Theeves, that the Kings authoritie availes not, and the strength of the hils assures them in that life, if it had beene fit for Trade, the Naturals would have chosen it; for they feele the incommoditie of a barren Haven: and it is argument enough of some secret inconvenience, that they make not use of it but if it were safe without the walls, yet is it not an easie worke to divert Trades, and to draw the resort of Merchants from their accustomed Marts, especially for our commoditie which is bought by parcels, and cannot be called staple. Secondly, the charge is greater then the Trade can leave, for to maintayne a Garrison will eate the profit; it is not an hundred men can keepe it. For the Portugall if he once see you undertake that course, will set his rest upon it to supplant you. Warre and Traffique are incompatible, by my consent, you shall no way ingage your selves but at Sea, where you are like to gaine as often as to lose: it is the beggering of the Portugall, notwithstanding his many rich Residences and Territories, that hee keepes Souldiers that spend it; yet his Garrisons are meane. He never profited by the Indies, since he defended them. Observe this well.

** Understand this, so long as they by force and armes oppose the English proceedings and seeke to supplant them; as hitherto.*

It hath beene also the errour of the Dutch, who seeke Plantation heere by the Sword, they turne a wonderfull stocke, they prowle in all places, they possesse some of the best, yet their dead payes consume all the gaine. Let this be received as a Rule, that if you will profit, seeke it at Sea, and in quiet Trade: for without Controversie it is an errour to affect Garrisons and Land Warres in India. If you made it onely against the Naturall, I would agree: to make it for them they are not worth it, and you should be very wary how to ingage your reputation in it. You cannot so easily make a faire retrait as an on-set; one disaster would either discredit you, or interresse you in a Warre of extreme charge and doubtfull event. Besides, an action so subject to chance as Warre, is most unfitly undertaken, and with most hazard, when the remotenesse of place for supply, succours and counsels, subject it to irrecoverable losse, for that where is most uncertaintie, remedies should be so much the neerer to occurre to all occasions. At Sea you may take and leave, your Designes are not published; the Road of Swally, and the Port of Surat, are fittest for you in all the Mogols Territorie, I have weighed it well and deliver you that shall never bee disproved, you need no more, it is not number of Ports, Factories and Residences that will profit you, they will increase charge but not recompence it; the inconvenience of one respectively to your sales, and to the commoditie of Investants, and the well imployment of your Servants is all needfull, a Port to secure your ships, and a fit place to unlade will not be found together. The Road at Swally, during the season, is as safe as a Pond; Surat, Cambaya, Baroach, and Amadavar, are better traded then all India, and seated commodiously. The inconveniences are, the Portugals at Sea, and the landing of goods, to meet with which first you must bring to passe, that your lading bee readie by the end of September at your Port; which may be effected by a stocke before-hand, or by taking up money for three monethes, and so you may discharge and lade in one, and depart for excellent season

for England, and the Enemie shall not have time with force to offend you, who will be newly arrived; and if the preparation be ancienter we shall know it. For the second, to land goods without danger of Frigats, and to save the carriage over land, you must send a Pinnasse of threescore tunne, with ten Peeces that drawes but seven or eight foot water, to passe up the River betweene Swally and Surat, and so your goods will be safe, and in your owne command to the Custome-house-Key; and it will a little awe the Towne; shee may proceed after according to your appointment.

The Commodities you sell passe least in that quarter, the goods you seeke being principally Indico and Cloth, no one place is so fit for both, and the lesse inconveniences are to bee chosen, of this you shall gather more at large my opinion and reasons, in my Journall and Discourses to your Factors, perhaps some of them will contradict it: but I am not deceived, nor have private ends, to keepe [I. iv. 591.] Factories to imploy and advance friends, the places and number of servants I have delivered my judgement in, and could manifest the past errours, but not mend them. Sindu is possessed by the Portugals, or if it were free, were no fitter then Surat, nor safer: as it is, it will be more subject to perill. Your Factors sent me foure or five clauses out of your Commission, that concerned Persia, a Fort, a Plantation in Bengala, all which they knew were not of use: with no other purpose, proposition or resolution, they will acquaint me. They cannot abide I should understand or direct them, if they resolve of any thing in their opinion for your profit, and send to me, I will effect the Court part, but you will find in my Letters and Journall how they use mee, which doubtlesse at first was sowed by some jealousie of yours which will cost you dearely.

For the setling your Traffique heere, I doubt not to effect any reasonable desire, my credit is sufficient with the King and your force will alway bind him to constancie; it will not need so much helpe at Court, as you suppose, a little countenance with the discretion of your Factors

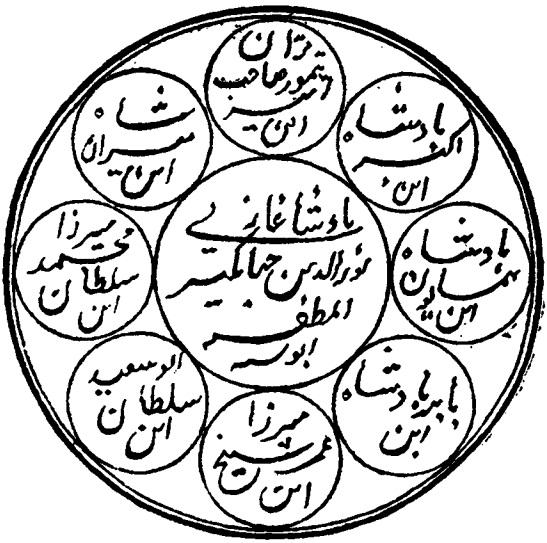
will with easie charge returne you most profit, but you must alter your stocke, let not your servants deceive you, Cloth, Lead, Teeth, Quick-silver, are dead Commodities, and will never drive this Trade, you must succour it by change, and you will find my opinion discussed in Letters. I have this yeere past many difficulties by the perversenesse of Sultan Caronne, Lord of Surat, but by Gods direction, I have overcome them; Articles of treatie on equall termes I cannot effect, want of Presents disgraced me: but yet by Peeces I have gotten as much as I desired at once. I have recovered all Bribes, Extortions, Debts made and taken before my time till this day, or at least at honorable composition. But when I deliver the next gifts to the Mogoll, in the Princes absence, I will set on a new for a formall * contract, &c.

That which followes, as other Letters also, I have willingly omitted, as not so fit for vulgar Readers, being Mysteries of Commerce.

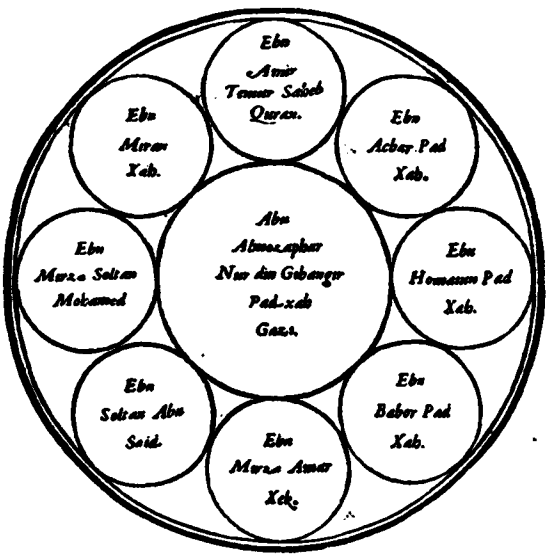
I Have heard that Sir Thomas Roe at his Returne, desiring the Great Mogor or Mogoll, his Letters of Commendation to his Majestie, easily obtayned that request, but found him very scrupulous where to set his seale; lest, if under, hee should disparage himselfe; if over, it might cause distast to the King; his resolution and prevention therefore was this, to send the Letter unsealed, and the great Seale it selfe, that so His Majestie might according to his owne pleasure affixe it. The Seale is Silver; the type and forme whereof, contayning only the Mogols Genealogie from Tamerlane, in severall Circles, with the English Translation, I have heere added.

[The Description

The Description of the Great Mogols Seale.



[I. iv. 592.]



Chap. XVII.

A Letter of Mr. Thomas Coryat, which travailed by Land from Jerusalem to the Court of the Great Mogol, written to Mr. L. Whitaker. To which are added pieces of two other, to entertayne you with a little Indian-Odcombian mirth.

Most deare and beloved Friend, Master L. W. Animæ dimidium meæ.

From the Court of the most mightie Monarch, called the Great Mogol, resident in the Towne of Asmere, in the Orientall India. Anno 1615.

Ordiall salutations in the Authour of salvation, Jesus Christ. Where I writ unto you last, I remember well; even from Zobah, as the Prophet Samuel calleth it (2. Booke, Chap. 8. vers. 3.) that is Aleppo, the principall Emporium of all Syria, or rather of the Orient World; but when, in truth I have forgotten, for I keepe not Copies of my Letters, as I see most of my Country-men doe, in whatsoever place of the World I finde them. Howbeit, if my conjecture doe not much faile mee, I may affirme that it was about fifteene moneths since, about a moneth after, I returned unto Aleppo from Jerusalem, after which time, I remayned there three moneths longer, and then departed therehence in a Caravan into Persia, passing the noble River Euphrates (the chiefest of all that irrigated Paradise, where-hence, as from their originall, the three other Rivers were derived) about foure dayes journey beyond Aleppo: on the further side of which, I entered Mesopotamia, alias Chaldea, for the Euphrates in that place disterminateth Syria and Mesopotamia. There-hence I had two dayes journey to Ur of the Chaldeans, where

Gen. 2. 10.

Gen. 11. 28.

Abraham was borne, a very delicate and pleasant Citie.
[I. iv. 593.] There I remayned foure dayes, but I could see no part of the ruines of the house, where that faithfull servant of God was borne, though I much desired it. From thence, I had foure dayes journey to the River Tygris, which I passed also; but in the same place where I crossed it, I found it so shallow, that it reached no higher then the calfe of my legge: for I waded over it afoote. Now I well perceive by my ocular experience, that Chaldea is named Mosopotamia, for that it is inclosed with the foresaid Rivers. Trajecto Tigride, I entred Armenia the greater: After that, Media the lower, and resided sixe dayes in the Metropolis thereof, heretofore called Ecbatana, the Summer seate of Cyrus his Court, a Citie eft-soone mentioned in the Scripture, now called Tauris, more wofull ruines of a Citie (saving that of Troy and Cyzicum in Natolia) never did mine eyes behold. When I seriously contemplated those ἐρείπια, the dolefull testimonies of the Turkish devastations, I called to minde Ovids Verse:

Ludit in humanis divina potentia rebus.

And that of Hesiod,

Τὰ δ' ὑπέρτερα νέρτερα θήσει Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμετής.

From that, I had two dayes journey to a Citie that in Strabos time was called Arsacia in Media the higher, now Casbin, once the Royall seate of the Tartarian Princes, foure dayes journey from the Caspian Sea. From Casbin, I had three and twentie dayes to Spahan in Parthia, the place of residence of the Persian King. But at my being there, he was in the Countrey of Gurgistan, ransacking the poore Christians there with great hostilitie, with Fire and Sword. There I remayned two moneths, and so with a Caravan travelled into the Easterne India, passing foure moneths and odde dayes, in my travell betwixt that (through part of the true Persia, and a large tract of the noble and renowned India) and the goodly Citie of Lahor

in India, one of the largest Cities of the whole Universe, for it contayneth at the least sixteene miles in compasse, and exceedeth Constantinople it selfe in greatnesse. But a dozen dayes before I came to Lahor, I passed the famous River Indus, which is as broad againe as our Thames at London, and hath his originall out of the Mountayne Caucasus, so much ennobled by the ancient both Poets and Historiographers, Greeke and Latine; which Plato for curiositie sake, in his travells of these parts went to see. It lyeth not farre from that upon the Confines of Scythia, now called Tartaria: My selfe also conceiving some hope of seeing it before my finall farewell of India. I had almost forgotten one memorable matter to impart unto you: About the middle of the way, betwixt Spahan and Lahore, just about the Frontiers of Persia and India, I met Sir Robert Sherley and his Lady, travelling from the Court of the Mogol, (where they had beene very graciously received, and enriched with Presents of great value) to the King of Persia's Court; so gallantly furnished with all necessaries for their travailes, that it was a great comfort unto me, to see them in such a flourishing estate. There did hee shew mee, to my singular contentment, both my Bookes neatly kept; and hath promised mee to shew them, especially mine Itinerarie, to the Persian King: and to interpret unto him some of the principall matters in the Turkish Tongue, to the end I may have the more gracious accesse unto him, after my returne thither. For thorow Persia I have determined (by Gods helpe) to returne to Aleppo. Besides other rarities that they carried with them out of India, they had two Elephants and eight Antlops, which were the first that ever I saw: but afterwards, when I came to the Mogols Court, I saw great store of them. These they meant to present to the Persian King. Both hee and his Lady used mee with singular respect, especially his Lady, who bestowed fortie shillings upon mee in Persian money, and they seemed to exult for joy to see mee, having promised mee to bring mee in good grace with the Persian King, and

that they will induce him to bestow some Princely benefit upon mee: this I hope will bee partly occasioned by my Booke, for hee is such a jocund Prince, that hee will not bee meanly delighted with divers of my facetious hieroglyphicks, if they are truly and genuinely expounded unto him.

From the famous Citie of Lahor I had twentie dayes journey to another goodly Citie called Agra, through such a delicate and even Tract of ground, as I never saw before; and doubt whether the like be to be found within the whole circumference of the habitable World. Another thing also in this way, being no lesse memorable then the plainnesse of the ground: a row of Trees on each side of this way where people doe travell, extending it selfe from the Townes-end of Lahor, to the Townes-end of Agra; the most incomparable shew of that kind, that ever my eyes surveyed. Likewise, whereas there is a Mountayne some ten dayes journey betwixt Lahor and Agra, but very neare ten miles out of the way, on the left hand: the people that inhabite that Mountayne, observe a custome very strange, that all the brothers of any Family, have but one and the selfe-same wife; so that one woman sometimes doth serve sixe or seven men: the like whereof I remember I have read in Strabo, concerning the Arabians that inhabited Arabia felix. Agra is a very great Citie, and the place where the Mogoll did alwayes (saving within these two yeares) keepe his Court; but in every respect much inferiour to Lahor.

From thence to the Mogols Court, I had ten dayes journey, at a Towne called Asmere, where I found a Cape Merchant of our English-men, with nine more of my [I. iv. 594.] Countrey-men, resident there upon termes of Negotiations, for the right Worshipfull Company of Merchants in London, that trade for East-India.

I spent in my journey betwixt Jerusalem and this Mogols Court, fifteene monethes and odde dayes: all which way I traversed afoote, but with divers paires of shooes, having beene such a Propateticke, (I will not call

my selfe Peripateticke, because you know it signifieth one that maketh a perambulation about a place, *περιπατοιν*, signifying to walke about) that is a walker forward on foot, as I doubt whether you ever heard of the like in your life; for the totall way betwixt Jerusalem and the Mogols Court, contayneth two thousand and seven hundred English miles. My whole perambulation of this Asia the greater, is like to be a Passage of almost six thousand miles, by that time that in my returne backe thorow Persia, afterward also by Babylon and Ninivie, I shall come to Cairo in Egypt, and from that downe the Nilus to Alexandria, there to be one day (by Gods helpe) imbarqued for Christendome; a very immense dimension of ground.

Now I am at the Mogols Court, I thinke you would bee glad to receive some narration thereof from me, though succinctly handled: for I meane to be very compendious, lest I should otherwise preoccupate that pleasure, which you may hereafter this reape by my personall relation thereof. This present Prince is a very worthy person, by name Selim, of which name I never read or heard of any more then one Mahometan King, which was Sultan Selim of Constantinople, that lived about eightie yeeres since, the same that conquered Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo, Cairo, &c. adding the same to the Turkish Empire. He is fiftie and three yeares of age, his nativitie day having bin celebrated with wonderfull pompe since my arrivall heere: for that day he weighed himselfe in a paire of golden Scales, which by great chance I saw the same day (a custome that he observes most inviolably every yeere) laying so much Gold in the other Scale as countervaileth the weight of his bodie, and the same he afterward distributed to the poore. He is of complexion neither white nor blacke, but of a middle betwixt them: I know not how to expresse it with a more expressive and significant Epitheton then Olive: an Olive colour his face presenteth: hee is of a seemely composition of bodie, of a stature little unequall (as I guesse not without grounds of probabilitie) to mine, but much more corpulent then my.

selfe. The extent of his Dominion is very spacious, being in circuit little lesse then foure thousand English miles, which very neere answereth the compasse of the Turkes Territories: or if any thing be wanting in Geometricall dimension of ground, it is with a great pleonasme supplyed by the fertilitie of his soile: and in these two things he exceedeth the Turkes, in the fatnesse (as I have said) of his Land, no part of the World yeelding a more fruitfull veine of ground, then all that which lyeth in his Empire, saving that part of Babylonia, where the terrestriall Paradise once stood: whereas a great part of the Turkes Land is extreame barren and sterrile, as I have observed in my peregrination thereof, especially in Syria, Mesopotamia and Armenia; many large portions thereof being so wonderfull fruitlesse, that it beareth no good thing at all, or if any thing, there Infelix lolium & steriles dominantur avenæ.

Secondly, in the conjunction and union of all his Territories, together in one and the same goodly Continent of India, no Prince having a foot of Land within him. But many parcels of the Turkes Countries are by a large distance of Seas, and otherwise, divided asunder. Againe, in his Revenue he exceedeth the Turke and the Persian his Neighbour by just halfe: for his Revenues are forty Millions of Crownes of six shillings value, by the yeere: but the Turkes are no more then fifteene Millions, as I was certainly informed in Constantinople; and the Persians five Millions, plus minus, as I heard in Spahan. It is said that he is uncircumcised, wherein hee differeth from all the Mahometan Princes that ever were in the World.

Of his Revenues and of all other things of this State, reade Captain Hawkins his Relations, who had better meanes and judgement to know them.

He speaketh very reverently of our Saviour, calling him in the Indian Tongue, Ifazaret Eesa, that is, the great Prophet, Jesus: and all Christians, especially us English, he useth so benevolently, as no Mahometan Prince the like. He keepeth abundance of wilde Beasts, and that of divers sorts, as Lyons, Elephants, Leopards, Beares, Antlopes, Unicornes; whereof two I have seene at his Court,

The Unicornes are no other but the Rhinoceros.

the strangest beasts of the World: they were brought hither out of the Countrey of Bengala, which is a Kingdome of most singular fertilitie within the compasse of his Dominion, about foure Moneths journey from this, the midland parts thereof being watered by divers Channels of the famous Ganges, which I have not as yet seene, but (God willing) I meane to visit it before my departure out of this Countrey, the neerest part of it being not above twelve dayes journey from this Court. The King presenteth himselfe thrice every day without faile to his Nobles, at the rising of the Sunne, which he adoreth by the elevation of his hands; at noone, and at five of the clocke in the evening: but he standeth in a roome aloft, alone by himselfe, and looketh upon them from a window that hath an embroydered sumptuous coverture, supported with two silver Pillasters to yeeld shadowes unto him. Twice every weeke, Elephants fight before him, the bravest spectacle in the World: many of them are thirteene foot and a halfe high; and they seeme to justle together like two little Mountaines, and were they not parted in the middest of their fighting by certaine fire-workes, they would exceedingly gore and cruentate one another by their murdering teeth. Of Elephants the King keepeth thirtie thousand in his whole Kingdome at an unmeasurable charge; in feeding of whom and his Lions, and other Beasts, he spendeth an incredible masse of Money, at the least tenne thousand pounds sterling a day. I have rid upon an Ele phant since I came to this Court, determining one day (by Gods leave) to have my Picture expressed in my next Booke, sitting upon an Elephant. The King keepeth a thousand Women for his owne body, whereof the chiefest (which is his Queene) is called Normal. You may remember to relate this unto your Friends, that I will now mention as a matter very memorable; I spent in my tenne [I. iv. 595.] Monethes travell betwixt Aleppo and the Mogolls Court, but three pounds sterling, yet fared reasonable well every day; victuals being so cheape in some Countries where I travelled, that I oftentimes lived competently for a penny

sterling a day: yet of that three pound I was coozened of no lesse then tenne shillings sterling, by certaine lewd Christians of the Armenian Nation: so that indeed I spent but fiftie shillings in my tenne Monethes Travailes. I have bin in a Citie in this Countrey, called Detee, where Alexander the Great joyned Battell with Porus King of India, and conquered him; and in token of his victorie, erected a Brasse Pillar, which remayneth there to this day. At this time I have many Irons in the fire; for I learne the Persian, Turkish, and Arabian Tongues, having alreadie gotten the Italian (I thanke God) I have beene at the Mogolls Court three Monethes alreadie, and am to tarrie heere (by Gods holy permission) five Monethes longer, till I have gotten the foresaid three Tongues, and then depart here-hence to the Ganges, and after that, directly to the Persian Court.

Your assured loving Friend till death,

THOMAS CORYATE.

From the Court of the Great Mogoll, resident at the Towne of Asmere in the Easterne India, on Michaelmas day. Anno 1615.

I Doe enjoy at this time as pancraticall and athleticall a health, as ever I did in my life: and so have done ever since I came out of England, saving for three dayes in Constantinople, where I had an Ague, which with a little letting bloud was cleane banished, the Lord bee humbly thanked for his gracious blessing of health that he hath given unto mee. I was robbed of my money, both gold and silver (but not all, by reason of certaine clandestine corners where it was placed) in a Citie called Diarbeck in Mesopotamia, the Turkes Countrey, by a Spahein, as they call him, that is, one of the Horse-men of the Great Turke: but the occasion and circumstance of that misfortune, would bee too tedious to relate. Notwithstanding that losse, I am not destitute of money I thanke God. Since my arrivall heere, there was sent unto this King one

of the richest Presents that I have heard to bee sent to any Prince in all my life time: it consisted of divers parcels; one being Elphants, whereof there were one and thirtie, and of those, two so gloriously adorned, as I never saw the like, nor shall see the like againe while I live. For they wore foure chaines about their bodies all of beaten gold: two chaines about their legges of the same; Furniture for their buttockes of pure gold: two Lions upon their heads of the like gold: the ornaments of each, amounting to the value of almost eight thousand pound sterling: and the whole Present was worth ten of their Leakes, as they call them; a Leake being ten thousand pound sterling: the whole, a hundred thousand pounds sterling.

To the High Seneschall of the Right Worshipfull Fraternitie of Sireniacall Gentlemen, that meete the first Friday of every moneth, at the signe of the Meremaid in Bread-street in London, give these: From the Court of the Great Mogoll, resident at the Towne of Asmere, in the Easterne-India.

This Letter by M. Rogers was delivered to my selfe.

RIght Generous, Joviall, and Mercuriall Sirenaickes: I have often read this Greeke Proverbe, χεὶρ χεῖρα νιπτει, that is, one hand washeth another, and the Latine, Mulus Mulum scabit, one Mule scratcheth another; by which the Ancients signified, that courtesies done unto Friends, ought to bee requited with reciprocall offices of friendship. The serious consideration hereof, doth make me to call to minde that incomparable elegant safe-conduct, which a little before my departure from England, your Fraternitie with a generall suffrage gave me for the securitie of my future Peregrination, concinnated by the pleasant wit of that inimitable Artizan of sweet Elegancie, the moytie of my heart, and the quondam Seneschall of the Noblest Societie, Master L. W.

Therefore since it is requisite that I should repay some-

what for the same, according to the Lawes of humanitie: Such a poore retribution as I sent unto you from Aleppo, the Metropolitan Citie of Syria, by one Master Henry Allare of Kent, my Fellow-pilgrime there-hence to Jerusalem; I meane a plaine Epistle, which I hope long since came unto your hands: I have sent unto you by a man no lesse deare unto mee then the former, one Master Peter Rogers, a Kentish man also, from the most famigerated [I. iv. 596.] Region of all the East, the ample and large India: assuring my selfe, that because I am not able to requite your love with any essentiall gratulations, other then verball and scriptall, you will as lovingly entertaine my poore Letters, being the certaine manifestation of an ingenuous minde, as if I should send unto you the minerall riches or Drugges of the Noble Countrey.

Thinke it no wonder I pray you, that I have made no use in all this space since I left my native Country, of the superexcellent Commeate; for I have spent all my time hitherto in the Mahometan Countries, and am like to spend three yeeres more in these Musselman (as they call them) Regions of Asia, after of Europe, before I shall arrive in Christendome. For this cause I left it in Aleppo, with my Countrimen, there to receive it from them againe, after that I shall have ended my Indian and Persian perambulation: and there-hence to carrie it once more to Constantinople, and that by the way of Iconium, Nicæa, Nicomedia, and in the Countrey of Natolia, a journey of fortie dayes. From that finally thorow the heart of Greece, by the Cities of Athens, Thebes, Corinth, Lacedæmon, Thessalonica, and to the Citie of Ragouze, heretofore Epidaurus, so sacred for the Image of Æsculapius in the Country of Sclavonia, once called Illyricum; from thence I have three dayes journey to the inestimable Diamond set in the Ring of the Adriatique Gulfe, (as once I said in the first Harangue that ever I made to Prince Henrie of blessed memorie, translated since my departure from London, from the Terrestriall Tabernacles, to the Cœlestiall Habitations) venerous Venice, the Soveraigne Queene

of the Mare superum: if the great Jehovah shall be so propitious unto me, as to grant me a prosperous arrivall in that Noble Citie, I will there beginne to shew your safe conduct, and to decantate, yea and to blazon your prayses for the same: and after in every other place of note, untill I shall arrive in glorious London, communicate it to the most polite, with that the Cities will yeeld, thorough which my laborious feete shall carrie me, it would bee supervacaneous to commemorate unto you the almost incredible extent of Land, I traversed from Jerusalem to the Court of the Great Mogoll in India, where I now reside; with the variable Regions and Provinces interjacent betwixt them, and the manifold occurrences and observations of speciall worke in this vaste Tract; for it would bee such a fastidious Discourse, that it could not be well comprehended in a large sheete of Paper: but Master Whitaker, I hope, I will not faile to import unto you in a few compendious Relations, which I have acquainted him with, in a particular Letter to himselfe: of which, if I should have written againe to you, it would have proved Crambe bis cocta.

The Gentleman that bringeth this Letter unto you, was Pracher to the English Merchants, conversant at the Court of the aforesaid mightie Monarch, in the Towne of Asmere in this Easterne-India: and in divers loving offices hath beene so kind unto me, that I intreat your Generosities to entertaine him friendly for my sake, to exhilarate him with the purest quintessence of the Spanish, French and Rhenish Grape, which the Mermaid yeeldeth; and either one in the name of you all, or else the totall universalitie of the one after another, to thanke him heartily, according to the qualitie of his merits. Farewell, Noble Sirenaickes.

Your Generosities most obliged Country-man, ever to be commanded by you, the Hierosolymitan-Syrian-Mesopotamian-Armenian-Median-Parthian-Persian-Indian Legge-stretcher of Odcomb in Somerset,

THOMAS CORYATE.

PRay remember the recommendations of my dutifull respect; to all those whose names I have heere expressed, being the lovers of Vertue, and Literature; and so consequently the wel-willers (I hope) of a prosperous issue of my designements, in my laborious pedestriall perambulations of Asia, Africa, and Europe.

Written with mine owne hand, at the Court of the Great Mogoll, Shaugh Selim, resident in the Towne of Asmere, in the umbilicke of the Orientall India, the eight day of November, being Wednesday, Anno Dom. 1615.

INprimis, to the two Ladies Varney, the Mother and the Daughter, at Boswell House without Temple-barre,

2 Item, to that famous Antiquarie, Sir Robert Cotten, at his House in the Black-Friers. Pray tell him that I have a very curious white Marble head of an ancient Heros or Gyant-like Champion, found out very casually by my diligent pervestigation amongst the ruines of the once renowmed Citie of Cyzicum, mentioned by Cicero in his second Oration (if my memory doth not faile me) against Verres, situate in an Peninsula of Bythinia, in the goodly Countrey of Natolia, neere the Sea Propontis: to this head will his best Antiquities whatsoever veile bonnet.

[I. iv. 597.] 3 Item, to that courteous, sweet, and elegant-natured and nurtured Gentleman, Master William Ford, Preacher to our Nation at Constantinople, if you happen to meet him in any part of England; one that deserveth better of me, then any man in all this Catalogue: for of him have I learned whatsoever superficiall skill I have gotten in the Italian Tongue: pray reduplicate my commendations unto him.

4 Item, to Master George Speake, my generous and ingenuous Countrey-man, the Sonne and heire apparant of Sir George Speake, in Somerset-shire; him you are like to find in any Terme, either at the Middle-Temple, or in some Barbers house neere the Temple.

5 Item, to Master John Donne, the Author of two most elegant Latine Bookes, Pseudo-martyr, and Ignatii Conclave: of his abode either in the Strand, or else-where in London, I thinke you shall be easily informed by the meanes of my friend, Master L. W.

6 Item, to Master Richard Martin, Counseller, at his Chamber in the Middle-Temple, but in the Terme-time, scarce else.

7 Item, to Master Christopher Brooke of the Citie of Yorke, Counseller, at his Chamber in Lincolnes Inne, or neere it.

8 Item, to Master John Hoskins, alias Æquinoctiall Pasticrust, of the Citie of Hereford, Counseller, at his Chamber in the Middle-Temple.

9 Item, to Master George Garrat; of whose beeing you shall understand by Master Donne aforesaid.

10 Item, to Master William Hackwell, at his Chamber in Lincolnes Inne.

11 Item, to Master Benjamin Johnson the Poet, at his Chamber at the Black-Friers.

12 Item, to Master John Bond my Countrey-man, chiefe Secretarie unto My Lord Chancellour.

13 Item, to Master Doctor Mocket, resident perhaps in my Lord of Canterburies house at Lambeth, where I left him.

14 Item, to Master Samuel Purchas, the great Collector of the Lucubrations of sundry Classicall Authors, for description of Asia, Africa, and America. Pray commend me unto him and his παραςάτης Master Cooke, by the same token, that he gave me a description of Constantinople, and the Thracius Bosphorus, written in Latine by a French-man, called Petrus Gillius: which Booke, when I carried once in an after-noone under mine arme, in walking betwixt our English Ambassadors House in Pera, on the opposite side to Constantinople, and the Flemish Ambassadors house, I lost it very unfortunately to my great griefe and never found it againe, &c.

[There is

THere is another and later Letter of his to his Mother, written the last of October 1616. part of which for the Odcombian stile and Coryaticall straine, I have hither transcribed. Great pitie it is that his voluminous Observations of his foot Pilgrimage, longer then perhaps of any man ever hath bin in that kind, are either lost, or at least not come to some discreet hand, which might, no doubt, distill good instructions thence for the publike, as sweet fresh water out of the huge salt Ocean.

Some written Notes of his, it pleased Sir Thomas Roe to give me, whence (omitting such things as before you have had in Sir Thomas Roes owne Observations) I have inserted a few, following this Letter.

From Agra, the Capitall Citie of the Dominion of the Great Mogoll in the Easterne India, the last of October 1616.

MOst deare and wel-beloved Mother, though I have superscribed my Letter from Asmere, the Court of the greatest Monarch of the East, called the Great Mogoll in the Easterne India, which I did to this end, that those that have the charge of conveyance thereof, perceiving such a title, may bee the more carefull and diligent to convey it safe to your hands: yet in truth the place from which I wrote this Letter, is Agra, a Citie in the said Easterne India, which is the Metropolitan of the whole Dominion of the fore-said King Mogoll, and ten dayes journey from his Court at the said Asmere. From the same Asmere I departed the twelfth day of September An. 1616. after my abode there twelve moneths and sixtie dayes; which though I confesse it were a too long time to remaine in one and the selfe-same place, yet for two principall causes it was very requisite for me to remaine there some reasonable time: first, to learne the Languages of those Countries, through which I am to passe betwixt the bounds of the Territories of this Prince and Christendome, namely, these three, the Persian, Turkish, and Arab: which I have in some competent measure attayned unto by my labour

and industry at the said Kings Court, matters as availeable unto me as money in my Purse, as being the chiefest, or rather only meane to get me money, if I should happen to be destitute, a matter very incidentall to a poore Foot-man Pilgrim, as my selfe, in these Heathen and Mahometan Countries, thorow which I travell. Secondly, that by the helpe of one of those Languages, I meane the Persian, I might both procure unto my selfe accesse unto the King, and be able to expresse my mind unto him about the matter [I. iv. 598.] for the which I should have occasion to discourse with him. These were the reasons that moved me so long to tarry at the Mogols Court, during which time, I abode in the house of the English Merchants, my deare Countrimen, not spending one little piece of money either for dyet, washing, lodging, or any other thing. And as for the Persian tongue, which I studyed very earnestly, I attayned to that reasonable skill, and that in a few moneths, that I made an Oration unto the King before many of his Nobles, in that language, and after I had ended the same, discoursed with his Majestie also in that tongue very readily and familiarly; the Copie of which speech, though the tongue it selfe will seeme to an English-man very strange and uncouth, as having no kind of affinitie with any of our Christian languages, I have for noveltie sake written out in this Letter, together with the translation thereof in English, that you may shew it to some of my learned friends of the Clergie, and also of the Temporaltie, in Ewill, and elsewhere, who belike, will take some pleasure in reading so rare and unusuall a tongue as this is. The Persian is this that followeth.

The Copie of an Oration that I made in the Persian tongue to the Great Mogol, before divers of his Nobles.

HAzaret Aallum pennah salamet, fooker Daruces ve tehaungeshta hastam kemia emadam az wellagets door, ganne az mulk Inglizan: kekessanaion petheen mushacas cardand ke wellagets, mazcoor der akers magrub

bood, ke mader hamma nezzaerts dunmast. Sabebbe amadane mari mia boosti char cheez ast auval be dedane mobarreckdeedars. Hazaret ke seete caramat ba hamma Trankestan reeseedast ooba tamam mulk Musulmanan der sheenedan awsaffe. Hazaret daveeda amadam be deedane astawne akdas musharaf geshtam duum bray deedane feelhay Hazaret, kin chunm janooar der heech mulk ne dedam seu in bray deedane namwer daryaee shumma Gauga, ke Serdare hamma daryaha dumiest. Chaharum een ast, keyee fermawne alishaion amayet fermoyand, ke betwanam der wellayetts Uzbeck raftan ba shahre San arcand, bray Zeerat cardan cabbre mobarreche Saheb crawncah awsaffe tang oo mosachere oo der tamam aallum meshoor ast belk der wellagette Uz bec eencader meshoor neest chunan che der mulc Inglisan aft digr, bishare eshteeac daram be deedanc mobarrec mesare Saheb crawnca bray een sabeb, che awne saman che focheer de shabr Stambol boodam, ye aiaeb cohua amarat deedam dermean yecush bawg nasdec shaht mascoor coja che pedshaw Eezawiawn che namesh Manuel bood che Saheb crawnca cush mehmannec aseem carda bood, baad as gristane Sulten Batasetra as jange aseem che shuda bood nas dec shahre Bursa, coima che Saheb crawn Sultan Bajasetra de Zenicera tellajo bestand, oo der cafes nahadond een char chees meera as mulche man jum baneed ta mia, as mulc. Room oo Arrac peeada geshta, as door der een mulc reseedam, che char hasar pharsang raw darad, beshare derd oo mohuet casheedam che heech ches der een dunnia een cader mohuet ne casheedast bray deedune mobarrec dedare Haseretet awn roos che be tactte shaugh ne shaughee musharaf fermoodand.

The English of it is this.

**This is the ordinarie title that is given him by all strangers.*

LOrd * Protector of the World, all haile to you: I am a poore Traveller and World-seer, which am come hither from a farre countrie, namely England, which ancient Historians thought to have beene situated in the farthest bounds of the West, and which is the Queene of

all the Ilands in the World. The cause of my comming hither is for foure respects. First, to see the blessed face of your Majestie, whose wonderfull fame hath resounded over all Europe, and the Mahometan Countries. When I heard of the fame of your Majestie, I hastened hither with speed, and travelled very cheerfully to see your glorious Court. Secondly, to see your Majesties Elephants, which kind of beasts I have not seene in any other Countrey. Thirdly, to see your famous River Ganges, which is the Captayne of all the Rivers of the World. The fourth is this, to entreate your Majestie that you would vouchsafe to grant me your gracious Passe, that I may travell into the Countrey of Tartaria to the Citie of Samarcand, to visit the blessed Sepulchre of the Lord of the Corners (this is a title that is given to Tamberlaine in this Countrie, in that Persian language: and whereas they call him Lord of the Corners, by that they meane, that he was Lord of the corners of the World, that is, the highest and supreme Monarch of the Universe:) whose fame, by reason of his Warres and Victories, is published over the whole World: perhaps hee is not altogether so famous in his owne countrey of Tartaria, as in England. Moreover, I have a great desire to see the blessed Tombe of the Lord of the Corners for this cause; for that when I was at Constantinople, I saw a notable old building in a pleasant Garden neare the said Citie, where the Christian Emperor that was called Emanuel, made a sumptuous great Banquet to the Lord of the Corners, after he had taken Sultan Bajazet, in a great battell that was fought neere the Citie of Brusia, where the Lord of the Corners bound Sultan Bajazet in fetters of gold, and put him in a Cage of yron. These foure causes moved me to come out of my native Countrey thus farre, having travelled afoote thorow Turkie and Persia, so farre have I traced the World into this Countrey, that my Pilgrimage hath accomplished three thousand miles, wherein I have sustayned much labour and toyle, the like whereof no mortall man in this World did ever performe, to see the blessed face of your

Majestie, since the first day that you were inaugurated in your glorious Monarchall Throne.

[I. iv. 599.] After I had ended my Speech, I had some short discourse with him in the Persian Tongue, who amongst other things told me, that concerning my travell to the Citie of Samarcand, he was not able to doe me any good, because there was no great amity betwixt the Tartarian Princes and himselfe, so that his commendatory Letters would doe me no good. Also he added, that the Tartars did so deadly hate all Christians, that they would certainly kill them when they came into their Country. So that he earnestly disswaded me from the journey, if I loved my life and well fare; at last, he concluded his discourse with me, by a summe of money, that he threw downe from a window, thorow which he looked out, into a sheet tied up by the foure corners, and hanging very neere the ground, an hundred pieces of silver, each worth two shillings sterling, which countervailed ten pounds of our English Money: this businesse I carried so secretly by the helpe of my Persian, that neither our English Ambassadour, nor any other of my Countrimen (saving one speciall, private, and intrinsicall friend) had the least inckling of it, till I had thoroughly accomplished my designe: for I well knew that our Ambassador would have stopped and barracadoed all my proceeding therein, if he might have had any notice thereof, as indeed hee signified unto me, after I had effected my project, alleaging this, forsooth, for his reason, why hee would have hindred me, because it would redound somewhat to the dishonour of our Nation, that one of our Countrey should present himselfe in that beggerly and poore fashion to the King, out of an insinuating humour, to crave Money of him: But I answered, our Ambassadour in that stout and resolute manner, after I had ended my businesse, that he was contented to cease nibling at me, never had I more need of Money in all my life, then at that time: for in truth I had but twentie shillings sterling left in my Purse, by reason of a mischance I had in one of the Turkes Cities called Emert, in

the Countrey of Mesopotamia, where a Miscreant Turke stripped me of almost all my Monies, according as I wrote unto you in a very large Letter the last yeare, which I sent from the Court of this mightie Monarch, by one of my Countrimen that went home by Sea in an English ship, laden with the Commodities of this India, which Letter, I hope, came to your hands long since. After I had beene with the King, I went to a certaine Noble and Generous Christian of the Armenian Race, two dayes journey from the Mogolls Court, to the end to observe certaine remarkeable matters in the same place, to whom, by meanes of my Persian Tongue, I was so welcome, that he entertayned me with very civill and courteous complement; and at my departure gave mee very bountifully twenty pieces of such kind of Money as the King had done before, countervailing fortie shillings sterling. About tenne dayes after that, I departed from Asmere, the Court of the Mogoll Prince, to the end to begin my Pilgrimage, after my long rest of fourteene Moneths, backe againe into Persia, at what time our Ambassadour gave mee a piece of Gold of this Kings Coyne worth foure and twentie shillings, which I will save (if it bee possible) till my arrivall in England: so that I have received for benevolences, since I came into this Countrey, twentie markes sterling, saving two shillings eight pence, and by the way, upon the confines of Persia, a little before I came into this Countrey, three and thirtie shillings foure pence in Persian Money, of my Ladie Sherley: at this present I have in the Citie of Agra, where-hence I wrote this Letter, about twelve pounds sterling, which according to my manner of living upon the way, at two pence sterling a day, (for with that proportion I can live pretty well, such is the cheapnesse of all eatable things in Asia, drinkable things costing nothing, for seldome doe I drinke in my Pilgrimage any other liquour then pure water) will maintaine me very competently three yeeres in my travell, with meate, drinke and cloathes. In this Çitie of Agra, where I am now, I am to remaine about sixe weekes longer, to the end to expect an

excellent opportunity, which then will offer it selfe unto me, to go to the famous River Ganges, about five dayes journey from this to see a memorable meeting of the gentle people of this Countrey, called Banians, whereof about foure hundred thousand people go thither of purpose to bathe and shave themselves in the River, and to sacrifice a world of Gold to the same River, partly in stamped Money and partly in massie great lumpes and wedges, throwing it into the River as a Sacrifice, and doing other strange Ceremonies most worthy the observation. Such a notable spectacle it is, that no part of all Asia, neither this which is called the great Asia, nor the lesser, which is now called Natolia, the like is to be seene; this shew doe they make once every yeare, comming thither from places almost a thousand miles off, and honour their River as their God, Creator and Saviour; Superstition and Impietie most abominable in the highest degree of these brutish Ethnicks, that are aliens from Christ and the Common-wealth of Israel. After I have seene this shew, I will with all expedition repaire to the Citie of Lahor, twentie dayes journey from this, and so into Persia, by the helpe of my blessed Christ, &c.

Your dutifull, loving and obedient Sonne, now
a desolate Pilgrime in the World,

THOMAS CORYATE.

[I. iv. 600.] ## Certaine Observations written by Thomas Coryat.

Jesuiticall Marianitie.

WHereas the Beggers begge in this Countrey of a Christian in the name of Bibee Maria, and not of Hazanet Eesa, thereby we may gather that the Jesuits have preached Mary more then Jesus.

Notable example of Atheisme.

A great Raja a Gentile, a notorious Atheist, and contemner of all Deitie, glorying to professe he knew no other God then the King, nor beleeving nor fearing none: sitting dallying with his women, one of them plucked a haire from his brest, which being fast rooted, plucked off a little of the

skinne, that bloud appeared; this small skarre festered and gangrened incurably, so that in few dayes he dispaired of life, and beeing accompanied with all his friends and divers Courtiers, he brake out into these excellent words: Which of you would not have thought that I being a man of Warre, should have dyed by the stroke of a Sword, Speare or Bow? but now I am inforced to confesse the power of that great God, whom I have so long dispised, that hee needs no other Lance then a little haire to kill so blasphemous a wretch, and contemner of his Majestie, as I have beene.

Ecbars jugling.

Ecbar Shaugh had learned all kind of Sorcery, who beeing once in a strange humour to shew a spectacle to his Nobles, brought forth his chiefest Queene, with a Sword cut off her head, and after the same perceiving the heavinesse and sorrow of them, for the death of her (as they thought) caused the head, by vertue of his Exorcismes and Conjunctions, to be set on againe, no signe appearing of any stroke with his Sword.

Wively fidelity.

Sultan Cursaroo hath but one Wife, for which one principall reason is, that during his imprisonment, the King intending to make a hunting Progresse of foure moneths, consulted how to keepe him safe in his absence; at last resolved to build a Towre, and immure him within it, without gate, doore or window, except some small holes to let in Ayre higher then he could come unto; putting in sorts of provision whatsoever, both fire, clothes, &c. with some servants to abide with him for that time. While this was building, his Wife came and fell at the Kings feete, and never would let goe till shee had obtayned leave to bee shut up with him: the King much perswading to enjoy her libertie; she utterly refused any other comfort, then to be the companion of her Husbands miseries; amongst which this was the greatest, that if any of those that were immured, beeing in number fiftie, should have dyed in the Kings absence, there was no meanes to burie them, for that no man was admitted to come neere the Towre.

Right and Rites about finding a Fountaine.

The Fountaine found the first day by one of my Lords people, Master Herbert, brother to Sir Edward Herbert, which if he had not done, he must have sent ten Course every day for water, to a River called Narbode, that falleth into the Bay of Cambaya at Buroch; the custome being such, that whatsoever Fountaine or Tanke is found by any great man in time of drought hee shall keepe it proper and peculiar to himselfe, without the interruption of any man whatsoever. The day after one of the Kings Haddys finding the same, and striving for it, was taken by my Lords people, and bound all, &c. a great controversie being about it, &c.

Charitie of Moores.

Remember the Charitie of two great men, that in the time of this great drought, were at the charge of sending ten Camels with twentie persons every day to the said River for water, and did distribute the water to the poore, which was so deare, that they sold a little skinne for eight Pise.

Ecbars pietie.

Ecbar Shaugh, a very fortunate Prince and pious to his Mother: his pietie appearing in this particular, that when his Mother was carried once in a Palankeen betwixt Lahor and Agra, he travelling with her, tooke the Palankeen upon his owne shoulders, commanding his greatest Nobles to doe the like, and so carried her over the River from one side to the other, and never denyed her any thing, but this, that shee demanded of him, that our Bible might be hanged about an Asses necke, and beaten about the Towne of Agra, for that the Portugals having taken a ship of theirs at Sea, in which was found the Alcoran amongst the Moores, tyed it about the necke of a Dogge, and beat the same Dogge about the Towne of Ormuz: but hee denyed her request, saying, That if it were ill in the Portugals to doe so to the Alcoran, being it became not a King to requite ill with ill, for that the contempt of any Religion, was the contempt of God, and he would not be revenged upon an innocent Booke: the morall being, that God would not suffer the sacred Booke of his Truth to be contemned amongst the Infidels.

Notable sentence.

One day in the yeere, for the solace of the Kings Women, all the Trades-mens Wives enter the Mohal with some-what to sell, in manner of a Faire, where the King is Broker for his Women, and with his gaines that night makes his supper, no man present, (observe that whatsoever is brought in of virill shape, as instance in Reddishes, so great is the jealousie, and so frequent the wickednesse of this people, that they are cut and jagged for feare of converting the same to some unnaturall abuse) by this meanes hee attaines to the sight of all the prettie Wenches of the Towne: at such a kind of Faire he got his beloved Normahal. *Profligate lust.*

After Shaof Freed had wonne the Battle of Lahor by a stratagem, the Captaines being taken by the King, and hanged upon Flesh-hookes and Stakes, made an entrance for the King to Lahor, his sonne Cursaroo being then taken Prisoner, and riding bare-footed upon an Elephant; his Father demanded him how hee liked that Spectacle of his valiant and faithfull Captaines hanging in that manner, to the number of two thousand: hee answered him, that hee was sorrie to see so much Crueltie and Injustice in his Father, in executing them that had done nothing but their dutie; for that they lived upon his Bread and Salt: but hee should have done right if hee had saved them, and punished him which was their Master, and the Author of the Rebellion. [I. iv. 601.] *Apophthegmes.*

For more cleere declaration of this excellent vertue upbraiding the coldnesse of our Charitie, you shall understand a custome of this King, who sleeping in his Guslecan, often when hee awakes in the night, his great men (except those that watch) being retired, cals for certaine poore and olde men, making them sit by him, with many questions and familiar speeches passing the time, and at their departure cloathes them, and gives them bountifull Almes often, whatsoever they demand, telling the money into their hands. *The Kings externall charity. Hee had added heere of the Kings respect to two-fold Darvises which you have before in Sir T. Roe.*

For a close of this Discourse, I cannot forget that memorable Pietie, when at Asmere hee went afoot to the

Tombe of the Prophet Hod. Mundin there buried, and kindling a fire with his owne hands, and his Normahal, under that immense and Heidelbergian-æquipollent Brasse-pot, and made Kitcherie for five thousand poore, taking out the first Platter with his owne hands, and serving one; Normahal the second, and so his Ladies all the rest. Cracke mee this Nut, all the Papall Charitie vaunters.

The King likes not shifters of Religion.

An Armenian desirous to turne Moore, procured a Noble-man to bring him to the King, whom the King asked why hee turned Moore, whether for preferment? hee answered No. Some few Monethes after craving some courtesie of the King, hee denyed it him, saying, That hee had done him the greatest favour that could bee, to let him save his soule, but for his bodie hee himselfe should provide as well as he could.

The King likes not those that change their Religion, hee himselfe beeing of none but of his owne making, and therefore suffers all Religions in his Kingdome. Which by this notable example I can make manifest: The King had a Servant that was an Armenian, by name Scander; to whom upon occasion of speech of Religion, the King asked if hee thought either hee or the Padres had converted one Moore to bee a true Christian, and that was so for conscience sake, and not for money: who answered with great confidence, That hee had one which was a perfect Christian, and for no worldly respect would bee other, whom the King caused presently to bee sent for: and bidding his Master depart, demanded why hee was become a Christian, who rendred certaine feeble, implicite, Jesuiticall Reasons, and avowed that hee would never be other: whereupon the King practised by faire speeches and large promises, to withdraw him to the folly of Mahomet, offering him Pensions, meanes, and command of Horse, telling him hee had now but foure Rupias a Moneth Wages, which was a poore Reward for quitting his præpuced faith: but if hee would recant, hee would heape upon him many Dignities: the Fellow answering, it was not for so small Wages hee became Christian, for hee had limbes, and

could earne so much of any Mahometan, but that hee was a Christian in his heart, and would not alter it. This way not taking effect, the King turned to threatnings, and menacings of Tortures and Whippings; but the Proselyte manfully resolving to suffer any thing, answered, hee was readie to endure the Kings pleasure. Upon this resolution, when all men expected present and severe castigation, the King changed his tune, highly commending his constancie and honestie, bidding him goe and returne to his Master, and to serve him faithfully and truely, giving him a Rupia a day Pension for his Integritie. About two Monethes after, the King having beene a hunting of wild Hogges, a beast odious to all Moores, and accustomed to distribute that sort of Venison among Christians and Razbootes, sent for this Armenian, Master of this converted Catechumen or Mahometan, to come and fetch part of his Quarrie. The Armenian not beeing at home, this his principall Servant came to know the Kings pleasure, who commanded him to take up a Hogge for his Master, which no Moore will touch; which hee did, and being gone out of the Court-gate, was so hooted at by the Mahometans, that hee threw downe his Present in a Ditch, and went home, concealing from his Master what had passed. About foure dayes after the Armenian comming to his watch, the King demanded of him whether the Hogge he sent him were good meat or no; who replyed, hee neyther heard of, nor see any Hogge: whereat the King remembring to whom this Hogge was delivered, caused the fellow to be sent for, and examining the matter, had it confessed how he threw away the Hogge, and never carryed it home: the King pressing to know the reason, the poore fellow answered how he was mocked for touching it, and it being a thing odious to the Moores, for shame he threw it away: at which he replyed, By your law there is no difference of meats, and are you ashamed of your lawes? or to flatter the Mahumetans, doe you in outward things forsake it? now I see, thou art neither good Christian, nor good Mahumetan, but a dissembling knave with [I. iv. 602.]

both, while I found thee sincere, I gave thee a pension, which now I take from thee, and for thy dissimulation doe command thee to have a hundred stripes, which were presently given him in stead of his money, and bade all men by his example take heed, that seeing hee gave libertie to all Religions, that which they choose and professe, they may sticke unto.

I had thought at first to have finished all these Indian Voyages in this fourth Booke: but perceiving it to grow into such greatnesse, and withall such great alterations as the Turkish Trade at Moha, and especially the Persian at Jasques, have caused in the English Trade, with the contrary Attempts of the Portugals, and chiefly the Dutch, (before no good Friends, and there the worst of Enemies) to the English-Indian Trade; I thought fit to make thereof a fifth Booke.

Navigations, Voyages,

Traffiques, Discoveries, of the English Nation in the Easterne Parts of the World:

Continuing the English-Indian Occurrents, and contayning the English Affaires with the Great Samorine, in the Persian and Arabian Gulfes, and in other places of the Continent, and Ilands of and beyond the Indies: the Portugall Attempts, and Dutch Disasters, divers Sea-fights with both; and many other remarkable Relations.

THE FIFTH BOOKE.

Chap. I.

Memorialls taken out of the Journall of Roger Hawes, touching the proceedings of the Factory at Cranganor under the Great Samorine.

THe Generall of this Fleet was Captaine William Keeling in the Dragon; Robert Boner Master: Captaine Christopher Harris in the Peppercorne: Captaine William Payton * in the Expedition.

The fourth of March 1615. we chased a Portugall Frigat, which ranne into a creeke and escaped us: and we

**You have his Journall before.*

making our way on towards Cape Coromine, there came a Tony aboord us with Messengers from the Samorine to the Generall.

The next day the Governour sent a Present, and entreated the Generall to go to Cranganor, which the day after we did, and the chiefe men sent from the Samorine: the Generall was desired to come ashoare to speake with him, but in the going, certaine Frigats came and anchored neare the shoare, and caused him to goe aboord the Expedition. Some shots passed, but little hurt.

On the eight, the Generall went ashoare with Master Barkley, Cape Merchant, and others, where they received kind usage, and concluded to settle a Factory. The Articles agreed on, were these:

UNderecon Cheete, the Great Samorine, &c. To James by the Grace of God, King of Great Britaine, &c. Whereas your Servant and Subject William Keeling Esquire, arrived in my Kingdome in the moneth of March, Anno 1615. with three English ships at the Port of Cranganor, in latitude ten degrees fifteene minutes, and at my earnest sollicitation came ashoare to see me: there was concluded by me for my part, and by him for the English Nation, as followeth.

[I. v. 604.] As I have beene ever an enemie to the Portugals, so doe I purpose to continue for ever: I doe hereby faithfully promise to be and continue a friend to the English, and my Successors after mee: to endeavour the taking in of the Fort of Cranganor, and to possesse the English thereof, as their owne, with the Iland thereof, which is in length on the Sea-coast nine miles, and in breadth three.

March 4. 1615. Cranganor Castle and Iland promised to the English.

Provided, that I purpose to build therein a house for some of my owne people, to the number of one hundred persons.

Cochin promised, and covenanted to be given to the English.

I will also endeavour, with the ayde of the English, hereafter to take in the Fort and Towne of Cochin, belonging formerly to my Crowne and Kingdome, and then to deliver it into the possession of the English, as their

owne proper lands and possessions: Provided, that the charge of the surprize be equally borne, the one halfe by my selfe, the other by the English Nation: and the benefit of the spoyles thereof, in whatsoever qualitie, the one halfe to belong to me, the other halfe to the English Nation.

The Samorine to have no right, title or interest in the aforesaid Towne, Precincts, or appurtenances of Cochin at all.

And the Samorine doth also covenant for himselfe, his Heires and Successors, that the whole Trade of the English, in whatsoever commodities brought in, or carryed out, shall pay, yeeld or allow no manner of custome, imposition, taxe, toll, or any other duty of whatsoever qualitie.

And to these Covenants, which the shortnesse of time did not permit to amplifie: I the Samorine have religiously sworne by the great God I serve, to performe accordingly, and that not only for my selfe, but for my Successours after me: and in witnesse hereof, have laid my hand upon this writing.

And the said William Keeling doth promise to acquaint the Kings Majestie with the premisses, and to endeavour his Majesties undertaking thereof accordingly.

A Stocke was made, as the State present permitted, and three Factors appointed, George Woolman chiefe, Peter Needham, one of the Generalls servants, second; my selfe (Roger Hawes) third, Edward Peake, a Youth attendant, and to learne the language; and John Stamford a Gunner, to assist the Samorine, if need required in his warres. On the tenth, the ships departed, leaving us in a shrambe at the waters side, with our goods and a Present for the Samorine, where wee continued till the thirteenth, at which time the last of our goods were carryed to the Samorines Castle: whom thus possessed of our goods, we much suspected.

On the twentieth, hee would needs see Master Woolll-

mans Trunke, supposing wee had store of money (Needham had told him wee had five hundred Ryalls of eight) and finding little above fiftie Ryalls, he would needs borrow fifty, which wee could not deny him, and offered a pawne not worth halfe, which we refused to take, hoping after this money lent hee would permit us to depart for Calicut, but found delayes. He also urged us to give his brother a Present.

On the eight and twentieth, he came up into the Chamber where we were, and gave Master Woollman two Goldrings, and to every of the rest one: and the next day called us to the sight of his tumbling sports. The same night Stamford went out with his sword in his hand, telling the Boy hee would come againe presently, and the next newes we heard of him, was that hee was met with by the King of Cochins Nayros, having lost himselfe (being drunke) they demanded whither he would go, he said to the Samorines, whither they undertooke to bring him, and hee knew not himselfe betrayed till he came at Cochin. This put us in great feare, but the Samorine gave us good words, saying, he had rather now find him a knave, then when hee should have put trust in him.

Stamford a drunken foole, or a false knave.

In Aprill, we got liberty to depart with our goods for Calicut, where the two and twentieth we arrived, and were kindly entertained: but were faine to stay in the Custome-house, till wee might get a more convenient house, which was made ready for us the sixt of May, with promise of a better after the Raines. Faine would we, according to the Generall his order, have sent a messenger with his and our Letters to Surat, to acquaint our Countrimen with our being heere: but the Governour would not consent till wee had sold our goods, for their better encouragement.

On the eighteenth, one was sent. Part of the goods were sold by the Governours procurement, to the Merchants at Calicut, soone after on the six and twentieth, and faire promises of part of payment shortly; but it is not the custome of best or worst in this countrey, to be as good as their word, being certaine only in dissembling.

Perfidious people.

Master Woollman was desirous to go to Nassapore to make sale, but the Governour put him off with divers shifts from time to time.

The third of July, the messenger sent for Surat returned with reports, that being well onward on his way, hee was set upon, beaten, his money and Letters taken from him: amongst which was a letter of Generall Keeling to the next Generall, which grieved us, suspecting yet he was robbed with his owne consent, and of his honesty only. A Broker of Nassapore told Master Needham that they were sold to the Portugalls; the Governour hearing of it, and hanging downe his head, as guilty therein. We sold goods heere to Merchants of Nassapore. *July* 3. *Nassapore.*

The seventeenth of August, Master Woollman dyed. Our promised money we could not get, and our Broker told us, that some one of the debters would goe to the Governour, and with a bribe procure respite, the rest refusing till they paid all. *August* 17.

On the foure and twentieth, the Samorines sister sent us word, she would both cause them to pay, and lend us any money we needed: but we found her as the rest. The Queene Mother also made us faire shewes. Divers likewise promised to convey letters to Surat for us, but with words as divers from the event, and adverse to all truth. [I. v. 605.]

Master Needham thus wronged, further wronged himselfe by indiscretion, threatning hee would be gone to the King of Cochin, in preference of a Nayro appointed to attend us, who discovered the same; and he added yet further, to put him in feare with making shew of violent revenge, as he did also to a Scrivano (which is a Justice with us) taking him by the throate, and making as though he would have striken him with his sword, for detaining money he had received for us. Our Broker also told him, it was not Merchant-like to go up and downe the Towne with a sword and buckler: his carriage and habite resembling those, which here we call Roaring-boyes, rather then Merchants, notwithstanding, my admonition, which was

requited with ill language to my selfe, and accompanyed with abuses of his owne selfe and the Companyes affaires.

September 23. Hollanders at Calicut. The three and twentieth of September, a Holland ship, which had traded at Mecca, came to this Port, with purpose of setling a Factory, which were by the Governour appointed to go to the King, and promised to carry us a letter, but went without it. And heere dallying and delaying continued. Whereupon the fourth of November, Master Needham went to the Samorine, and returned the five and twentieth, having had a Gold-chaine bestowed on him, a Jewell and a Gold-ring to weare on his arme, with orders also from the King to effect our designes. But the performance halted.

December 20. The twentieth of December, a Malabar Captaine had taken prize of the Portugals, and would have traded with us, but we could not get in our monies due long before. We heard also the same day of foure English ships at Surat. But the Governour and people continuing their wonted perfidiousnesse, the one more carefull of taking, the other of giving, bribes, then paying our debts: we used a strange policie to get some of them: for when wee came to demand them at their houses, if they would pay us none, we would threaten not to depart till they paid us. And we had heard it reported that their custome is, neither to eat nor wash, whiles we are in their houses. By this meanes we sometimes got fiftie Fanos of one, one hundred of another; by no meanes would they endure us to lie at their houses, except one, where we waited three daies and nights, with three or foure Nayros: they had for their watch of them, but we could get nothing. The Nayro, whom the King had appointed to get in our debts, came to demand a gratuitie of us, yet got in nothing: yea, he would go to the debters houses, and take three or foure Fanos of each, and then depart without the money.

Strange policie, strong superstition.

January 9. A dangerous fray. The ninth of January, Master Needham going to demand a debt, a Nayro, as he said, would not suffer him to passe, and being put by with his hand strucke him;

whereupon he gave the Nayro a dangerous wound in the head, which it was thought he would not recover; other Moores being hurt in taking his part. And word was presently brought to us, to shut up our doores, lest the Nayros should assemble to doe us some mischiefe (feuds or kindred-quarrels and murders being rife amongst them, without other law to right themselves.) Our Nayro with his kindred did guard him home, to the number of thirty, with pikes, and swords, and bucklers, in his defence, whom he could not but gratifie. Our house was guarded three or foure nights and dayes, none of us daring to go into the Towne for money or other businesse (which before we did very safely) for a weeke: and then our Broker willed us not to goe without a Nayro, for that they had sworne the death of one of us, in revenge of him that was killed.

Fight with the Portugals and Nayros.

The twentieth, the Portugall Armada of foure and thirty saile passed by from the South, whereof foureteene ships, the rest Frigats: they put into the Harbour, where three Frigats lay at anchor; a hot fight followed, but the Portugals went away with disgrace, having onely cut one of the Frigats halfes, which drove ashoare and broke in pieces, belonging to the Governour, who was well served, keeping in the countrey, and keeping foure or five great peeces, which were at his disposing, in the Towne, locked up, all save one: neither had they powder and shot for above two shot. Before the fight was ended, some foure thousand Nayros were come downe; divers were slaine on both sides. Nine or ten Portugals were driven ashoare, and two or three of the chiefe presently hanged by the heeles two dayes, and then being taken downe, the night following were devoured by wilde beasts.

The eight and twentieth, a Pattemar told that the Governour was friend to us only in shew, wishing the Portugalls in our roome; for we did no good in the Countrey, but brought wares which they were forced to buy, whereas they caused good by trading.

The eight of February, we received Letters from Surat.

The fourth of March, wee received Letters from the King, wishing us, if our ships came, to come with them to Panean, and for our moneyes not to trouble our selves, for he would pay us, though he sold his Rings.

[I. v. 606.]

Chap. II.

Notes taken out of the Journall of Alexander Childe, from England to Surat, and thence to Jasques in Persia, and of the fight by the way with the Portugals, in which Generall Joseph was slaine.

June 13. 14. 15. 1616. THe thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth of June 1616. after our arrivall at Soldania, we made merry one with another, glad of our meeting there with Captaine Newport, homewards bound. We found heere good watering, but little refreshing else, save fresh-fish for our sicke men: the Blackes brought us nothing.

August 1. The first of August, we fell with the maine, the place called Boobam in sixteen degrees, five and thirty minutes South latitude: variation thirteene degrees, twelve minutes.

Fight with the Portugals Carricke. The sixt, we descried a saile, the Admirall of the Carricks that went this yeere from Lisbone. The Globe sailing better then the rest of the Fleet, first came up to her, and the Carrick presently gave her a whole broad side, shot divers shoots thorow the ship, and hurt a man or two, which caused her to fall asterne, and stand in with the Generall and the rest of the Fleet, shewing us of the Portugals discourtesie. When our Generall came up with the Carrick, he sent his Shallop aboord her to know of the Captaine, why hee shot at his friend, and to entreate him to come aboord to make satisfaction for the wrong done. But he sent the Boatswaine aboord the Generall, who told him directly that he would not come aboord, nor give

satisfaction: who thereupon having sent his man aboord, began the fight, which continued an houre and halfe. But within lesse then an houre, an unluckie shot came from the Carrick, and slew our worthy Generall. Then did the Admirall presently fall off, and put abroad a flagge of Councell, where comming aboord, wee found to our griefe his body mangled with a Culverine shot, and himselfe suddenly departed.

Captaine Benjamin Joseph slaine.

We kept company with the Carricke till sixe the next morning, and it proved under the Iland Moyella, calme, that we were forced to anchor by meanes of a pretie strong current setting to the South, and passed the whole day in making our ships ready for fight. I tooke out my long Boat and Pinnasse out of my shippe, and mounted the rest of my Ordnance, and kept the Carricke company all the next night.

Captaine Pepwell succeeds in place and fight.

The eight, about seven in the morning, our Generall, Captaine Pepwell, seeing hee could not fetch her up so soone as he desired, called to me, whose ship went better, and gave mee leave to have the first onset. I came up and gave him three or foure broad-sides: and in the meane time the Generall came up, and I gave place; the Vice-Admirall also and the Globe one after another; and thus we fought all day. Betweene three and foure in the afternoone, his maine mast fell over-boord, and presently his Foretop-mast followed: at five we gave him over within lesse then a league of the shoare, being a Lee-shoare, and a great sea. The Ilands name is Comora, very steepe to an hundred fathome, within lesse then a Cables length of the Rockes, and no ground: so we stood off and on all that night. The Generall was sorely wounded on the face with splinters from a great shot in his halfe deck, and Richard Hounsell the Master, was hurt in his arme, another had his head shot away, and divers others were hurt: I lost two men. The Generall in the evening sent Master Connock, Cape Merchant, to the Captaine of the Carricke, that if hee would yeeld, he should have good quarter, and be sent to Goa in safetie: his answere was, he

Comora.

Captain Pepwel, and others wounded, divers slaine.

neither would nor could: but if we could winne him with the sword, hee must be contented, and hoped to find honorable warres with us, if wee tooke him. At twelve in the night shee was aground betweene two rockes very steepe, and set on fire, whether accidentally or wilfully wee cannot tell.

The Carricke fired, reade more hereof in Sir Thomas Roe.

The ninth, in the morning I sent Master Anthony Fugars, my mate, ashoare in my long Boat to see if any men were saved, and to take in some of them, to know how shee came on fire: but the Carricke was still burning, and not a Man of hers to bee seene. There were many Blackes of the Iland on the land against the Carrick, and they put out a flagge of truce for my men to come ashoare, but there was no landing in that place, nor within three leagues to the East or West, the rockes being steepe, and as high as our mayne Top-mast.

Refreshing at Comora.

The tenth, we bare about the South-west part of the Iland, and anchored in two and twenty fathome water with one, and another I laid out in fourteene, against a Towne called Mattonia, the people promising Beeves and all that the Iland did afford; but we were frustrate of our hopes, till at last with much adoe we bought nine Beeves, some Goats, Hennes, Lemons, Plantans and Coco-nuts; and I perswade my selfe they are very treacherous.

September 24. Tomas Kerridge, he is now this June 1622. returned home. [I. v. 607.]

The foure and twentieth of September, wee plyed up to Swally Road, there anchored, and brought the Merchants aboord the Generall, the principall Factours name was Thomas Kerridge.

The Voyage to Jasques.

November 5.

THe fifth of November, I went over the Barre of Swally, bound for Jasques in Persia. The tenth, the Iland of Diu did beare North from us three leagues distant. The eleventh, latitude twentie degr. twelve min. I sent my long Boat and Pinnasse, thinking to have spoken with a Fisher-man, and they found him a man of warre, and seven or eight in the Pinnasse were hurt with their arrowes, the long Boat not able to succour them.

The two and twentieth, wee were in latitude foure and twenty degrees, ten minutes, variation eighteene degrees from North to West. This day wee saw the Land of Goudel North and East, nine or ten leagues distant. *Goudel.* When you are within five leagues of the shoare, you shall see the Cliffes whitish, like the Forland in most places.

The five and twentieth, in foure and twentie degrees, seven and fortie minutes, we were off a ragged mouldy Land, called by the Portugals Sete Setheayes, by us the seven Cities, shewing like seven Castles, standing a league from each other, the highest like a walled City, and lyeth West North-west from Cape Goudel sixe and twentie leagues, you may see it fourteene or fifteene leagues off, like Ilands, and may runne within a league of the shoare, in ten or twentie fathome, within a mile soft Ozie ground without danger: Variation, eighteene degrees, I found no Current out or in.

On the seven and twentieth, latitude five and twenty degrees, two minutes: variation eighteene degrees, thirty minutes land, as before.

The first of December, we stood off with the Persian shoare, having been put over on the Coast of Arabia, with a North-west and North North-west wind, we had much raine divers dayes: and on the second at night, we anchored five or sixe leagues to the West of Jasques, in two and twenty fathome Ozie ground. *December* 1.

The next I rode still, and sent the Pinnasse to see if they could speake with any people, but they could see no mention of any. At three of the clocke I set saile, and stood toward the Cape about a league, and anchored in eleven fathome Ozie ground. *Cape of Jasques.*

The fourth, I sent my chiefe Mate with the Frigat and Pinnasse, to see if hee could discover the Road of Jasques; but before he came ashoare, the Governour of the place, seeing us lye off and in with the shoare, sent a Fisher-boat to them, and they returned aboord with her. After some conference, wee sent Master Bell ashoare to the Governour, with his man and a Guzerat, to his

Castle, a little mile from the waters side, with a Present, to sound what welcome: I kept two of their men for a pawne.

The fift, I weighed and went two leagues neerer the shoare, and anchored within a league of it, in five fathome at low water, tough Ozie ground, and a faire Bay. There runs no streame, but it flowes a fathome in the spring, and three or foure foot otherwise: a South-east and by East Moone makes high water. The Eastermost low point hath a Pagod or Meskite on it, and the Fisher-towne did beare North-east, in latitude five and twentie degrees, five and thirtie minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Diu ten degrees, fortie minutes West, and the Variation nineteene degrees, twenty minutes, from North to West, M. Bell returned with two of the Governours Souldiers, commending his entertaynment, and promised welcome to us.

The eight, M. Conock our Cape Merchant went ashoare, with M. Barker, and two other Factors, and returned at night with like newes.

The seventh, the Purser bought us foure Beeves and Goates, not fat at that time of the yeere, but such as gave us content.

Mogustan. The tenth, our Merchants went ashoare with their baggage, for their journey to Mogustan, and on the twelfth tooke their way thither.

The thirteenth, I sent the Boat and Pinnasse to fetch water: the country-people that brought it downe, had after foure shillings English-money the tunne: it was *Rain scarce.* raine-water (for they have no other) it raines but little in December, but in January it will raine sixe or seven dayes together, that it fils all their Cisternes and places of provision for the whole yeere following. I take it not wholesome being full of small wormes, that we were faine to straine our beverage.

The sixteenth, I sent my Mate about Ballast, wherein they found them unreasonable. I sent the Pinnasse to the Eastermost low point, for stones for Ballast. It is

the worthiest place for fish in all the Indies. They laded eighteene or twentie tunne of Ballast. *Fish & Ballast.*

On the nineteenth, we received a Letter from M. Connock, halfe on-ward of his way to Mogustan, of their peaceable travell.

The first of January I received a Letter from Jasques, which came from our Merchants, & made us glad. On the fifth, M. Connock would have had me gone with the ship to a place called Costake within seven leagues over against Ormus, whereto I was loath to yeeld, being out of season of the yeere. The next day they talked of Piloting the ship to Sireck; but I was the same man. The Merchants reported that they hoped it would be a good place of Trade, and in time, as good as any in India. The Pilot confessed it was dangerous then to carry the ship to Sireck, it was so foule, stormie, and a lee shoare, the sea high, anchorage unsure, and Master Connock seeing the storme we there abode, so extreme, altered his mind, and speeded to land the goods at Jasques. *January* 1. *Costake.* *Sireck.* *Persian Trade hopefull.* [I. v. 608.]

The twentieth, I set saile from the Road of Jasques: and the eight of Februarie, at ten of the clocke, wee anchored in Swally Road.

Chap. III.

A Letter of Master Thomas Spurway, Merchant, touching the wrongs done at Banda to the English by the Hollanders (the former unkind disgusts and brabling quarrels breaking now out into a furious, unexpected, injurious warre) Written in a Letter to the Companie.

Laus Deo in Bantam, the twentieth of November, 1617.

Honourable and Right Worshipfull, my humble dutie alwayes remembred, And may it please you to understand, &c.

The beginning of this Letter was torne, and therefore as that, so this, a little imperfect: but what is here defective, hereafter you shall find supplied in Master Nathaniel Corthops relation, with the continuation of these Bandan affairs, and Dutch insolencies, in him, Master Haies and others. This I thought good to premise, as in time, so in cause preced-

THe nineteenth of November 1616. wee arrived at Moccasor, the Swan and the Defence, where we stayed to take in one hundred quoynes of Rice. In the time of our being there, and the fourth of December, we discried off at sea, a great ship, and comming at an anchor five leagues off. The fift dicto, they sent their skiffe ashoare, making directly to the English house, having eight men in her, which, as soone as wee perceived, wee ran to the sea side, and before we could come to them, two of their men were landed; so wee acquainted them with the danger they were runne into; for that the King of Moccasor, and all the Kings there-abouts, were their mortall enemies, in regard of the many abuses their people the Hollanders had done unto them, and that lately the Hollanders had carried away a principall Sabander, and others of Moccasor perforce, and therefore would be revenged; also acquainted them, that if the King were not the more mercifull, they were all dead men: so they would presently have gone into their skiffe. But the Moccasors flocking about us, layed hands on them; I presently, the Factor, and other English rode post unto the King,

acquainting him what had happened, wee having a Guard of English neere the Hollanders for our better discharge, that the King might not conceive amisse of us, and that we were not accessarie to any treacherie that they might pretend. The King gave us thankes, and willed us to take these two men which were come on land, into the English house, and to learne of them their intent in comming thither, which we did. They said they were of the Fleet lately from Holland, having lost the rest of their consorts, and fell with the backside of Java: The one called John Stanch under-Merchant, as hee reported; The other an English man a Sayler: who perceiving the great danger they were in, desired us most earnestly, that wee would stand their friends, and get them free againe, bewayling their hard happe; we promised to doe our best for their good, and so to be gone. Presently comes the King of Moccasor, the King of Tallow, and divers others, to the number of two thousand men presently levied, and came by the sea side upon the sands, and sate in counsell upon these men: the King of Tallow would have had them all killed, but wee used our best meanes for their freedome. At last command was given, they should into their boat and be gone, the King saying, they were too small a revenge, he expecting a greater, so they departed into their ship. They had all beene presently killed, if wee had not beene.

ing the fights in the ensuing Voyages mentioned.

The King of Moccasor, and all the Kings thereabouts mortal enemies to the Flemmings. Novemb. 7.

Two Hollanders land at Moccasor.

The King of Moccasor levieth two thousand men.

The English procure the life of the Hollanders.

The next day, wee perceived another boat comming towards land from the same ship; the King having notice thereof by his people, presently commanded twentie Prawes and Corre-corries to be manned, and to goe forth, which was on an instant effected, and made towards the Hollanders boat, the Hollanders still rowing in for the shoare, and directly to the English house: the Prawes and the Correcorries still edging neere the boat, betweene the shoare and them. The Hollanders perceiving their intent, turned their boat, and made toward their ship againe, being foure leagues off, but it was too late, for the Moccasors in short time had fetcht them up, and boorded their

The Hollanders attempted to land againe at Moccasor, whom the Moccasorians intercepted, slew them all, being sixteene.

boat on each side, entred, and instantly killed every man of the Hollanders, being in number sixteene, and brought away their boat: wee were that time commanded to keepe house. There were about that time neere five thousand people on the sea side. This Holland-ship called the Indrought, imagining us bound for the Moluccas, or Banda, stayed off at sea.

The English courteous to the Hollanders, going towards Banda.

Wee set sayle out of Moccasor Road the eighth of December, 1616. The said Holland-ship seeing us under sayle, they also weighed and kept us companie: wee would gladly have gone from them, but could not, in regard of the Defence her bad sayling. They sent their boat aboord of us, desiring two quoynes of Rice, foure tunnes of water and hennes, all which wee spared them, paying onely fortie Rials of eight for two quoynes of Rice: the rest wee gave unto them. Wee demanded of them why they would attempt to come to land at Moccasor, they said that their first boat was not then returned unto their ship, so they thought their factorie had still beene there: but I verily beleeve, it was their obstinate boldnesse, and presuming that their first boat was denied onely upon the instigation of us the English, wherefore they would make triall againe, purposing to have flattered the King, and to have come there againe, and to have setled a Factorie, and so to have hindered the English: for it is a manifest token of such a project, both of their boats comming by our ships, and within Musket shot, yet would not come aboord to inquire what newes on shoare, as they went on shoareward, which if they had, wee could have fore-warned them of that danger. So now their obstinacie and rash proceedings purchased them a just reward, &c. They kept us companie untill wee came neere Ambina, and so stood in for that place, wee standing our course. Now, since wee understand that they have reported, that wee were the occasion that their men were killed at Moccasor, which is most false: for, I protest, wee used our best meanes to free them, the first eight men had else also died.

[I. v. 609.]

The Hollanders slander us.

The thirteenth of December, 1616. the Swan and Defence arrived in the Road of Polaroone. The fourteenth dicto, the people of the said Iland came aboord the ships with whom we had conference about the surrendring of their Iland of Polaroone. Also our Nation had many times beene at their Iland to our great charges, and partly upon their requests, to settle a Factorie, and to have friendly trade with them, in bringing them commodities, as Rice, Cloth, and other provisions for their Spices, and that we desired not to usurpe, and bring them in subjection, or bondage, as the Hollanders, and other Nations have formerly; and that wee now came to settle a factorie, if they would surrender their Ilands of Polaroone, unto our Kings Majestie of England by writing: also by delivering earth, with a tree and fruits of the said Iland, as true token of their fidelitie, and so every yeare a nut-tree in remembrance, and in so doing, wee would furnish them with Rice, and Cloth, and other commodities, for present and also yeerly. And being setled on the said Iland of Polaroone, sufficient supplies should come every yeere in better manner then now at present, and that we would to the uttermost of our powers, with our men and shippes, defend them against any their enemies, if they came to doe us or them wrong. Wee also demanded of them, whether they had made any contract with the Hollanders, and given them any surrender; they all replied, they had not, nor never would: but held them as mortall enemies, confessing and averring unto us (both Polaroone men and divers of the principals, which once lived upon Polaway and fled to Polaroone upon the Hollanders comming there, and getting it by force of Armes.) They doe all still averre, and doe maintaine the Iland of Polaway to belong unto our Kings Majestie of England, by a lawfull surrender unto Richard Hunt, before the Hollanders came into the Road, and caused the English Colours to be set up in the Castle, which the Hollanders shot downe severall times, and used many disgracefull words of his Majestie. This the Bandaneses doe still confirme, and that they did

Surrender of Polaroone. For their sollicitation of the English to this trade, see Milwards Journall, also Capp. Keelings, Middletons, &c.

The men of Polaroone and Polaway protest that they nor had, nor would make contract with the Hollander. Polaway was delivered over to the English before the Hollanders came into their road. The Bandaneses desire to have the English Colours set up.

defend it, as long as possibly they could, to his Majesties use, untill perforce they must leave the said Iland, and so fled to Polaroone, Lantor, and Serran.

This Councell continued all the day, and so concluded: the writings being drawne and confirmed by the principals of Polaroone and Polaway, and so delivered by their owne hands unto us, viz. Nathaniel Corthop, Thomas Spurway, and Sophonie Cozocke, to his Majesties use. Also the same instant delivered us a Nutmeg-tree with the fruits thereon in the Earth, with other fruits, and a living Goat: and further, desired to have the English Colours set up upon the Iland, and to have Gunnes shot off. All which was presently effected, the Colours set up, and sixe and thirtie peeces of Ordnance shot off: and so at night they parted in friendly manner, repayring to the shoare.

Hollanders invade Polaroone with bravados and bloudie Ancients.

The five and twentieth of December being Christmas day, we discovered two great Holland ships edging neere Polaroone. They discovering our ships in the Road bore roome for Nero: and the six and twentieth another did the like. The eight and twentieth, another Holland Pinnasse standing right over for Polaroone, came braving within shot of our Fort, having the Flemmish Colours on the poope, and presently tacked about, and taking them downe, sets up in lieu thereof a bloudie Ancient, and stands over for Nero. By this we expected their comming daily, according to their old custome of injuring us.

The English fortifie.

On the thirtieth, we landed foure Peeces of Ordnance, besides two other on Christmas day, and went to worke to fortifie for our defence. And with the helpe of the Bandaneses we made two Forts, one called the Swan-Fort, the other the Defence-Fort, and mounted on each three Peeces. The Swans Fort is within Caliver shot of the ships, commands the Road at pleasure to the Easterne side, where the principall Road is for the Westerly Monson.

Holland ships approch to our ships at Polaroone.

The third of Januarie there came into the Road three Holland ships from Nero, the Horne, of eight hundred

tunnes; the Starre, five hundred; the Yaugar, one hundred and sixtie: which came to anchor close by our ships; the Horne by the Swan, the Starre by the Defence, the Yaugar a head of all to cut off supplie from the shoare: all these ships full of men, &c.

Now our commission directed us that having received the surrender, and setled at Polaroone, we should give notice unto the Hollanders thereof by writing, that they should not come there to molest us, as formerly they were accustomed, pretending ignorance. A Letter to the same effect we had readie written, but could not tell how to convey it to them, not daring to send English or Bandaneses for feare of detention. These ships therefore comming into the Road wee sent George Muschamp aboord their Admirall the Starre, and hee delivered the Letter to the Commander, called Dedall, advising them to depart the Road before sixe Glasses were run, for that the Ilanders would not have them stay in the Road, nor come neere them; and would have shot unto them from the shore, had not we caused them to forbeare. Presently their Commander Dedall and their Predicant, came aboord the Swan to know the reason: wee told them that their comming was to doe us injurie, as formerly they had done at Polaway, Cambella, and other places; and how they had turned the Glasse for Master Ball, having him in their possession, and threatning to hang him presently if hee caused not the English to come from Land forthwith. Also we then shewed them the surrender of Polaroone, and our right and possession there for his Majestie of England, which we would hold and maintayne to our utmost power: and wished them to be well advised what they did, and that they would be shortly called to an account for their disgracefull words and abuses done to the English: demanding also of them the Iland of Polaway, as in right due to his Majestie by lawfull surrender: further, demanding of them if they had any surrender of the Iland of Polaroone. But they could not say of any they had; and when wee shewed the surrender wee had

[I. v. 610.]

The English make knowne to the Hollanders that the Iland was English.

The Hollanders could make no clayme to Polaroone.

unto them, the Predicant having the same in his hand aboord the Swan, perusing it, said with these words, This is a true Surrender.

All this time the Glasse running in the great Cabin before their faces, put them in mind of being gone. We also told them, that their comming was onely to betray us, and to put us from the Iland by their treacherie, which our Nation hath divers times had experience of: wherefore we neither could nor would trust them any more; and so put them in mind of being gone, for the Glasse sixe times run, they must expect shot from the shore: and if in case they did reply and did shoote unto the Land, or shewed any discourtesie or wrong unto the people of Polaroone, we would take it as done to us, and would defend them being now becomne our Kings subjects. They would have stayed untill the next day, but wee would not grant it, doubting that more of their Ships might have comne over. They then desired till mid-night, which wee granted if wee might see them about to way their Anchors: and that wee would send unto the shore and perswade the Bandaneses to forbeare. Also I demanded of Dedall the cause of their comming to molest us, who answered, It had beene formerly a custome in passing by the Iland. I told him that was untruth, for that the people of the Iland had reported unto us, that there was never any Christian ship in the Road till wee came, and that wee were the first. So hee was silent and would not mantayne his report. They came into the Road about three of the clocke in the afternoone, and departed thence about eleven at night. Wee have beene since informed that they came purposely to betray us, and to have beaten us out of the Road, or to have taken our ships; and have given the attempt, but that they perceived we were fortified on the Land. If they had then begun, wee doubted not but to have made our parties good with them. For wee had both Forts readie, and our Gunners readie to give fire upon our watchword or signe from the ships.

The English were the first Christians that ever came into the Road of Polaroone.

The Hollanders came to beat us out of the Road.

The tenth of Januarie, a Holland Ship and Pinnasse

came forth from Nero: the Pinnasse came edging neere the small Iland or high sand adjoyning to Polaroone, called Nylacka, belonging unto Polaroone, and consequently to the English. There are no Inhabitants upon the said Iland or sand, but it is full of Trees and Bushes, and Polaroone men resort thither daily to fish about the said small Iland. Now the said Pinnasse came neerer the said Iland and did sound the depth as shee went, which we perceiving made foure shot at her from the Defences Fort, not intending to strike her, but shot wide, giving them notice to forbeare and be gone. The Pinnasse at every shot replyed with a Base, or some such like peece, unto the small Iland amongst the Trees, where there were some English and some Bandaneses of Polaroone, which were in danger of their shot. And seeing they braved us in such manner, the Gunner was bid to doe his best, who then made a shot, which fell close over them at the Sterne of their Pinnasse or Frigat, which made them crie out and presently get off. They were Hollanders, and seemed men which came to sound the depth and where to land, purposing to come with their forces, and there to fortifie and so to put us from the great Iland.

The Hollanders send a Pinnasse to sound the depth by Polaroone, and to invade us.

Januarie the thirteenth, Master Davey complayning he wanted water, and purposing to goe over for Wayre upon Lantore side and there to water, we acquainted the people of Polaroone heerewith, who would by no meanes consent hee should goe out of the Road: neither would wee, doubting some injurie from the Hollanders. And the people of Polaroone told us, that they would rather fetch them water over upon Lantore with their Prawes. I went presently aboord and acquainted Master Davey herewith; but He and the Companie would not yeeld hereunto, but spake all in generall against it, and said, that the Bandaneses would bring them raine water, or such as might bee unholsome for his men to drinke: saying, it was but sixe or eight dayes time.

John Davies in the Swan would goe out of the Road to fetch water.

The same time there came over unto us from Wayre, a free Towne upon Lantore, also from the Ile of Rosinging [I. v. 611.]

(an Iland of it selfe) the Principalls of both those places, to have parley with us, to surrender both the said Wayre and Rosinging unto his Majestie, as the people of Polaroone had lately done. Now, the surrender of both those places being drawne, and all concluded upon at Polaroone, they desired that some English might goe over to receive the same from all their hands, and to see all rights thereunto performed. Now, Master Daveys resolution being to goe over to water, we concluded that Master Sophonie Cozock, George Muschamp, Robert Fuller, and Thomas Hodges, should goe over for Wayre and Rosinging in the Swan, to performe the said businesse, or see it done, and the Swan there to water; after which dispatched, it was ordered that Master Sophonie should returne againe in the Swan, and the other three should remayne upon the Iland of Rosinging for possession, till further order. All businesse being there ended according to our expectation, divers men of Wayre and Rosinging desired, to lade Nuts and Mace in the Swan, and passage for Polaroone, there to sell their Spices to us for Rice and Cloth. All being granted, they shipped twelve of themselves with Nuts and Mace, a great quantitie.

The Ile of Rosinging and Towne of Wayre desire to surrender themselves, and to have some goe to take the same surrender. The Swan and four Merchants goe to Rosing. and take the surrender.

The people of Rosinging and Wayre goe with goods to the Swan.

The Swan set saile and went for Geulegola, being but a little way from Wayre, as I understand, and there watered; after which they set saile and eight leagues off land, a Holland ship or two gave them chase; which they in the Swan perceiving, asked the Master what he meant to doe, thinking that hee purposed to fight with them. Master Davey answered; they see my Colours and I see theirs, I know him to be a Hollander, they me to be an Englishman; I know no hurt I have done them, and I stand for my Port of Polaroone. And in short time, the Holland ship the Starre, being come within shot, never haled the Swan, nor said word of their intent, but let flie great shot and small in most violent manner; the Swan having received two or three great shot thorow and thorow, before shee ever replyed, and some of the men killed. The fight continued, as Master Davey writes, one houre and halfe,

The Starre takes the Swan, slaying five men, using cruell violence, and proud insultation.

wherein five men of the Swan were killed, viz. Sophonie Cozock, Merchant, beaten in pieces with a great shot; Robert Morten, quarter-master and Drummer; Christoper Droope, Edward Murtkin, and a Bandanese of Wayre, a passenger. Three others were mayned, having lost Legs and Armes, and almost all hope of life, if not dead alreadie: More, eight men wounded, most of their wounds deadly. And in this their crueltie, a villaine of the Starre standing upon the Poope with a drawne Sword, braved with these words, English Villaines and Rogues, we will kill you all (thus he spake in Dutch.) It seemeth that the Swans men were much discouraged, seeing many of their men lye dead, wounded, lamenting; insomuch that none would stand by the sailes to trimme the ship for their best advantage: so that the Holland ship lay still in her quarter powring in small shot and great, and so tooke her, bording her both Souldiers and others; brake up Cabbins and pillaged them, and the men also in most base manner, both of clothes and all things else, throwing over bord what they liked not. The Spaniard never used more crueltie in their professed Warre. The Starre had in her one hundred and three score men, most Souldiers, taken from Nero and Polaway Castle: the Swan having not above thirtie able men to fight, the rest sicke and lame: and the men somewhat wearied out in toilsome labour at Polaroone, in landing the Ordnance and making two Forts. Ten also of their companie were left in Polaroone to defend the Forts, two of which were Gunners, viz. Harman Hammon, and John Day.

Egregiam vere laudent!

The surrender of Polaroone was taken in the Swan, so we procured another verbatim from the Polaroone men, which I have brought with the Surrender of Resinging, and delivered both at Bantam, &c.

The Swan being taken they carried her presently under Nero Castle and all the men, shee being much battered and torne; they much glorying in their victorie, and shewing the Bandaneses their exploit, in the great disgrace of the English, what they could, saying, that the King of England might not compare with their great King of Holland, and that one Holland ship would take ten of the English ships, and that Saint George is now turned child, and that they care not for the King of England.

The Swan being brought to Nero, they presently sent our men on shore and keepe them all prisoners, many of them in yrons, neither Man nor Boy having libertie. The Swan set saile from Polaroone the sixteenth of Januarie, 1616. wee expecting her returne in eight or ten dayes at furthest; but never heard of her till the five and twentieth of Februarie by Robert Fuller, who being at Rosinging and Wayre, heard of an English ship under Nero Castle, and came over to Polaroone to acquaint us therewith.

A Messenger sent to know why they took our ship. Their borish usage of him.

Presently we dispeeded away Robert Hayes, Purser of the Defence, with some principall men of Polaroone, to land upon Lantore side being our friends, so to goe as neere as might bee to the Holland ships, and to make signe to them by a white Flagge of Truce. Our Messenger stayd almost two houres. At last they came with their Boat to fetch him, but made him wade to the middle, and so carried him aboord one of the Holland ships. The Principall and Assistants of Nero meeting him aboord, our Messenger demanded, why they had taken the Swan, and what was becomne of the men, the reason of detayning the Ship, men and goods. They answered, that Time should bring to light. Our Messenger still urging to know, and therefore he was sent, they used many disgracefull words of the English, and

Their vaunts and threats.

that they would come over to Polaroone with their forces, and drive us from the Iland and other places. Hayes replyed, they had alreadie done more then they could answere: and returned, without sight of any man of the

[I. v. 612.]

Swans companie. The poore ship there lay rent and torne in view of the Countrey people. In short time after, they sent over unto us a Messenger with a Letter, which we answered, as we did others after sent, their Messenger still comming with a Flagge of Truce, all which said Letters and Surrenders I brought with me to Bantam and delivered to Captayne Ball.

Now we were still threatned by their Letters, as also by word of mouth from their Messenger, that as they had

the Swan, so would they also come to fetch the Defence, and drive us from the Iland. Wee still answered, that wee expected their comming in regard they had so often threatned us, and that we would defend it as long as life lasted. Many bravado's they made, daily shooting at Nero and Polaway, fortie, fiftie and sixtie pieces of Ordnance, thinking to affright us therewith. Also the people of Lantore brought us word that they were fitting their ships, and shipping Planke and Earth, which wee imagined was for Land service, having then seven Ships, foure Gallies and Frigats, and many men: and that they pretended to come over to fight with us. And that they had instigated their Blacks (which are Slaves) that if they could by any meanes goe over to Polaroone, and there set on fire the Defence, they should be Free-men, as also some other reward they should have. Also the Hollanders reported, that wee should carry no Spices from the Iland, or any the Ilands of Banda. Hereupon wee considered, that having made a contract with the people of Polaroone, Wayre and Rosinging, and had trusted our goods unto them: Also a good quantitie of Nuts and Mace being readie to dispatch away, lying readie upon Polaroone: The Hollanders threatning to come over and force us from the said Iland of Polaroone, and to take the Defence: Hereupon we resolved, to maintayne the Honour of our King, and good of the honourable Companie our employers; to land all the gunnes out of the Defence, and all provisions else, and to fortifie upon the small Iland adjoyning unto Polaroone, there being no people on the small Iland, but full of Trees and Bushes. And there the Hollanders purposed to have landed and to have fortified, which had they performed they would have commanded the Road and done us much injurie; for that the people also of the Iland Polaroone, could not have fished as they were accustomed, neither could the English have come into the Road, but that they on the small Iland would have beaten them off. And to prevent all dangers, we landed all the Defences Ordnance (onely foure great

Reports that the Hollanders were preparing ships against Polaroon.

Hollanders practise to fire the ship Defence.

Hollanders threaten that we should have no Spice from those Ilands.

Our people fortifie Polaroone.

peeces, and some Bread and two Butts of Syder, also a Terce of wine) and were all fortifying upon the said small Iland, with the helpe of the Bandaneses.

The Master of the Defence, Master Hynsley, being also on the small Iland, and all men else at worke, and landing things, some men being left aboord the said Defence to keepe the Ship, a conspiracy was plotted, and the same night the twentieth of March, 1616. either they let the Ship drive, or cut the Cables, and so drove off in the night, which we perceiving from the small Iland, presently sent a Boate after them; advising them to returne with the said Ship: but those Villaines would not heare them, neither suffer the Boate to come neere them, but bent their peeces against them, and discharged a Musket shot at them. They being not able to over-come them, forsooke the said Ship and came backe unto us at the small Iland, acquainting us what had passed. The next day we perceived they run into Nero Road, under saile, and under the command of Nero Castle; some of the men went presently, as we understand, on shoare, and meeting with the Hollanders, reported unto them of their exploit, and contending amongst themselves who should be the best Pilot in conducting the Ship thither; one reporting it was I; and another, it was I: and as the Hollanders Messenger reported unto us, afterwards comming over unto us, that they brought a kan of Wine ashoare and dranke unto the Hollanders, as soone as they came on shoare. Presently the Hollanders tooke possession of the said Ship the Defence, and had all the Villaines into their Castle, and examined them of all our proceedings at Polaroone; and they discovered all how we were fortified, and what passed amongst us. These Villaines tooke the course to cut all our throats upon Polaroone; for the going away of the Ship bred a jealousie in the Bandaneses, that it was a pretended plot amongst us to joyne with the Hollanders, and so to betray them. Also their discovering our weaknesse upon Polaroone might have encouraged the Hollanders to have attempted that in which else they

Nine men went away in the Defence unto the Hollanders: John Christmas Boatsons mate John Owers, William Carter, Richard Taylor, Edward Bridges, John Harris, Will. Rockwell, Hugh Woodlock.

The Hollanders incouraged by the Villaines that run away.

perchance would have doubted of victorie. And indeed, many sharpe threats wee had after the running away of these fellowes, and expected daily their comming over; which had they come it would have cost many mans life. For their having taken the Swan, and killed our men, abusing them with imprisonment and fetters, and all the disgrace that might bee, hath much hardned the hearts of the English against them.

The three and twentieth of March, 1616. we dispeeded away a Letter unto the Hollanders at Nero, by Robert Fuller, who being landed upon Lantore, the people of Lantore being then in parley with the Hollanders, about a Factorie, that the Hollanders desired upon Lantore, and also would build a Fort there, but the people of Lantore would not graunt it; This time our Messenger could not passe, but desired to stay three or foure dayes with kind words from the Lantore people, so our Messenger returned. The effect, to demand the Defence, Men and Goods.

The people of Lantore wil not accord with the Hollanders.

The five and twentieth dicto, a Messenger came over unto us from Laurence Ryall, principall Generall, being newly come to Nero from the Moluccas, understanding what had passed, desiring to have parley with us, and would have Master Corthop and my selfe to come in a Praw, and two of his principall Merchants should doe the like, and so to meete each other halfe way betwixt Polaway and Polaroone, to parley. But we refused their demand, doubting the treacherie, for they might have men lye secret, and so carry us away perforce.

[I. v. 613.] *Offers of parly betweene the Hollanders Agents and Factors of Polaroone.*

Also the same time, and by the Hollanders Messenger, we received a Letter from Master Davey being prisoner at Nero. The effect, disliking of what we had done and still did maintayne, in keeping the said Iland of Polaroone, and that our commission could not warrant what we had done, and advising us to have parley with the Generall, Laurence Ryall, and to come to some agreement that no more blood might be spilt. All which he hath written, I conceive, was by the instigation of the Hollanders, pos-

John Davis his judgement by information of the Hollanders.

sessing him with many untruths, as hereafter it plainly appeareth: the first and principall they had so wrought him in humouring him, and made him beleeve that they had our Kings Majesties Letters to take any English ships, if they found them to the Eastward of the Selebes, which newes made us much to marvaile: and that if any such things were, we must obey it.

Hereupon we did write a Letter unto Laurence Ryall Generall, by his Messenger, that if he would send over unto us two of his principall Merchants, viz. Henrick de Watterfoord, and Peeter Younge, and to land them upon the small Iland; and having received them into our charge, Master Corthop, and one more to attend upon him, would presently goe over, so their Messenger departed; and two dayes after, viz. the third of Aprill, returned with his answere, The two Merchants, before named, which we desired for pledges could not come: the one gone to Sea in the Horne, the other his businesse such, being principall Booke-keeper, could not be spared. The said Laurence Ryall propounding two others lately come over, and principall Merchants, called Cornelius Neep and Hans Rogers. Wee returned the said Messenger, accepting them: And the sixt of Aprill their Galley came over unto us and brought these two men. Presently received them into our charge, and a Tent being set up neere the place where they landed, there lodged them, because they should not come neere our Forts to take any view how we were fortified, and placed a Guard alwayes about the Tent, twelve English men with small shot, and that they might receive no wrong of the Bandaneses. Presently Master Corthop went into their Galley and went over to Nero, and arrived there neere night and was received; no words passed that night but referred untill next day: so the next day did discourse, many Oppositions on both sides, which I leave to relate because of the Letter of Master Corthop, which I brought from Banda, and delivered unto Captayne Ball, will certifie your Worships at large. Onely a little I will touch, Many threatning words they used, and spake

Nath. Corthop upon pledge goeth to parly with the Hollanders at Nero.

A.D. 1617.

of many abuses they had received by the English. Imprimus, that Sir Henrie Middleton did weare the Hollands colours in the Red Sea, in the Trade, and gave out they were Hollanders. Master Corthop replyed, that was an untruth, for that hee came forth in the said Ship, and continued in her as long as shee raigned, and never knew her to weare Hollands colours; and replyed, That Sir Henrie was a Gentleman that much scorned to weare the Hollands colours. Also reported, That they had the King of Englands Letters to take any English to the Eastward of the Selebes. So Master Corthop urged them that he might see the same, and that if they could shew him that we would obey it and begone, but they could shew no such Letter. Divers other things they alleaged, but no truth; and many perswasions to leave the Iland of Polaroone, perswading him the great error we were run into in holding the same. All this while, Master Davey, neither any the English were permitted to come neere Master Corthop. The Generall, Laurence Ryall, seeing hee could not prevaile and to have his desire, grew much discontented, and threw his Hat on the ground, and pulled his Beard for anger: Master Corthop answering him, that hee could doe nothing of himselfe, but was joyned to a counsaile being Assistants, and would relate what had passed when he came to Polaroone, and that we would consider of it, and so write our direct answere. Thus I advised him to say, that he might get the more freely away: Also Master Corthop demanded the Defence, Men and Goods in their possession, but they would deliver neither Ships nor Men except upon composition. Thus being Laurence Ryalls demand, that we would permit him to come with his Ships and Gallies unto the small Iland adjoyning to Polaroone, where our Castle is and twelve peeces of Ordnance, and there to land his Men and his Ordnance, and being possessed, would deliver unto us the Swan and Defence, and all our Men; and for the goods, he would make restitution to all to a penny. All this would not doe; then to conclude, Desired Master Corthop

The Hollanders accuse our people of untruths.

The Hollanders report that they have our Kings Letters for taking of ships, &c. all untruths.

The Hollander denie to restore our ships, but upon conditions to render Polaroone.

to set his hand unto a Note which hee had drawne, The effect, That the said Laurence Ryall had made these proffers unto us; Master Corthop likewise refused and would not put his hand hereunto.

Now, they had so wrought with Master Davie, that they were perswaded that hee would perswade somewhat: he was sent for by the Generall, and admitted into the roome with Master Corthop. So Master Corthop and he had much discourse, speaking of the Letter which they should have, and was perswaded that it was true, and that we continued in a great errour. Then Master Corthop acquainted him what had passed in discourse with Laurence Ryall, and what proffer we had made him, if he would shew us the said Letters: which Master Davie perceiving so reasonable a proffer, which they could not, according as they had verified unto him, make good: Master Davie presently in great furie railed against them all, saying, they had done him great injurie, in telling him and possessing him with so many falshoods: and further said, that they promised him and his men good quarter, but his men complained much of want of food, and clothing, and hard usage; and that they had sate in Judgement upon him and his companie, and had given them all condemnation, there to remaine untill they heard out of Holland; and could be content to remaine, so as we could keepe them from the Iland of Polaroone, &c. So Master Corthop tooke his leave and was brought over againe unto us, and being landed, we presently released their hostage, and so departed for Nero. Now the easterly Monson being come, we fitted a Bandan Praw to dispeed away from Bantam, to give advise what had passed. It was concluded, my selfe, Mr Hynsley Master of the Defence, and others, to the number of foure English, and fourteene Bandaneses of Polaroone should goe. Wee had the greater number of men, doubting of the Hollanders laying wait for us, whereby we might by rowing free our selves, and indeed the Principals of Polaroone desired it. These which wee brought, five of them are principall men,

Laurence Ly-all.

[I. v. 614.]

The men of the Swan did complaine of want of food and clothing, in their imprisonment in the Hollanders hands, and that they had sate in Judgement upon them, and given sentence upon them.

A Praw sent toward Bantam from Polaroon.

one is the Sabandors sonne, the principall of the Iland his father is; the other foure are Orencayas, and the rest their servants: These also came to deliver the Nutmeg tree and earth of the said Iland, and to manifest their loves unto the English.

Wee set sayle from Polaroone the seventeenth of Aprill, 1617. and as wee fell with Bottone, standing our course for Moccasor, we discovered a great ship and pinnasse, they seeing us, gave us chase baring a presse saile, so that wee had no way to escape them, onely wee must perforce stand in for Bottone, and did. Halfe a day they gave us chase, and had fetcht us up had we not rowed hard, so we were neere the Towne of Bottone by night, thinking they would not have come so farre into the river. Next morning wee perceived this ship and pinnasse, almost within Musket shot of us, presently we landed most of what we had in our Praw, and carried it into the Woods, and went presently unto the King, and gave him a Present (such things as we had) to the value of thirtie Rials, desiring his protection, which he promised us in all kind manner, and sent his servants to put all our things in house, and put us into two severall houses to lodge, and to keepe in, that we were not seene abroad; so wee tooke our leave. Wee were no sooner gone but presently comes the Hollanders, and gives a Present three times the value of what wee gave, enquiring what we were that were landed: but the King replied, that he did not know. The King demanding them how long they meant to stay, they said, sixe dayes: hereupon the King advised us to stay so long time, to see if they will goe or not, that wee might goe with the more securitie. The sixe dayes being expired, they would stay sixe dayes longer to mend their Mast, as they reported. So, seeing their intent, and our Praw lying in view of their ship and Pinnasse, that we could not goe about to fit our Praw, but they would have taken notice thereof. Wherefore I bought a Praw, and the King commanded all our things to bee carried by his slaves into the same, lying out of sight of the ship. And all things being

A Holland ship and pinnasse gave chase.

Heathen kinder then Hollanders to the English.

We by the help of the King of Bottone, got another praw, and came to Bantam.

fitted, sent his men out of the river, passing neere the Holland ship with the praw, and to carrie her about on the backside of the Iland, and sent fiftie men with us, and conveighed us over land unto the said Praw, where we went presently aboord, and kept under the Iland untill neere night, and so stood our course for Moccasor, heard no more of them. Wee were enformed that the Hollanders kept watch every night upon the water neere our Bandan Praw at Bottone.

Wee arrived at Mocassor the seventh of May, 1617. and there we found the Attendance pretended for Banda, but could not beat it up, the Easterly Monson being come. So we shipped in the Attendance, an hundred and eightie suckets of Mace which was bought at Moccasor, and sent the Praw for Benjarmasin and Suckadania for advice, and that a supplie of goods was not yet come to furnish those parts, as was pretended, for that the Salomon was not arrived yet at Bantam, being long expected.

The surrendrie of the Ile of Banda, brought to Bantam, and delivered to Master Ball.

The third of June wee arrived with the Attendance at Bantam, understanding of the death of Captaine George Barkley. And Master Ball succeeding him Captaine of the house: unto him I delivered all things, viz. two Surrenders, the Hollanders Letters, and other Copies of Letters to them written by us, and all things else of our proceedings in Banda; all which, I doubt not, but your Worships shall receive by the first convayance.

Also, may it please your Worships to understand, the Messenger that came over first unto us from the Hollanders, having beene with us two severall times, with Letters from the Principals of the Hollanders at Banda; This Fellow called Christopher van Loare, as he reported, came over unto us in a Praw, and three Blackes with him, saying, that he was runne from the Hollanders upon discontent, the Captaine of Nero having abused him, and that he loved the English, and would serve us: also was exceeding earnest with us, presently upon his comming over, and importuned us extraordinarily, that we should goe that night upon the Iland of Polaway with fiftie men,

and he would warrant us the Iland of Polaway, and would bring us so that we should take the Castle, discovering unto us his plots. I could not beleeve him, but told him, that hee was sent to betray us; This fellow hereupon protested, and swore most deeply to the contrarie, and that the Hollanders would presently hang him, if ever they did take him. Wee told him, we would not seeke it by [I. v. 615.] force of Armes, for wee had no commission so to doe: not doubting but they would be made to deliver the said Iland, by right of Law and Justice: the English having the first possession and surrender of the said Iland, and were by force of Armes put from it. Upon his protestations, Master Corthop accepted of him, and gave him libertie, and went with him wheresoever he went upon the Iland, so that he saw all our fortifications and occurrances of businesse (which much grieved me, for I counsailed him many times to lay him fast, at the first place where he was received, which was upon the Defence-fort, and told him often my opinion, that he was a villaine, and was sent to betray us; also it was the opinion of the Bandaneses:) yet all would not perswade Master Corthop: so I thought good to have him with mee to Bantam, and that he might bee sent for England, for that hee knew of all wrongs the Hollanders have done unto us. And he hath said unto mee and others, that the three ships that were with us at Polaroone, which before I noted, came purposely to fight with us, and to have beaten us from the Iland; and that the Horne had plancke, bricke, and lime and other provision to fortifie upon Polaroone, or the small Iland, but that wee were before hand. Also hee did manifest unto us of foure other great ships that were sent from Nero, which ships wee saw come forth, and plied for Polaroone: but they were by the strong currant put to leeward, and so forced for Amboyna. Also he told us, that their condemned slaves were set to worke to fire the Defence at Polaroone; and if they could performe it, they should have their libertie, and bee free-men. All this he manifested and averred to be true. Within three dayes

The Ile of Polaway taken from us by force of Arms. A counterfeit messenger or dissembling run-away.

The Hollanders suborned their slaves to set fire upon the ship Defence.

after our arrivall at Moccasor, this Fellow published that the Swan was taken by one of their Pinnasses, and other disgracefull words tending to the disgrace of the English: which as soone as I heard thereof, I presently charged the Master of the Attendance with him, and so sent him aboord: hereupon hee vowed to have my life. Shortly after we set sayle for Bantam, and comming neere, put him in the Bilboes, and searched him and his Chest for Letters which he might have of advice, to convay unto the Hollanders, and found a draught, which (hee said) was of Polaway Castle; also a Letter pretended unto the principall of the Hollanders, or English at Bantam: all which I delivered unto Captaine Ball. This fellow reported he was a director in the building of the Forts at Polaway, and that he had experience therein: and when hee came over to us, brought two hundred Rials of eight. So at my arrivall at Bantam, I did acquaint Captaine Ball of businesses, and advised that the fellow might be carefully looked to, and kept prisoner, that hee ranne not away, to doe us hurt. He willed to have him brought ashoare; My selfe and others went and fetched him and delivered him prisoner in the house. Captayne Ball had some discourse with him, who it is likely gave him good words, as formerly he had done, with many protestations of his loyaltie: and had his libertie in the house (never made fast with yrons, nor in any roome.) And many times I spake to Captayne Ball, to make him sure, and told him he would watch his time to run away: whose answere was, he should run if he would, little regarding it, it much greeving me to harbour a Traytor in our bosomes. Hee having beene two moneths in the house, the second of August, 1617. got out, and ran into the Dutch house, whereas I had advised to keep him sure, and send him in the first ship for England, so to have witnessed against the Holanders, as he must have acknowledged and spoken truth upon oath; which would much have advantaged your Worships in the prosequution in Law, touching the mayne businesse.

Captaine Ball.

The counterfeit Hollander suffered to escape by the toleration of G. Ball.

The foure and twentieth of August, 1617. departed from Bantam an Holland ship of advice directly for Holland: and two dayes after her departure, they reported here, that ten Englishmen were sent in the said ship for Holland. What they are, we cannot learne, but imagine them the men that ranne away in the Defence, the Hollanders thinking to make them say any thing, by their instigation, which may make for them. And it may be, they will say, that the Defence was left as a Wracke, which is not so. The Master and Companie would have gone away for Bantam, but we held it not good: for that the people of Polaway understanding thereof were discontented, and said, that we had built a Fort for the Hollanders. The Master writing a note, that he would set saile that night, having no goods at all in the ship, Master Corthop was going aboord to perswade the Master and Companie to the contrarie: which the Polaroone men understanding, called presently a Councell, and shewed many reasons that it was not fitting the ship should goe away, and would not let Master Corthop goe aboord by any meanes, doubting of his going away. It was propounded, that I might goe aboord to perswade the Master, or to command him and the rest to stay; and to charge them, that if they went, if wee lost lives and goods, it should be laid to their charge. Long it was before the Bandaneses would permit mee, so jealous were they; but at last, through our earnest request granted it, and sent sixe men with me of Polaroone. I acquainted Master Hinsley the Master, and the Companie, of the many inconveniences and dangers, both of losse of goods and lives, and scandall to our Nation, and that if we should have gone about to have laden Spices, the Hollanders would presently have had notice thereof, and laid wait to have taken the ship, and brought all into their hands: neither had wee men, munition, or victuall, to maintayne the Iland of Polaroone, nor the small Iland Nelaro adjoyning. All the ships companie would have gone away, being unruly and perverse, saying, they came not to be

Hollanders sent ten English men from Bantam to Holland.

The Mariners were kept at Polaroone with much difficultie.

souldiers, nor would they stay: so that we were faine to
[I. v. 616.] give way, and intreat them by faire meanes, like children, so little in their resolution regard they what may ensue, caring for nothing so they may get free. The people of Polaroone perceiving a difference amongst us, did murmure, taxing us with our promises before mentioned: and that if the Defence and men went away, wee could not resist the Hollanders our mortall enemies, whom wee expected daily. And if they came and had the victorie, wee that should there remaine, must expect none other but rigour on both sides. The People of Polaroone would have conceited that we betrayed them, and the Hollanders would have had no remorse, setting their slaves a worke to murther, wherein themselves would not have beene seene. And should they have gayned either the great Iland, or the small (as they might and would have done, had not the ship stayed) we had lost all, goods, debts, credit of our Nation, without hope ever to bee there respected. All things considered, we resolved the Defence to stay and land all things: and to let her ride it out untill further opportunities. But in the meane time, these villaines ranne away with the said Defence, endangering all, and therefore worthie of death.

The run awaies in the Defence in many respects worthie of death.

At my comming from Polaroone, it was concluded by us, that another Praw should bee sent for Bantam for advice, twentie dayes after our departure, doubting the Hollanders might have pursued and taken us (as they did their best) and so all our proceedings had beene obscure. Accordingly a Praw was sent, and therein laden an hundred and seventie suckles Mace (contayning three thousand three hundred sixtie sixe Catees, at a Riall the Catee, each Catee sixe English and neere two ounces better) which if it might have come safe, it would have yeelded in England five thousand pound. In the said Praw were eight English, and thirtie Bandaneses: the charge committed to one Walter Stacie, once Master Hinsleys Mate in the Defence. But it seemeth his knowledge and care answered not our expectation: for neere

170. *suckles of Mace shipped in a Junk with eight English, which was lost by the negligence of one Stacie, who had charge of her.*

the Iland of Bottone, he ranne the Praw upon the sholes, being rockie ground, and there bilged her, and lost all the Mace; the men got ashore. Stacie is put in fault by the rest of the companie, for that some of them told him they saw land on the lee bowe, but he being peevish and headstrong, called them all fooles, not regarding it.

Also may it please your Worships to understand, that the Hollanders having beene by some of our people, told of their vile abuses done unto us, and that it will lie heavie upon them at home, being knowne; the better sort of them have replied, that they can make as good friends in the Court of England as you (the Honourable Companie our Employers) can: and that this which they have done, will cause you, the Honourable Companie, and them to joyne, and that a chaine of gold will recompence all, and that they have Rials enough in Holland to pay for a ship or two, so as they may hinder us from the trade at Banda.

Hollanders brags that they can make friends in Court, &c.

All being considered, we hope, you the right Honourable and Worshipfull, our Employers, will so prize the bloud of your servants, by them murthered, maymed, and wounded, the rest all prisoners: also all damages, interests, and hinderances in the returne of ships and goods; also poore mens particular losses, as also Master Corthop, my selfe, Sophonie Cozocke, and George Muschampe; wee all presuming what we had in the Swan to be as sure as on the shoare, and now have lost all: that they may better advise themselves how they attempt the like againe. Likewise Master Davie told me many times, that if it pleased God to send him well home, he would come forth no more, finding himselfe decayed and weake in bodie, and that hee had sixe or seven hundred Rials to employ, with which returne, and other his wages, hee should have a competent living: all which money (as farre as I can learne) he had by him when hee was taken: now these crosses, I am perswaded, will kill him; or else, I doubt, they will make him away by poysoning him, that he shall never see England againe.

John Davie had 700. Rials of eight by him when he was taken: and further feare.

Now, for advice as touching the trade at Banda, the Iland of Polaroone is reported to be the worst Iland, and is about eight English miles compasse: and the small Iland adjoyning called Neluco, about one English mile compasse. There is prettie store of Mace and Nuts growing upon Polaroone, and more would be if it were well husbanded. Lantore and Rosinging yeeld great store. Rosinging is a fine Iland, and yeeldeth the largest Nuts and Mace. Now, if we hold Polaroone, we cannot want Spice: for the people of Lantore, Rosinging, and other places there-abouts, will come over to us, and bring their Spices, if we bring Rice, Cloth, Salt, Pepper, Mellases, and other necessaries for food, and some Moccasor gold, which will passe at Banda, as currant as Rials of eight, and at the same rate, being worth at Bantam but two shillings foure pence, or two shillings six pence the piece, called Masse. Our Cargason which we had was but small, having but one hundred quoynes of Rice, our Cloth at Moccasor much decayed, lying there two or three yeeres. If we had had three times as much Cloth and Spices, we could have sold it all for Nuts and Mace at Polaroone: and were intreated for Rice and Cloth by Lantore and Rosinging men, and others; but had it not for them: and some returned with part of their Spices home againe. They come over to Polaroone with Prawes and Correcorries in the night. The Mace and Nuts were very good, but lying so long must needs decay, by the many molestations of the Hollanders; we having no time, nor lime to make wherewith to preserve the Nuts. The Trade will prove profitable, if we may quietly enjoy the Iland, and we must buy Rice at a lower rate then at Moccasor, it being by report at Japan about halfe the price.

Description of Polaroone, &c.

The profitable trade.

[I. v. 617.] *A land quarrel at Bantam with the Hollanders.*

May it please your Worships to understand, that after my arrivall at Bantam, the Steward of the House being at the Market to buy provisions, the Hollanders Steward there present quarrelled with him, whereof (whiles they contended) notice was given at the Dutch house: and

presently Tymon (the second Merchant) ran forth with twentie Japons, and Hollanders, and Blacks, to the Basar or Market, running upon our Steward with their drawne weapons, he having but two English all disarmed, enforcing them to shift and give way. Meane while Richard Hunt, chanced to come by and drew his sword, when presently they assaulted and gave him three wounds, whereof he dyed within fifteene dayes after on the foure and twentieth of July, 1617. Notice hereof being brought to the English house, we with our Japons ran forth and met with them, before they could recover their House, and wounded two Hollanders, whereof both dyed shortly after; also one of their Blacks then killed out-right, and one or two more of them were hurt; and so drave them home to their House. They gave after that great words, that they would put us all to the Sword, and did lye in wait for our people with their Pistolls and Peeces, whereof wee had notice by the Javans and stood upon our Guard night and day to receive them, if they had given any attempt on the House, or abroad.

A very Timon.

Now concerning the Ilands of Banda, and especially Polaway, Captaine Castleton might have made it sure unto the English, as I have heard reported by divers: and the English have still more right on that Iland, both by Law and Justice, then the Hollander, although by force of Armes they put the English from it. The easie obtayning, and Captaine Castleton denying the right and possession the English had there (as it is reported) emboldened the Hollanders to use the violence at Polaroone. And except it bee supplied this yeere, and the possession maintayned, the name of English is utterly disgraced, and little hope of being received there againe: which if we hold untill your Worships have resolved what to doe herein, wee shall in short time procure as much Nuts and Mace as they; which may in time proove an entrance into the Moluccas for Cloves. The Hollanders pretend they have right unto the Moluccas and Banda by the King of

Our right by Law and Equitie unto Polaway.

Ternates * sonne, having him prisoner. But the Bandaneses denie any right the King of Ternate hath in their Ilands, every Iland being free of it selfe, and governed by Sabandars and Orencayes, generally appointed. Now it is meet that a supply be sent the Bandaneses and English, for Rice, Victuals and Cloth, and other necessaries, to hold the possession, and bring away the Nuts and Mace there in readinesse, in Godownes. The Hollanders give out that they will take your ships that shall goe into those parts and cut them off, so to famish both English and Bandaneses. So your Worships may charge them of all damage alreadie done, and may expect to heare of further abuses from them. Wherefore it requireth an earnest and speedie prosecution, that wee may quietly trade without molestation unto those parts, that have surrendred and desired Trade with us: viz. Polaway, a Paradise by report (the Hollanders report it to bee as good unto them, as Scotland to his Majestie) Polaroone, Rosinging and Wayre, Wayre being a Towne upon Lantore. And if in case of necessitie your Worships cannot agree for Polaway, yet if you may enjoy the three last, we shall procure Nuts and Mace enough for England, as also to transport both thence and hence for Surat, and other places in the Indies. Now is the time or never upon the vile abuse of bloudshed and murther committed by the Hollanders. And for the Trade there, it will prove very profitable, I make no doubt. What hath passed formerly, I doubt not, but Captaine Jordan hath certified at large; what since, my selfe. It is requisite that I should relate the particulars of all Occurrences, in respect the businesse is of so great importance. Here is bound home for England the Charles and Hope, I pray God send them well at London. I have sent your Worships a briefe abstract of our Cargason for Banda, and sales there made. If I seeme tedious, I humbly crave pardon: with my humble dutie I end, be-

* In the quarrels first mooved betwixt Capt. Keeling and them, 1609, they never make such Title, but pretended agreement, and intended and extended force. See above pag. 202. their own Articles of their right.

seeching the Almightie to prosper and give good successe to all your designes: humbly taking leave.

Your Worships most humble servant in all dutie,

THOMAS SPURWAY.

Endorsed. To the Honorable and Right Worshipfull Companie of the Merchants of London, Trading to the East Indies, these be delivered.

By Captaine Henrie Pepwell, whom God preserve.

Chap. IIII.

[I. v. 618.]

Relations and Remembrances, taken out of a large Journall of a Voyage, set forth by the East Indian Societie, wherein were employed, the James, the Anne, the New-yeeres Gift, the Bull, and the Bee; written by John Hatch, Master of the Bee, and after in the New-yeeres Gift; and lastly, came home in the James.

THe fift of March, 1616. we set saile from the Downes. The seven and twentieth 1617. we saw the Canaries. Aprill the tenth, we met the Tornadas in sixe degr. From thence to the twentieth, wee observed a Current setting to the North. The thirtieth, the Tornadas left us, in latitude thirtie minutes North, longitude three hundred and fiftie degrees fifteene minutes, that night we crossed the Line. June the one and twentieth, we came to anchor in Soldania Bay, accompanyed with the Gift and the Bull, *Soldania Bay.* having lost our Admirall and Vice-Admirall the night before, by fogs and hazie weather. They came in the next day. There we found riding the Hound, *The Hound.* wherein was Master William Jourdaine. Here we could get no refreshing for our sicke men, wherefore on the first of July, some were sent to march up into the Countrey to get provision, which they did (without losse of any,

1617.

onely two hurt) in great abundance. The thirteenth, wee set saile from the Bay. August the thirteenth, we anchored in the Road of Molala. The seventeenth, we had both our Cables cut with the Rocks. The eighteenth, we set saile from thence.

Molala or Mohelia.

The five and twentieth, in latitude at noone foure degrees fortie foure minutes, longitude fiftie three degrees five minutes by judgement, we found our selves hindred by some Current: at sixe in the evening the water was changed white, and at seven as white as any Whay, which made the Skie also white and hazie. This night we sounded often and had no ground: thus the water continued all night in the strangest manner that ever I saw, untill the day light did alter it. It so continued together with the Current: the sixe and seven and twentieth was but little whitish, and the Current also forsooke us. The fourth of September, we passed by Socatra, but came not within sight by reason of the Monson, lest it should be done before we came to Surat. Wee found in the foure dayes before that by helpe of a Current, the ship had passed three score leagues more then otherwise shee could have run; which now left us. The seventh, a leake sprung in the Admirall (which Master Copeland, their Minister, hath with much feeling related how dangerous, either by villanie or negligence of the Shipwrights, as after appeared, when they came to careene her; being a great hole slightly stopped, and much hazarding ship, goods and men: they had none other meane there in deepe water to stop it, but by stitching a Bonet or piece of a saile full of Ockam or calking stuffe, which by force of the water running into the ship, being haled downe to the place, was sucked and forced in, and so stayed the leake till it selfe decayed in time, then the leake renewing, and again stopped; which in the careening was found and remedied.) On the eleventh, it was stopped. The twelfth, we tooke a Portugall ship which came from Mosambeek, laden principally with Elephants teeth, and bound for Diu.

Sea white.

Current to the South South West.

Socotora.

A great Current to the North.

Danger by leake, of this you have Master Prings owne report, in his relation written since this, which hereafter followeth.

A prize.

In the sixteenth, we saw two Junks, one of them chased by two Ships, which were the Francis and the Lion, Ships set forth by ( ) The Junke they chased was the Great Mogols Mothers, of the burthen of twelve or fourteene hundred Tunnes, having in her above a thousand persons, and nine and twentie Tunne of silver (some report more a great deale) wee chased the Chasers, and in the evening came up unto them with the Bee and the Gift, and so saved the Junke, with whom and her two Chasers, we anchored on the twentieth, betweene the River of Surat and the Barre of Swally.

English men of warre.

Surat.

The thirteenth of March, wee weighed: the fifteenth at night, wee anchored to the South west of Damon. The seventeenth, the Anne departed from us to the * Red Sea. The seven and twentieth, 1618. wee espyed many sailes and fetched them up with the Bee, being five and twentie saile (fourteene saile of Frigats men of Warre, eleven of Merchants, the Molucca fleet) and two great Gallies of Goa, which exchanged some shot with us, but assoone as they could cleare themselves from us, went away: and being so farre off at Sea, they all escaped us, not without great trouble, in three Vessels, whence they heaved Chists and other things over-boord, to make roome for their Oares, and eight of them got into Cochin, the rest to Goa.

Damon.

**This voyage you have hereafter.*

1618.

The nine and twentieth, came aboord a Boat with one Woman and foure Men from the King of Calecut. The Woman was interpreter and spake Portuguise. Aprill the first, we came to anchor two miles to the North of the Road of Bring John. About two leagues to the North of Brim John is a red Cliffe, and to the South of it a low sandie shoare, and the next high Land or Cliffe is within a mile of the Road of Brim John, where on the second wee anchored. Master Coytmore and I agreed the next day with the Governour for fortie Rialls to water there, and seventie men were landed to guard the watering place for feare of poysoning; for they are treacherous people, which also came armed the next day very

Brinion, Brim John or Bring John.

How to know it.

strong, and would not permit us under twentie Rialls more.

[I. v. 619.] The twelfth of Aprill, we had much adoe (the Current setting us right on the Iland of Zelon, halfe a league from Cape de Galia) to double it with tacking off and on that night. The thirteenth, the Generall came aboord the Gift, and established mee Master of her. The fourteenth, the Bee departed from us for the Coast of Coromandell. The sixe and twentieth, we were neere the Southerly Iland of Nicobar. The nine and twentieth, wee anchored on the Mayne of Sumatra, the high Hill Lambre (by some called Pedire bearing South South east halfe East from us, and the East point of Achen Road West by North halfe North, foure leagues and halfe off. The King his Courtiers with his Women were there on hunting, who the next day sent his Chop by the Sabander and William Nicholas, our chiefe Factor there: at whose parting wee gave twentie pieces of Ordnance to honour the Kings presence and his Women, which was well taken, and went the same night neerer to Achen: and anchored the first of May, a little to the West of the Court.

Master Hatch made Master of the New-yeeres Gift.

Nicobar.

The tenth of June, wee weighed to goe for Teco, but with foule weather were put backe againe. The nineteenth, we againe set saile. The fourth of August, we came to an anchor in the Road of Teco. The first of September, we set saile for Bantam, where on the two and twentieth we anchored. On the five and twentieth, arrived there the French Pinnasse from Jambe, on the Coast of Sumatra. On the thirtieth, came in the Unicorne from Musulpatan. The fourth of October, we set saile for Jaquatra, and then anchored on the sixt; and thence againe on the twentieth to Bantam, with the James, Unicorne and Bee. The seven and twentieth, the James had her leake brake out againe, which did increase by report two foot water in a glasse, and five foot in hold before they knew of it. The eight and twentieth, they stitched a Bonnet with Ockam, and haled it under her, which having beene there a quarter of an houre, the leake

Leake againe in the James.

stopped, so that the water increased not above halfe an inch in an houre. They resolved to careene her, and we hasted to get out our Ordnance and Provisions. The twelfth of November, shee was in like case, and men were sent from every ship to pump her (and haling the Bonnet againe to her keele, shee was thight as before) at the Iland where shee was to be careened.

The fifteenth, the Rose anchored at Palamban point from Teco. The nineteenth, foure Ships out of England, the Moone, the Clove, the Samson, and the Pepper-corne; Sir Thomas Dale and Captaine Jourdaine being both in the Clove; the Sunne being lost at the Iland of Inganio, and the Globe lost their companie betweene the Cape of Good Hope and Saint Laurence. They had most of their men sicke at their arrivall. The eight and twentieth, they anchored by us at the Iland, being in all thirteene saile, the James, Gift, Unicorne, Clove, Samson, Moone, Pepper-corne, Thomas, Bee, Advise, Rose, little Francis, and the Prize. This afternoone the Sunnes Skiffe came aboord the Moone from Inganio with the Master and Cape Merchant, the Minister, and twentie men more, the Ship being split in pieces, and all her sicke men drowned, being eightie or ninetie of them. The Inhabitants of Inganio came downe on them which were gotten on land, and slue seven or eight, hurt the Master and others, with wooden Darts. Then they made them another Boat of boords and broken pieces that came from the ship. So there came sixtie or seventie men in the Skiffe and this Boat; and nineteene or twentie were left on the Iland sicke and hurt, which were after taken in by Iowa Prawes and brought aboord the ships, being in miserable case, with want of clothes, bruses with the Rocks, and burning with the Sunne and salt Water. The nine and twentieth, the Globe arrived.

Sir Tho. Dale.

English ships, thirteene saile together.

Sunne perished

The third of December, the Bee set saile for Inganio, to see if they could have any thing, but was forced backe with crosse windes. The fourth, the Blacke Lion of the Hollanders arrived from the Coast of China, Palatina,

Blacke Lion.

and other places; her lading, Pepper, Rice, Sugar, and some China commodities, by report, to the quantitie of sixe hundred tunnes. This night Sir Thomas Dale caused men to goe out of other ships aboord the Moone, the Clove, the Samson, the Globe, being but weakly manned: which the next day anchored close by the Blacke Lion, which yeelded on composition. Shee was, by report, of eight hundred tunnes, had in her eightie men, and two or foure and twentie peeces of Ordnance. The nineteenth, Sir Thomas Dale in the Moone, Captaine Pring in the Gift, with the Unicorne, Clove, Samson, Globe, Pepper-corne, Thomas, Bee, Rose and Blacke Lion, set saile for Jaquatra, where they found riding seven saile of Hollanders, readie to fight. The one and twentieth, came a Holland ship from Jambe, which sent their Boat for Jaquatra with twelve men, two great murtherers and eight small shot, with each man his sword: but we way-laid her and tooke her with the Barge, and the Ship put to Sea againe.

Fight with the Hollanders fleet. See Capt. Pring and Master Corthops Journall.

The two and twentieth, we thought to have fought, and plyed to and againe as occasion offered. The three and twentieth, we began the fight, and the Jambe ship got in amongst them. This fight continued about three houres, in which time wee received in the Hull and Masts betweene fiftie and sixtie great shot, most in the Hull, yet had but one hurt in the fight, and hee died of it. The Hollanders and wee came to an anchor all night close by each other. The next morning wee set saile and plyed to windward: but the Hollanders seeing wee would get up to them, waighed and fled betweene halfe way Iland and the other Iland to the East, and so bore away to the East, betweene the Ilands and the Mayne. And when they came thwart of their Iland, they saw a little English Pinnasse, which in flight from them had run on a ledge of Rocks, and was there cast away. They sent their Boates, which by our pursuit they were forced to recall; and we stood after them amayne and chased them (being now by addition of another from Jaquatra nine ships) three or foure miles to

Hollanders fled.

Little James sunke.

[I. v. 620.]

the East of Jaquatra, and night comming on, anchored. The five and twentieth, came a China Juncke on fire driving thwart our halse, but we perceived it betime, let slip and avoided it, so that it did no harme at all. We made after them, but they were under sayle to the East, and the wind at South South-west. The same day we tooke out the Thomas Ordnance, beeing an old ship, and sunke her neere the Hollanders Iland. *Thomas sunke.* The eight and twentieth, they aboord the Blacke Lion, cryed out, fire, and shee was suddenly on a light fire, and nothing saved, but her company, which went into the Boat and Skiffe. *Blacke Lion burnt.* This happened by some which had beene at Dice all night, and went and broke up a Scuttle where there was Rackupee, which so soone as they had broched, tooke fire with the light they had, as it is reported. *Rackupee, or Aracape a hot Drinke.*

The third of January, Master Jackson, the Land Captaine of the James, dyed of a shot which had taken away his legge at Jaquatra. The seventh, Shot and Powder were sent to the King of Jaquatra to take the Hollanders Castle. The ninth, we wayed from this place to the Westward. The twentieth, we espyed two sayles to whom we gave chase in vaine, they sailing better then wee: the next day wee espyed foure, which wee chased as the wind would give leave till night. The five and twentieth, the Bee was sent to Marough for provision; The one and thirtieth, we anchored in the Road of Bantam.

The three and twentieth of February, Sir Thomas Dale weighed to go for Jaquatra, with the Moone, Clove, Globe, Samson, Pepper-corne, Hound, Bee, Rose. The seven and twentieth, the Great James, the Gift, the Unicorne, and the little James weighed from Bantam leaving in the Road the Advice and the Mosambeeke or Prize.

The first of March, the Flemmings saw us and weighed, and we made all the sayle we could to get up to them, and they keeping the weather of us, their Admirall let flye two Peeces at the Great James first: and then we went to it on all hands. *Another fight.* As wee fought, one of the Flemmings ranne aboord their Admirall by chance, and bore

over-boord his owne Botspret and Beak-head, and the Admirals Ancient. The other two Flemmings seeing that, shooting a shot or two, ranne away and the rest after. We tacked and chased them, but they going better, went from us exceedingly, and wee gave over. The thirteenth, the Bee came to us in Bantam Road, from Sir Thomas Dales Fleet at Jaquatra.

The seven and twentieth of Aprill, 1619. there came a Juncke amongst our Fleet from Patania with Flemmings goods and a Flemming in her, which we tooke. The eight and twentieth, the Dragons Clawe came to an anchor at Palambam from Surat.

Marough. The twentieth of May, we set saile in the Road of Marough, to goe for the Coast of Coromandel, being eleven Sayle in company, the Great James, Moone, Gift, Unicorne, Clove, Globe, Pepper-corne, Bee, Rose, Advise, and the Surat Pinnasse. At five in the afternoone wee anchored betwixt Besse and * Cracatawe. The one and twentieth, a Councell was held aboord the Admiral (the Moone) wherein Owen Bodman was condemned for burning the Blacke Lion and other trespasses, who was hanged the next day aboord the Moone at the Yards arme.

**The Blackes call the Salt hill so.*

Owen Bodman.

The thirtieth of June, we came to an anchor nine leagues East from Masulipatan. We stayed in these parts till the tenth of December.

The nine and twentieth of July, the Unicornes Shallop was cast away at Penara, wherein M. Rice and Harris, and foure men more were drowned.

The five and twentieth, we anchored neere Teco, and saw three shippes, which the next day came to us, being a new Fleet; the Palsgrave Admirall, the Elizabeth Vice-Admirall, the Merchants Hope Rere-Admirall. We all wayed and went into the Road of Teco.

A new fleet.

Shoalds. The fourth of March, we all set sayle in Teco. The fifth, the James met with a shoald, and they had much to doe to save her from grounding. This shoald lyeth from the White Iland, South-east, two thirds East, three leagues within two Glasses, the James and Unicorne met with

another shoald, and stayed upon it at five fathome water, and within a Cables length of fiftie fathomes, and then the White Iland bore North-west by West eight miles and an halfe off. The ninth, we bore up to goe to the South of Nimtan. This Iland is neere twentie leagues long, and lyeth South South-east, and North North-west. On the Wester-side is great shoalding, on the East deepe water hard by the shoare. The twentieth, at night wee had a great storme, and had many Corpo-Santos, viz. at the head of the Maine-top-mast, and on the Meson yard, the Fore-top-mast, and the Mezon Top-mast. The next morning, the storme beganne to breake up, and we saw the high-land of Manning Cabo.

Nimtan.

Foure Corpo-Santos.

The five and twentieth of March, 1620. we anchored neere the point of Ballambin; where on the sixe and twentieth our Cable was cut a-sunder with a Rocke, which wee recovered the seven and twentieth.

At the South-west point of Sumatra lyeth the Iland Pola Tellore in five degrees fiftie seven minutes of South latitude, South South-east from which is Ballambin, where is good refreshing and watering, thence to the South point called Cape Bublathore, is two leagues South South-east three quarters East, and from thence to the next Easter point is three leagues, and in the second Bay from the said point is a River where we watered, but the water not very good.

Pola Tellore and Ballambin.

[I. v. 621.]

The sixth of Aprill, 1620. we weighed to goe for Bantam, with a full resolution to make an end with the Hollanders one way or other, they being eighteene Sayle, and wee ten, little and great. The eight, betweene two and three of the clocke in the morning, beeing short of Sangang we met with the Bull and two Hollanders bound to looke us to bring newes of the peace betwixt us and them. The eleventh, their Fleet being thirteene besides the former two came unto us from Jaquatra: and wee saluted each other with many Peeces of Ordnance. The twelfth we went for Bantam where we found two Hollanders more. The seven and twentieth, the James and

Peace betwixt us and Hollanders.

the Unicorne departed from us for Japan, to careene there. The thirtieth, we anchored in Jaquatra Road.

The one and twentieth of May, the Elizabeth, the Bull, and the Hope, set sayle with the Harlem, and the Dutch Hope. The Elizabeth and Harlem were bound for Leque Pequena, there to stay for the Bull and the Dutch Hope which were appointed to goe for Moccow, and the English Hope for Patania, and then to meete with the other foure at Leque Pequena, thence to goe all for Japan, there to meete the rest of the Fleet for the Manillas. The thirtieth, peace was published at Jaquatra on shoare and aboord the ships.

Leque Pequena.

Fleet for Japan and Manillas.

The fourth of June, the Moone, the Palsgrave, the Bantam and the Praw, set sayle from Jaquatra for Japan, and the Manilla's. The seventeenth, wee set saile to goe to Cracatow to cut new Masts and Timber to sheath our ship, and beeing a league and halfe from the Roade, met with a shoald where we had but two fathomes water (being suddenly on ground) at the shippes head, and five at her sterne: but praysed be God, got off without hurt. It is Rockes and Corall and lyeth halfe way betwixt Jaquatra Road, and the Sand to the East of Hectors Iland. If you keepe the Flemmish Castle and the top of the highest hill one right over the other; you shall goe cleere in or out. If you cannot see the hill keepe the Castle South South-east, but if you keepe it South by East, You will be neere it, or on it. On the neerest part of the next Iland to the East of Pola Lacka is a dangerous shoald two miles off, and seldome sheweth it selfe. The one and twentieth, we anchored and moored our ship a Cables length North-west of the little round Iland, and rode till the one and twentieth of July, in which time wee cut about seventie pieces of square Timber for our decayed ship, and to pay the Hollanders two and twentie borrowed, for their house at Jaquatra by our Merchants. This place is so infectious that most of our men were taken with swolne legges, or bodies, some breaking out with Sores and Byles, others taken with dizzinesse and dimnesse of sight, almost every

Shoald.

Crocatow a very sickly place.

one losing his stomache, and given to vomiting with a strange costivenesse: sixe dyed, and thirtie seven were sicke and lame, all weake, vomiting, sacke, racke, beverage; nothing stayed.

Morough. The seven and twentieth, we anchored in Morough Road neere the shoare, which is no good Road, but we were forced, so to command the Towne with our Ordnance in succour of our Boats, if the people should have betrayed them, as they had done the Hollanders of whom they slew eight men. We lost an Anchor there (they cut off the Boyes that we could not after finde it) and could get little refreshing, or none.

The nineteenth of August, we anchored at Jaquatra, having beene from thence two moneths, and in one moneth which we were returning from Cracatow, we lost with the former sixe, one and fortie men, besides fortie five sicke in the ship; nor had we above twentie of our owne Company that could goe up and downe the ship. The eight and twentieth, the Hollanders surrendred the Starre againe to the English. *Starre rendred.*

Newes of English ships. The first of September came in a Flemming from Holland, which told us of the Lion arrived at the Cape from Surat; and of sixe English ships with her in Soldania from England, two bound for Bantam, and foure to Surat, which were to stay in Soldania for foure Flemmings to goe to Surat with them. The one and twentieth, the Dragons Claw arrived from Achen with newes that the Charles, the Rubie, and the Diamond, were all at Sea comming for Jaquatra; and that the Bee saw a French-man of Warre on the Coast of Sumatra, which would by no meanes speake with her. They were in all foure ships, but she had lost her consorts. *French man of Warre.*

New fleet. The first of October, the Schedam arrived with newes of three English ships in the Straits of Sunda, the Royall Exchange, the Unitie, and the Beare, the Bee also with them, which on the second, and the tenth arrived here. The foure and twentieth, the Dragons Claw departed hence for the Moluccas. The sixe and twentieth, one of

our men suspected for stealing Cloves, was drowned. Hee had wished before mee a little afore, if hee knew of the Cloves, that hee were so farre under water that he might never rise againe; and going over the ships side, a step of the ladder broke, and he fell over-boord, & never rose againe. The thirtieth, the Beare and Diamond were sent for Jambe in hope of Pepper. The eleventh of *Japara.* November, the Globe departed from Jaquatra for Japara, to fetch sheathing boord and cattell: and the fifteenth, the Unitie set saile for Achen.

The second of December, the Roe-bucke arrived from Teco with Pepper. The third, the Samson arrived from Patania, and brought in her the Purser and three others of *Unicorne lost.* the Unicorne, which was cast on the Coast of China. The [I. v. 622.] fifteenth, the Globe arrived with boords and plankes from Japara. The sixteenth, arrived a Juncke which brought some of the Samsons men, some of the Unicornes, and those which were left on shoare at Patania, when the Samson and the Hound were taken. The one and twentieth, the Rubie departed for the Moluccas. The sixe and twentieth, the Clove arrived from Jambe and Patania. The nine and twentieth, the Royall Exchange, the Starre and the Roe-bucke, set sayle for Amboino with a Holland ship in their company.

The second of January, the Bee went to Hectors Iland to careene. The same day the Hollanders had foure ships *The Dragon stil serving the Dutch.* that went for the Moluccas, the Dragon being one, and the next day the New Holland, and in her John Peterson Coen Generall of all the Indies, for the Hollanders: who carryed a float with eight or ten Demicanons, and fortie great Prawes to land men, and a great company of Soul- *Returne of the James.* diers. The eighteenth, the James Royall arrived in Jaquatra Road from Japan, where she careened both sides to the keele. The one and twentieth, arrived the new Zeland from Masulipatan, and brought in her Captaine Ball, Thomas Jones, and Richard Thomas. The thirtieth, the James began to take in Pepper to goe for England. The one and thirtieth, the Bee returned from Hectors

Iland, careened to the keele, and the Globe foure or five strakes on a side. In the James Royall bound for England, the sixe and twentieth of February we set saile.

The nineteenth of May, we anchored in the Bay of Soldania: where we set sayle the second of June. We found there riding the Anne, wherein was Captaine Walter Bennet, and the Fortune a Victualler, and three Hollanders bound for Bantam. The one and twentieth of June, wee saw the Iland of Saint Helena, bearing West by North sixteene leagues, and on the two and twentieth anchored there. Here we tooke store of fresh fish by the shippes side. The nine and twentieth, wee set sayle, and the eighteenth of September anchored in the Downes: *Their returne home*, 1621. *Saint Helena.*

Chap. V.

The Voyage of the Anne Royall from Surat to Moha, in the Red Sea, for setling an English Trade in those parts: Anno Dom. 1618. extracted out of Master Edward Heynes, his Journall, written thereof.

SIr Thomas Roe, Lord Embassadour for his Majestie with the Mogoll, having given divers Articles of instructions unto Captaine Andrew Shilling, Master of the Anne Royall, together with Joseph Salbanke, Edward Heynes, and Richard Barbar, Merchants; for Trade at Dabul, and after as they saw occasion in the Red Sea: it was thought meet by Captaine Martin Pring Generall, and Thomas Kerridge, and Thomas Rastell (the twelfth of March, aboord the James Royall, the time being too farre spent for Dabul) that the said ship should sayle directly for the Red Sea. Thus they sayled from the Road of Swally.

The tenth of Aprill, we had sight of Aden. The thirteenth, we past the Strait of the Bab or Babel Mandel (an *Aden.*

Iland in the entrance or mouth of the Red Sea, which causeth the Strait) about seven in the morning: and about five in the evening, wee had sight of Mocha five leagues off. Night comming on, we anchored, and a Canon came aboord us from the Governour to know what we were and our intent, which we answered, and they having begged a few Biskets departed.

Mocha.

The next morning wee anchored a league and halfe from the shoare, and saluted the Towne with nine Peeces. The Water-Bayly brought us a Present from the Governour, a young Bullocke, two Goates, Mangoes, Limes, Cucumers, and Water Melons, welcommed us, and desired to send one on shoare to acquaint the Governour with the cause of our comming. We answered, we were Englishmen, which came to seeke Trade there, but durst not adventure on shoare without sufficient pledges. About three in the afternoone, came a Jew aboord (borne in Lisbone) together with an old Venetian turned Turke (one in good respect with the Governour) which from the Governour assured us of all content.

The fifteenth, Allee Asgee, the Chiefe Scrivano sent a Present of Goates and Fruites to welcome us, with two old men of good qualitie: sent from the Governour to remayne as pledges for such as went on shoare, with many protestations of good usage. Hereupon Master Salbanke and I went with our two Linguists and one Attendant, with a Present for the Governour, viz. sixe yards of broadcloth Stammell, sixe yards of greene, a Fowling Peece, and Looking-glasse. At our landing, a thousand people expected, and divers Officers were readie to receive and conduct us to the Governour. His house was faire and large, built of stone and bricke. At the entrance was a faire gate with a Porters lodge, and divers servants there attending. Within is a great Court, whence arise winding staires about thirtie steps to a square Tarris; out of which we were brought into a large roome, having at one end a great bay window opening to the Sea, in which the Governour sate: on the sides others of like bignesse, looking

They goe on shoare.

The Governors house and state.

[I. v. 623.]

unto the Wharfe or landing place. The flore was covered with fine Mats, and neere the Governour, with faire Turkie Carpets and Persian Felts. That whereon himselfe sate was a partie coloured Sattin Quilt, with rich Damaske and Velvet Cushions. Hee was clothed in a Violet colour Sattin Vest, his under-coats fine India Linnen, having on a Sattin Cap wreathed about with a fine white Shash. He was accompanied with the Chiefe Scrivano, the Principall Customers, some Turkes of better fashion, many Indian Merchants, and one hundred servants. Hee is about fiftie yeeres old, and named Mahomet Aga.

Their conference.

When we came neere, he bowed himselfe and wee did reverence: then bade us sit downe, and demanded our Nation and businesse. Wee answered, we were Englishmen, of London, Merchants, who by command of the Ambassadour of His Majestie of England, resident with the Great Mogoll (with whom we hold league and amitie) are comne to this Towne to treat for licence of free Trade: That we were friends to the Grand Signior, and had traffique at Constantinople, Aleppo, and in other places of his Dominion, and hoped the like here: that wee were come to desire his, and the Bashas Firman, for like liberties heere as is granted us by the Grand Signior, both for present and future times, as intending to visit their Ports yearely with plentie of English and Indian goods: that we had likewise in command from the said Embassador (which had heard of divers Pirats, English, Dutch, French, Portugals, Malabars, and others which infested the quiet Trades of this Port, and principally the Guzerats, our friends) to take them, and free those Seas of such incombrances, protecting all honest Merchants ships and Junckes from injurie: and these were the true causes of our comming. Hee then rose up and bad us welcome; applauded our designe, and demanded why wee were so fearefull to come on shoare without pledge. We answered, that about sixe yeers since, some of our Countrymen were here with kind shewes and promises entised ashoare, and by the then Governour betrayed, emprisoned, and many murthered:

They still suspected our ship a man of Warre, by reason of some excesses of some of our Countrey-men in those Seas.

whose harmes made us cautelous for our owne safetie. But that we were no otherwise then we professed, they should shortly know by the testimonie of two Guzerat Juncks, one of which had not come this yeare, but for the passe and promise of the said Embassador that our ship should defend them home-ward bound from Men of Warre in these Seas; having escaped rifling last yeere by men of our Nation, through our opportune comming to their rescue; who delivered her safe at her Port, and sent their chiefe Commanders into England to answere those wrongs to our Kings friends. Hee acknowledged our Nation good and friendly, promised that we should live on shoare and negotiate as secure as in our owne Countrey, that hee would also procure the Basha to confirme the same, and would give us any content. That for the ill usage formerly, the Governour then was an ill man, long since removed, and now living in disgrace at Stambola: and sware by his Mahomet and by his Beard, that not one haire of us should be diminished, nor any wrong offered: that he would therefore proclayme our liberties that none might pretend ignorance to discourtesie. Hee wished us also to looke out a house in Towne fit for our persons and goods, commanded two of his principall Chauses to attend us, and till wee could fit our selves better, recommended us to the Jew-Merchant his entertainment, desiring him to assist us in all things.

Constantinople.

Thus after our Present delivered as from our Captaine and many kind thankes, wee went by the Jewes perswasion to visit the Scrivano, who is likewise chiefe Customer, whose servants (himselfe not being then at home) entertayned us with much civilitie, and brought us into a faire roome, not much inferiour in building, or furniture to that of the Governour, where we had left him, and whence he soone returned and welcommed us with much courtesie, assuring us of whatsoever the Governour had promised, and that he himselfe would see all executed, who had power also to right us. We were informed that this mans authoritie was no lesse in the Towne then the

The visit to the Scrivano.

Governours, who was by him directed in matters of weight: hee seemed a heartie old man. After he had made us drinke Coho and Sherbet, we tooke our leave and rested that night with our Jew.

They view the Towne. The description thereof.

The next morning, wee spent an houre to view the Towne and observe the countenances of the people towards us, whom we found gentle and courteous, especially the Banians and Guzerats, of which here lives continually great store, as Merchants, Shop-keepers, and Mechanike Trades, their shops neatly built and cleanly kept. Their Market or Bazar appeared well furnished with all necessaries, besides fruits daily brought out of the Countrey. The Towne for the most part built with bricke and stone fairely playstered over with Playster of Paris: the building flat-roofed some two stories high, with Tarrises on the top, whereon they build Summer houses of Canes and Mats, in which they rest in the nights and passe the first quarter of the day, having at that time a fresh breese from the Sea; all the rest of the day so hot, that men cannot well endure any clothes, not so much as a shirt. It lyeth levell alongst the Sea-side, being about two miles from North to South. There are many faire houses and three principall Moschees; the streets kept cleane, each mans doore every morning and evening watered and swept, seeming liker sandie bowling allies then streets: no filth suffered to be cast abroad, but carryed to a place appointed scowred by the Sea: In fine, I have not lightly seene, a sweeter, cleaner, better governed Towne then this of Mocha. Betwixt the Governours and Scrivanoes is the Wharfe, about twelve score square, neere which adjoyning to the Governours house is a platforme raysed, built with hewen stones, with Battlements towards the Sea, about fortie paces square, in which are mounted thirteene or fourteene small Peeces of little force. Against the landing-place are two faire Brasse Peeces about five foot in length; on the other end is the Alsandica, and a Brasse Peece of sixe foot, which carryeth a Bullet as bigge as a Canon. This is their strength for defence of the Towne. Yet at

Heat at Mocha. Their neatnes.

[I. v. 624.]

the North end is a stone house in manner of a Fort, and in it some few Peeces, but they put small trust in their Ordnance, relying most on their Souldiers, of which two hundred reside continually in the Towne, the rest (beeing in all to the number of five hundred) live within a day or two dayes journey, and are in readinesse upon any occasion.

Hoja Nassans sonne, the principall India Merchant of the Towne, professed and promised all kindnesse (for wee went to his house) and after a cup of Coho and Tobacco (which is usually amongst these people) we went againe to visit the Governour before wee went aboord, who rose and met us, caused us to sit by him, welcommed us, promised as free Trade heere, as in any other place of the Grand Signiors Dominion, nor would denie us any thing reasonable: said that another Governour should shortly succeed him, but one as his brother, honester then himselfe, who should performe all the promises which he had now made; at our request, commanded the Water-Bayliffe to furnish us with Boats at all times to carrie us, or water from shoare for the ship aboord. After this we visited the Scrivano, and found him very courteous, promising to come aboord to see our ship, and bid our Captaine welcome, and after a health of Coho dismissed us to returne to the ship, where our two pledges approved their kind usages, whose departure was honoured with five Peeces.

Another Governour expected.

Feast on shipboord.

On the seventeenth, the Scrivano, our pledges, the Jew, and twentie persons attending came aboord, brought a Bullocke, Bread, Quinces, and other Fruites, and a Cake of great roundnesse and thicknesse like puffe-past, wherein were baked Hennes and Chickens very well dressed, and pleasing enough to a daintie palate; we also with a Quince Pye, Crabs, Sacke and Strong-water, added our best welcome. He would needs bee sworne brother to the Captaine, which was solemnized with a Cup of Sacke, and after much mirth and view of our ship, hee departed with great content.

We had water brought by poore people at reasonable

rates. We also had given good reason to the Governour and Scrivano (who approoved it) to make every Juncke that should arrive to anchor by us, and there to ride till they had discharged their goods. The Governour was willing, we should examine and compell them hereto, because some Junckes passed by their Towne to other Ports for Trade, to the losse of this.

Storme and heate.

The one and twentieth, sixe at night, we had a storme of wind off the shoare with Thunder and Lightning very vehement, but no raine, which continued halfe an houre, the rest of the night extreame hot. This storme brought sand and dust aboord in abundance, notwithstanding, we roade a good league from shoare. The five and twentieth, we had a message from the Scrivano, that the Governour and himselfe had received Letters from the Basha of Sinan, commanding them to receive and entertaine us with all kindnesse, to permit us to live and Trade amongst them freely and quietly.

New Governour arrived.

Ignorance of a new Governour must excuse us of the charge of a new Present to him. His arrivall was on the seven and twentieth, the Ordnance of the Towne, and Junkes, and of our ship welcomming him. Hee sent our former Pledges aboord with thankes, and a Present of Plantans, Limes, Mangos, Melons, Bread, and one Bullocke, promising in the Bashas name like trade here, as at Constantinople. The two Pledges remained aboord all night, and went with us on shoare the next day, where we found the new Governour, and the old sitting at the end of a large roome, adorned much what as at our first arrivall, or better. He is about foure yeares old, named Rajab Aga, was accompanied with divers principall Turkes, and all chiefe Merchants now in trade of Surat, Diu, Dabul, Sindu, Calicut, and Cananor. At our approch he onely moved, so did the Turkes: the Merchants rose, and saluted us. He caused us to sit downe by him, told us that the Basha, the Vizier of the Province, informed of us, had commanded to give us content: and besides his Lords command, he knew us to be friends of the Grand Signior,

and to have Trade at Constantinople, Aleppo, and other places of his Dominion, a Nation of friendly and honest disposition, and therefore we should find him our good friend, and readie to doe us any courtesie, and give us as free Trade, as wee any where had under the Grand Signior, or Great Mogoll. We told him we were Merchants, and *English fleet of five ships.* our ship Vice-admirall to a Fleet of five ships, one of which, was departed from Surat homewards, three from Bantam and other places to the South, and our ship by his Majesties Embassador employed hither (with such circumstances as before are delivered) that if our just requests of free Trade be granted, wee purposed at our *Factory intended at Mocha.* next comming to settle a Factorie here, and yeerely to frequent this Port with shipping with English and Indian goods: signified our intents against Rovers, and what alreadie we had done in that case against our owne Countrymen: intimating that it was needlesse to presse with the inconveniences which might arise from denying us Trade, [I. v. 625.] who were able, to force it, and hinder others from comming; the feare of which had caused some alreadie to passe by this Towne to Gudda, the Port of Mecca, one hundred and fifty leagues farther up, a Towne of great Trade, and others to other places. He replied, we should be as welcome as to any place in our owne Countrey, and vowed by God, Mahomet his head and beard, we should live as secure from hurt as in our owne Land. We asked what securitie he would give us; besides his oath (he answered) his Firman under his Chop, and procure the like from the Basha. With this wee seemed content, and gave him thankes: nor did ever people seeme more willing to give content then they: which, I thinke, ariseth not from conscience, or love, but feare, seeing us able to intervert their Trade. After some questions of our Embassador, now residing at Constantinople, and touching the Portugals, and Spaniards, (which he said were proud and unfaithfull Nations) some speech happened of Sir H. Middleton: we demanded the cause of that treacherie towards him: hee answered, the Vizier at that time was a

bloudie, cruell, and ill-minded man of himselfe, and made worse by the instigation of others, Turkes, and Arabs of this Towne, who observing the uncivill behaviour of our people, as pissing at the gates of their Churches; forcing into mens houses to their women; and being daily drunke in the streets, would fight and quarrell with the people; things hatefull in these parts: these things were in part, but the Governours covetousnesse (hoping to get their ship and goods) was the maine cause of that ill dealing, for which and many other bad actions, he was not long after sent to Constantinople to answere it, and is either dead, or lives in disgrace to this day. Wee dined with the Scrivano, and hired a house of Hassana Ga, one of our Pledges, at seventie Rials of eight the Monson, (which is all one with the yeerely Rent.) The Scrivano would needs sweare himselfe our friend on his Alchoran: yet denied this Governour to be the man which captived Sir H. Middleton, which was after found Turkish faith. We agreed for Custome three by the hundred, both inwards and outwards (which he vowed all others paid five) and for silver, and gold, and money, to pay none. Wee supped with him also, and gave him a Present.

Cause of Turkish treacherie to Sir H. Middleton. Let English Christians read, blush, and amend.

The nine and twentieth, wee had thought to have had our Firman read before all the Merchants, and proclaimed to the people; but the most part of the day was spent in a ceremonie by the Governour and chiefe at their high Church for the death of the Grand Signior, and the establishing his brother in his roome. They came riding afront our house, we sitting in our window open to the street: they seeing us, bowed themselves, and we did reverence: their horses were accommodated with rich furniture. At foure of the clocke, wee were sent for, but our Linguist had got to a Jewes house that sold Racke, and was drunken, and wee pretending Master Salbankes present in disposition, promised attendance the next day. On the one and thirtieth, the Governour sent for us, and made knowne to all the Merchants our welcome, causing his Scrivano to draw a Firman as large as we could require,

Death of the Grand-Signior Achmet.

which he would signe with his Chop, and at his principall Scrivanoes, in the afternoone we should have it. The Copie whereof is as followeth, translated out of the Arabicke.

A Faithfull and perfect Firman given by the grace of God to the worthie Captaine of the English, Andrew Shilling, to the Merchants, and to all such as are come with him at this present; and to all the Nation of the English, which shall come to this Port hereafter: For their good usage, and friendly entertainment by the grace of God, and by the Faith we have in our holy Prophet Mahomet: with the licence of our Great Lord and King, to whom the great God of the World give long life: by the fidelitie, trueth, and authoritie of the great Vizier of *Mahomet Basha.* Sinan, Mahomet Basha; whom the Great God give strength, and power in his Kingdome: and by the faith- *Rajab Aga.* fulnesse, and true meaning, and command of me Rajab Aga, now Governour of the Towne of Mocha; to be given to the Great Nation of the English, with all faithfulnesse.

I The Governour Rajab Aga, doe give libertie and licence to the English Nation, to come hither to this Port, to receive friendly entertainment, to bring ashoare their goods, to buy and sell with all freedome; to carrie such goods as they buy aboord, without let or hindrance: and have made contract with them, that for all goods they land, they shall pay three by the hundred, not in readie money, but in goods; and for what they carrie away aboord, so it be Merchandise, and not provision for their ship, as Victuals, or such like, that they shall pay readie money at three by the hundred likewise, neither more nor lesse, but as it is contracted by our agreement. That no Inhabitants of this Towne, nor People of the Countrey, neither Turke nor Arab, shall injure them; but they shall have their libertie to their contents. And that this my Firman and Contract is given them with a good heart, and true mean-

ing to see it performed, I witnesse the trueth before the most high God, and our holy Prophet. Signed with my Chop, the fourteenth * day of May, in the yeare of our Prophet Mahomet 1027.

*Either the difference is from their different computation, or that the Seale was deferred to this day. [I. v. 626.]

I have thought good to adde the Basha of Sinan his Firman, translated as before.

IN the name of God. This Letter written with the word of trueth of the most high God: To all Nations, Governours and Officers over the people under my government: God keepe you all.

Know yee, that we have given our faithfull Firman unto the hands of Signior Andrew Shilling Captaine of the English, Joseph Salbanke his Companion, and to their friend Edward Heynes Merchant, which are come to the Port of Mocha, for them to goe and come with their ships to the said Port, and there to buy and sell all manner of Merchandise freely, and with all content. And wee doe further give them by vertue of this our Firman in the Faith of the Great God, and our holy Prophet Mahomet; in the Faith of our Great Lord, whom God preserve; and in the Faith of Our selfe, Governour of the Province and Citie of Sinan; free licence for to sell and buy there, heere, and in all other of our Ports, and Townes of Trade within our Government, as freely and quietly, without injurie, let, or molestation, as any of the Traders and Merchants which come to that Port of Mocha, or any other, of what Nation soever. And doe consent and agree with them, to pay for Custome of such goods as they bring, three by the hundred, and for what they buy and carrie forth, three by the hundred likewise. And doe promise and sweare, in the true way of an Oath, to keepe our word with them in this Agreement: and give you all hereby to know that they shall pay neither more nor lesse. And further, that they shall receive neither injurie, hurt nor danger, nor any discontent given them, either to their persons or goods, but they and their Nation shall have, as from their first ship that came to this Kingdome, now

this, so ever to the last ship that shall arrive hereafter, the like friendly entertainment, and good usage, as we have commanded to be given them at this present. And that this is my faithfull meaning, This our Firman which comes to your hands shall be a witnesse of the trueth. Written and signed with my Royall Chop, from our Court of Sinan this eighteenth day of Julie, in the yeere of our Prophet Mahomet 1027.

The Copie of the Governour of Moha his Firman, given to Master Salbank for good usage in his way to Sinan, is this.

IN the Name of the Great God. This Letter of commandment in the name of our great Lord (whom God keep) to all people, Governors of Townes and Cities. Know yee that it is our will and commandement, that when the Bearer hereof Joseph Salbank, or any of his people, or any of the Nation of the English, come to your places of Government, you use them, him, and all whomsoever, friendly and with all courtesies: that you make them pay for victuall, or other necessaries, no more then ordinarie; but rather make provision for them, and assist them. And for what goods they shall carrie away, or bring up into the Citie of Sinan, you shall take no duties of them, as is the custome to other men, but let them passe free, doing them neither wrong or injurie. Wherefore, all you to whom this Letter or Command shall come, which I have given into his hand, I command you all, in the name of the Basha, (whom God blesse) to see this performed with all diligence. Given at Mocha, the twentieth of June, A. 1027. of our Prophet Mahomet.

It was agreed betwixt us, that Master Salbanke and I should follow the businesse on land, and Mr. Barber should remaine aboord to prepare such things as should be sent for. The fift of May, wee went to the Scrivano to get leave for Racke to be made for our sicke men: for by reason that our Linguist, and others of our companie had

Racke is a wine or strong drinke made of Rice.

beene drunke in a Jewes house, we complained and desired the Jew might be prohibited to sell them any: whereupon the Governour forbade the Jewes and Turkes the selling of Wine or Racke in the Towne. The Governour, at our and the Scrivano's request, gave leave onely that a Jew by his appointment, should brew it in our house; but to prevent disorders, would permit none elsewhere. On the eight in the afternoone, understanding the Governour and principall men were set in the Custome house, expecting the Surat Captaine then comming ashoare, he went also to see the manner of his entertainment. At our comming, we found the Governour sitting at the upper end of a long roome upon a Bench of stone, on a Carpet: by him in a row, on the same Bench covered with fine mattes divers Merchants, and men of qualitie about twentie; on the other side against him, were about as many set in Chaires: betweene them was made a lane reaching downe to a square place, three steps high from the floore railed in and matted, in which the Scrivano and Officers of the Custome house sate on Carpets. The Governour bade us welcome, told us hee had given the chiefe Broker order to come see our goods, and procure their sale; caused us to sit downe, two Merchants offering us their places, and called for Cohoh and Tobacco. After halfe an houre thus spent, the Captaine came ashoare, in his owne boat curiously painted, rowed by twentie of his owne servants, all in white linnen, with a Tilt of red silke, many silk Streamers, his Saile of fine Callico, with divers Drummes, Waits, and ill Trumpets, his owne Junke, and the Towne-Chambers adding their reports to make up the musicke (if such confused sounds may be so called) Attended by a few slaves trimmed up with Silkes, and course Sattins, hee entred the place where we sate, where the Governour rose and saluted him, and placed him next him: and many complements of welcome passed from him, and from the rest of the Merchants: only he in the height of his pride, neglected us, and wee accordingly him, though wee thought, the Captaines courtesie to him,

Entertainment of the Surat Captaine.

[I. v. 627.]

sending his long-boat and men to free his Junke (being foure or five hundred tunnes, and aground) with his kind entertainment aboord our ship, had deserved better respect. After a little time in complements, Cohoh was againe brought to all the company, and after it six Vests, two given to the Captaine, and foure to his foure Merchants, which being put on, and Salams given, they againe tooke their seats, sitting like so many painted Images, their Coats being of course Gold and Silver Velvet. One thing wee observed as the usuall custome of this Towne, at the arrivall of any Junke, and the landing of the Captaine, there is free libertie to all the Mariners and Passengers of the same Junke, to bring ashore as much of their goods as each man can carrie on his backe, free from paying any Custome: in which manner passed by at this present, three hundred persons of that Junke, with their luggage, to their habitation without molestation. On the ninth, our Landlord and the Scrivano told us of three Junkes of Diu, and foure Malabars that stayed at Aden, hearing of our ship, and would not come without our Passe, which they intreated us to grant. The forme of our Passe subscribed by the Captaine and three Merchants, was this.

Feare of the English.

WHereas the Governour of the Towne of Mocha, understanding that there are divers Junkes now riding before Aden, fearing to come to this Port, as doubting good usage from us the English; hath intreated us to give unto him, our Certificate or Passe, for the said Junkes, or for any other that usually trade to this Port, to come in freely, without any injurie done unto them, either in bodie or goods by us, and to have good and friendly quarter, as loving friends and Merchants amongst us: Wee finding good usage by the Governour himselfe, and forwardnesse by all men to give us free Trade and commerce, and as well out of our good disposition, and inclination to peace, as for the satisfaction of the Governour, in his request; Wee, by these presents, doe promise and give them all freedome to passe quietly, and assure

them friendly usage, to their content: so as they be not enemies to our dread Soveraigne, the Kings Majestie of England, or his Subjects. In witnesse whereof, wee have put to our Firmes, &c.

A larger Passe at the Governours request, and more generall, for the quiet departure of all Junkes, &c. was after made, which I forbeare to transcribe.

Dabul Captain his feast.

The tenth, the Captaine of the Dabull Juncke invited us to his house to a Banquet, where we found the Governour with fiftie principall persons, besides Attendants; All rose and bade us welcome: wee sate not long but Coho and Sherbet were brought, Tobacco, and diversitie of Fruits, as Plummes, Apricockes and Mangos, we thinking these to bee our Feast, and readie soone after to depart. But the Governour and Captaine desired us to stay, and eate Bread and Salt with them, which we did; at last, though late, our greatest cheere comming, being about sixtie Dishes of sundry sorts of meats, baked, rosted, boyled, stewed, and sodde, but all mingled with Rice, with divers sorts of Sallets, in manner as in India.

Freedome of egresse and regresse.

Our Cargason was of bad wares for the most part, which had lien in India, till they were neere spoyled, and so hang on our hands; wee therefore importuned the Governour, and hee charged the Broker to procure our sale with great earnestnesse: we obtayned leave also, contrary to the common custome, to come and goe aboord and ashoare at our pleasure without demanding any leave, and charged the Water-Bayliffe not to molest us. On the twentieth, it was observed in generall that the Monson changed.

Pedling of some.

The foure and twentieth, The Scrivano told me that he understood that our men of the Ship, at their comming ashoare, sold in the Bazar, Bastas and Sword Blades: he said, the Governour had promised for the poore mens goods to demand no custome, and therefore they should not feare to bring it ashoare, but to sell it at the house; for at the Bazar, was a disgrace to us and our Nation. On the one and thirtieth, the ship was in danger to have

Danger by Tobacco.

beene burnt, one taking Tobacco in the sprit-saile yard arme, and the cole falling in a fold of the saile, which there burned two or three breadths, and was long smelt before it could be found: and Tobacco taking was prohibited, except in the Cook-roome or Captaines Cabin. In regard of recovering our sicke men, discovering the cost, and procuring ballast in stead of Lead, taken out of the ship, it was concluded, that the ship should goe over to Assab on the Coast of Africa: and Master Baffen Masters Mate, was sent to sound and discover before.

The ship goes over to Assab.

The tenth of June, we had speech with the Governour, and in other discourse learned of him, that hee was Governour of Aden when the Ascension came thither, where hee imprisoned the Captaine and Jos. Salbanke two dayes; as he said, doubting they were not Merchants, but a man of Warre: that he was Governour here at Sir H. Middletons apprehension, which he excused by the ill rule of our people, and bad disposition of the Basha; that he was blamed for the fact; but the Basha, whose servant he then was, commanded that a great deale more, God knew his unwillingnesse to it, and sorrow for it: but these things are past, feare you nothing. Here wee saw how farre he and the Scrivano were to be trusted.

[I. v. 628.] On the thirteenth, the Governour sent for us, told us that he had acquainted the Basha with our purpose, to send up one to him for his Firman, who had promised his welcome whether wee came or sent; he thought it our best course that one should goe, and we should have Horse, Camels and Servants of his to attend us; and he would write in our behalfe.

Losse of a Monson, how dangerous.

The nineteenth, arrived a Junke expected from Gudda, which brought Chamlets, bad Corall, Amber beads, much Silver to invest in Spices and Indian Linnen, many passengers from Mecca. Shee brought newes of a Ship laden hence the last yeere for Grand Cairo, by losse of her Monson through contrarie windes, forced to stay a little above Gudda till next yeere. By this Junke the Governour received letters, that the Gran Signior had sent

divers ornaments of State to the Basha of Synan, and had confirmed to him his government for seven yeeres longer, and himselfe in this Towne of Mocha under him for the like time, whereof hee seemed not a little proud. In regard of my continuall indisposition, it was thought fit Master Salbank should goe, and a Present for the Basha to be prepared, with some merchandise also to carry with him. The Scrivano offered Master Salbank his Mule to ride upon, which he accepted with thanks. He was furnished with two Camels, one Cooke, one Horse-keeper, three Servants of the Governours, whose wages he had compounded to pay, with Alberto a Linguist, and taking leave and letters of the Governour. On the three and twentieth, he departed about sixe in the evening, the nights being the accustomed time of travell. That morning wee received a Letter from our Captaine of his safe arrivall at Assab; of their good health, and finding ballast and other provisions.

M. Salbanks journey to Sinan.

On the sixe and twentieth, the Governour sent me a Horse by one of his Servants, desiring mee to ride with him in companie of other Merchants to his banketting house, some halfe mile out of Towne, there to spend the day in mirth. About halfe an houre after came the chiefe Scrivano to call me, with whom I rid and met the Governour in the way, whom we accompanied to the place. It was in the midst of a grove of Date Trees, in which was a faire house, and within it a large Tanke, and other roomes of pleasure to sit in. After a little while, He with divers others went into the Tanke, and sported therein halfe an houre. Then was Cohoh brought and given the companie; after that, Grapes, Peaches, Muske, and water Melons, Almonds blanched with others, Raisins in great abundance (for he had at least fiftie or sixtie Ghests, besides attendants) and alwayes betweene whiles Coho and Tobacco. Thus with Musicke, indifferent good, he spent the forenoone. After prayers he went againe into the Tanke with others, wherein hee spent an houre in sport with his companie: after which, the rest of the time was

The Governours feast.

Cards, chesses, jugglers. spent, some at Cards, some at Chesse, himselfe beholding juggling tricks untill foure at evening. Then were brought in at least a hundred dishes of divers sorts, good meat, but cold and ill dressed. Every dish might well have served foure men with good stomacks. Hee used me well, and was earnest to have me into the Tanke, which I excused by my late sicknesse. He answered, if at any time I had a desire to wash, he would have me come hither and take my pleasure, and the Keeper should permit me and use me well.

Good fire-worke, figures. The twelfth of July, at evening was a great shew made by the Surat Captaine before the Governour, being the time of the New Moone: Many figures artificially made in fire-works, rare and excellent. The Governour sent for me to see them, placed me in a Chaire by him, told mee of Letters that day received from Sinan of the Basha's Firman, granted before Master Salbanke came, who hearing of his comming staid it and made another, as he gave instructions, and delivered it with his owne hand.

Gudda of great Trade. Kitchine. On the thirteenth, passed by the Road of Gudda a Junke of foure or five hundred tunnes, bound for Kitchine, a dayes saile within the entrance of the Red Sea; I suppose it not farre from Cape Guardefui on the Coast of Afrike. Shee is reported to be rich in gold, Royalls of plate, and many sorts of Merchandise: yeerly comes to Mocha, brings Myrrhe, Trunkes for Coho seeds, at the first beginning of the westerly Monson, and dispatching here, *Aliambo.* goes up to Gudda or Aliambo, and there sells her Coho and Indian goods which shee taketh in at Kitchine, brought *Portugall Junk.* thither by Portugall Frigats from Diu, and other places. Her lading outward is Indico's, all manner of Indian Linnen, Gumme, Lac and Myrrhe; shee is fraighted by the Portugalls, and the Governour wished we might meet with her, which it is likely we had done, had not our ship *Returne of the ship.* beene absent, which returned into the Road on the one and twentieth. I went aboord, and was told, that the King of Assab with his brother and brothers sonne, had beene aboord and received good entertainment, in

requitall whereof, the King promised to send for store of Beeves and Goats: but in the evening, by signe of a light given, fled with all his people up into the Mountaynes, pretending a pursuit of his enemies, and never returned so much as thanks.

M. Salbanke his returne.

The seven and twentieth, before day, Master Salbanke returned in perfect health and content with his Firmans.

Relation of his voyage and entertainment.

He related to me of his hard journey, good respect given him by the way in all places; being alway met before he entred any Towne of note, with Horse and Foot, to guard him to the Governours, and of them received with good welcome; his provisions provided by their Officers (but at his owne charge) the Governour of Mochas servant in the name of the Basha, procuring his good usage. Before he came into Sinan he was met a mile without the Citie by fortie or fiftie brave Turks well horsed, sent by the [I. v. 629.] Basha to bring him in; which conveyed him to a house readie and richly furnished against his comming. He received friendly entertainment of the principall Xeriffe and the Basha's chiefe Treasurer, which were both appointed to welcome him. And two dayes after, the Basha himselfe gave him hearing, of whom he received courteous entertainment and two Firmans, both of one Tenor, but one written in a fairer Character then the other, to shew to the Grand Signior, if occasion required.

Sale of English cloth likely.

I find, by his report, that the Citie of Sinan with the Countrey adjoyning, will vent yeerly some quantitie of English cloth, those parts for three quarters of the yeere being cold; yea, in this Summer time a man might well have endured a furred Gowne. Besides, there is a Court kept, to which belong fortie or fiftie thousand gallant Turks, most of which wore garments of Venetian cloth of great prices. Also not farre from thence lyeth a Leskar of Souldiers, to the number of thirtie thousand, that continually are in the field against an Arab King not yet conquered, which liveth in the Mountaynes adjoyning, all which, he saith, are reported to weare Coats quilted of Cotton made of India Pintado's, which is deare and little

Arabia, not wholly subject to the Turke.

serviceable, for want of cloth to keepe them from cold, which there is extreme. To this I may adde the Citie of Tyeis, and the Leskar of thirtie or fortie thousand Souldiers, governed by an Almaine turned Moore, subject to the Basha of Sinan, where is much cloth worne, not above five dayes journey from Mocha, yet very cold.

The Captaine vested.

The second of August, the Governour sent our Captaine a vest, a rich one, by his chiefe Shabander with Drummes and Trumpets, his Boat bedecked with Flags and Streamers in great braverie, which was delivered with great reverence, and received accordingly.

The eleventh, the Captaine of Dabul Melic Marvet, and Nakada Rooswan the Chaul Captaine, sent us their Letters of recommendations to their Kings, according to our desire, certifying of our friendly usage here, and promise to defend them homewards bound from Pyrates, and therefore beseeching, in our behalfe, freedome of Trade and friendly usage in their Kingdomes. The fourteenth, we gave our Passes (as at other times to others) unto two Captaines of the Malabarres, Amet Ben Mahomet of Cannanor under Sultan Ala Raja, and to Abu Buker of Calicut under the Samorine.

This day came into the Road a small Galley from Cairo, with many passengers, Turks and Jewes, rich in Royals, Chekines, Corall, Damaskes, Sattins, Chamlet, Opium, Velvets and Taffata's. Shee had beene in her voyage but thirtie dayes. I had conference with the Jewes, one of which had beene of my acquaintance in Barbarie. They report, that the Grand Signiors brother, being made Emperor, had imprisoned his two Nephewes, done to death some Grandes, and otherwise discontented the great Ones, and that he was deposed, imprisoned, and the eldest of his Nephewes created. That there were two hundred thousand Souldiers sent against the Persian, for the conquest of Gurgistan, with other things; whereof some proved true, others false, according to the fate of Merchants newes. Some Jewes and Turks desired passage for them and their goods in our ship to Surat; and it is likely when they

Many passengers both for Merchandize and Pilgrimage to Mecca.

know us better, much profit may be made this way, their Junkes being so pestered usually with uncivill people.

Thus having sold and bartered our goods as well as we might hope of such a Cargason, and dispatched our businesse, wee visited the Governour and desired his Letter testimoniall to the Lord Embassador, which he gave us; we tooke our leave the nineteenth of him, the Scrivano and principall men of the Towne, from whom wee received protestations of much kindnesse alwayes, came aboord, intending the next day to set saile for India, in companie of the Surat Junke, according to our instructions.

Chap. VI.

Briefe Notes of two Voyages of Master Martin Pring into the East Indies; the first with Captaine Nicholas Downton, Generall of foure ships, in which he went Master in the Newyeeres Gift Admirall.

FRom England to the Canaries, we used our Chanell Compasses, and from thence our Meridionall. Whiles we used our Chanell Compasses, we got not any allowance for the variation; which afterwards we did in all our Courses. Wednesday, the fifteenth of June, 1614. we anchored in the Road of Soldania, the latitude whereof is foure and thirtie degrees, the longitude from the Lizard eight and twentie degrees, of a great circle East, the variation one degree, thirtie minutes, North westing. *Compasses.* *Soldania.*

The fourth of July, we had the Cape of Good Hope East seven leagues off. On Saturday, the sixt of August, we escried the Land of Saint Laurence. The River of Saint Augustine hath in latitude twentie three degrees, thirtie eight minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope twentie three degrees, of a great Circle. We *The River of Saint Augustine.* [I. v. 630.]

Westminster Hall. left it on the twelfth: and the thirteenth wee had Westminster Hall (which is a flat Hill, lying North-east by North from the Road of Saint Augustine) South-east by South nine leagues off, being in latitude three and twentie degrees, variation seventeene degrees and twentie minutes, North westing. On the fourteenth and fifteenth, we found that the Current had set us to the North, of our account, sixe leagues.

On the eighteenth, by observation of the Sunne at noone, wee found the elevation of the South Pole to be seventeene degrees and twentie sixe minutes. The three *Joanna.* and twentieth, wee descried the land of Joanna.

The second of September, we passed the Line: the ninth, wee anchored in Delisha Road on the North side of Socotora, in twelve degrees and thirtie five minutes, variation eighteene degrees and thirtie minutes, longitude eleven degrees and twentie minutes, of a great Circle to the East of Saint Augustine.

Their anchoring, and what passed at Swally, yee had before in Captaine Downton. The second of March, we left the Road of Swally. On the fourth, we were as low as Damon, and saw the Vice-roy with his Paderosa Armada, which chased us till the sixt at noone, and then left us. The night before wee came in sight of Damon, *Whirlewinds.* wee had many Whirlewinds, the weather being cleere, as if the two Monsons had beene striving for victorie. The sixteenth, Cochin bare three leagues off East halfe North. It stands in ten degrees close by the waters side; the Land so low that we could see nothing but Trees: but up in the Countrey are Mountaynes: variation fifteen degrees North North-easting, this evening.

The nineteenth, at noone being Sunday, there was an *Eclipse.* Eclipse of the Sunne, the end whereof by my observation, continued till one in the afternoone and fortie five minutes. The distance of the Sunne from the Zenith, was twentie seven degrees and thirtie minutes, just as the Eclipse was ended. Munday, by observation of the Crosiers we were in sixe degrees, and by the Starres of the

great Beare also. Tuesday, at five in the morning, we descried the Coast of Seyloan five leagues off, which neere the water side riseth full of small Hummocks, and up in the Countrey are Mountaynes, whereof one like a Friers Cowle. Friday, Punta de Galia North-east halfe North eight leagues off, wee perceived that the Current set westward. By observation of the Starre in the great Beares backe, we were in five degrees and thirtie minutes. *Zeilan.*

The fourth and fift of Aprill, we perceived the Current had set us five leagues and two third parts to the North, being in one degree and fiftie minutes, when by our way wee should have been in one degree thirtie three minutes. We found a like Current on the ninth. The two and twentieth, wee found that the Current had carried us in foure dayes thirteene leagues to the South of our computation. The third of May, at noone, wee were in foure degrees and thirtie minutes, and found that since the former noone the Current had carried us foure leagues South of our computation. We had sight of Sumatra. The like we found at noone the next day. Wee saw the Ile of Enganio, the North point bearing South-west eight leagues off. The sixt, at noon, we were in five degrees and thirtie seven minutes, caried to the South of our accounts five leagues by the Current. We saw the South point of Sumatra East South-east low by the water. 1615. *Currents.*

On the seventh, we were at noone in sixe degrees and ten minutes, the Current having set us sixe degrees and an halfe to the South of our accounts.

This morning we saw the Salt Ile, which is in the entrance of the Straights of Sunda, bearing East, two third parts North. The tenth of May, the South-east winds began to blow fresh, onely now and then a gust which would sometimes alter it, and that about the change or full of the Moone, or else we had it alway betweene the South South-east and the East South-east: but most commonly at South-east. On the tenth, the Generall (wee being able to doe no good the other way) thought best to beare up to the North of the Salt Iles, where under the North *Salt Ilands.*

end of the Northermost, wee anchored in twentie fadoms oaze, within three quarters of a mile of the shoare, finding the like depth all alongst the North end of this Iland in that distance. Betweene the high Salt-Ile and this, is Pumicestone-Ile, which alwaies burneth, and casts forth Pumicestones like to Fuego. The Northermost we called Coco, of the fruit found there. These Pumicestones we cast into the water, which swam like Corke. The twelfth, the Pinnasse was sent to Pulo-Beced for water: it was brackish. On the sixteenth, our men found a Pond of fresh water, on the North end of the Salt Ile, in the flat ground by the waters side, and filled water there. We set saile thinking to have gotten to the South of the Salt Ile, the winde being at North-east, but could not prevaile against the Currant. The nineteenth, we were in sixe degrees, five minutes of South latitude.

Pumicestone Ile.

These Marine discourses are here abridged and cut off, partly because I thinke few will much affect that part, and now many Mariners know them by experience; and in the borrowed books of the Campanie, I was forced to be Scribe my selfe, the tediousnesse of which wearied me. Yet have I now in one, and another while in another, expressed the most materiall in this kinde. [I. v. 631.]

The twentieth, the Current North North-west and North-west, whereas before for ten degrees it had set directly West betweene those Ilands.

After much contending with the weather and Current, having had very good water from Palmeto Ile, halfe a mile within the East point in a sandy Cove.

The first of June, we set saile and stood to the South, making a South-west way by meanes of the Current that sets West South-west, alongst the shoare. On the three and twentieth of June, Master Jordan came aboord: and the next our Generall sent a Present to the King of Bantam. Note, that while we rid in the Straits mouth, we found the Current from twelve at noone, till foure in the morning to runne very swift, and from thence till noone very easie. Sunday the sixth of August, our Generall departed this life.

The tenth of October, Captaine Jordan came in the Juncke from Jacatra, and related his kind entertainment, the King being wholly devoted to us, and hating the Dutch.

The seven and twentieth of November, the Flemmings set upon Kewee his house (he was our Merchant to buy

Pepper for us) with intent to keepe him Prisoner in their owne house: But Captaine Jordan having notice thereof presently went and rescued him in despight of the Flemmings, and brought him to the English-house. The two and twentieth of December, having received our lading, we left the Road of Bantam.

The seventh of January, we were in seven degrees five minutes of South latitude, wee found that the Current had set us South South-east nine leagues in twentie houres, the variation this evening was three degrees fortie minutes North-westing. The two and twentieth, our Generall Master Thomas Elkington departed this life. *Their returne.*

The first of March, we anchored in the Bay of Soldania, our Company most part in good health. The next day we set up our Tents ashoare, landed our sicke men and our water caske. On Sunday the third, Cory came downe unto us, who told us of one Captaine Crosse, which lived upon Penguin Iland with eight men and a Boy: to whom Master Dodsworth had given a Boat. I sent the Pinnasse which brought three, and left there other three. These reported, that on Saturday last, Captaine Crosse with two others, their Boat being split in pieces, made a Gingada of Timber, and had gotten halfe way betwixt the Iland and the ship, when two Whales rose up by them, one of them so neere, that they strooke him on the backe with a wooden spit; after which they sunke downe and left them. Captaine Crosse thus terrified with the Whales, and benummed with the water, returned to the Iland, and having shifted a shirt and refreshed himselfe, adventured the second time, giving charge to one of the Company, to have an eye on him so long as he could see him. This fellow saith, he saw him a great way from the Iland, and on the sudden lost sight of him; which is the last newes of him. *Soldania.* *Cory.* *Crosse with other condemned persons left to inhabit there.* *Crosse lost.*

The eight of March, (all things ready) we departed, having gotten good store of sheepe and some Bullockes. From the Tropike till we were in one degree eighteene minutes of South latitude, we met alway with a Southerly

Current, which set us to the South about seven or eight miles in foure and twentie houres. The reason I guess to be, because we were alway to the Eastwards of that Current, which sets towards the North-west from Saint Helena, so that wee went in the edge of the Eddy of the North-west Current. The five and twentieth of June, 1616. we arrived in the Downes.

END OF VOLUME IV.

1905
UNIVERSITY PRESS
GLASGOW

00085477

Digitized with financial assistance from
Hermès India
a project facilitated by the Rotary Club of Bombay

on 10 August, 2018